EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS ON THE LIVELIHOODS OF
HOUSEHOLDS IN KERIO VALLEY BASIN, KENYA

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all the peace makers and people of good will working towards addressing the challenge of social conflicts in Kerio Valley basin, Kenya
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Foremost, I thank God for His great mercies and favour has seen me this far. It has taken His favour for me to have health and complete this work.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.................................................................................................................. ii  
DEDICATION...................................................................................................................... iii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT...................................................................................................... iv  
LIST OF TABLES.............................................................................................................. vii  
LIST OF FIGURES............................................................................................................ viii  
LIST OF PLATES............................................................................................................... ix  
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS........................................................................... x  
ABSTRACT......................................................................................................................... xi  

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION............................................................................... 1  
  1.1 Background to the Study............................................................................................. 1  
  1.2 Statement of the Problem............................................................................................ 6  
  1.3 Purpose of the Study................................................................................................... 7  
  1.4 Objectives of the Study............................................................................................... 7  
  1.5 Research Questions.................................................................................................... 8  
  1.6 Significance of the Study............................................................................................ 9  
  1.7 Scope and Limitations............................................................................................... 9  
  1.8 Operational Definition of Terms............................................................................. 10  

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW................................................................. 12  
  2.1 Introduction............................................................................................................... 12  
  2.2 Characteristics of Conflicts....................................................................................... 12  
  2.3 Measures and Indicators of Conflicts...................................................................... 14  
  2.4 Trends in Global Conflicts....................................................................................... 17  
  2.5 Conflicts and Trends in Africa................................................................................... 20  
  2.6 Pastoral Conflicts in Africa....................................................................................... 22  
  2.7 Conflicts and their Effects in Pastoral Areas in Kenya............................................. 27  
  2.8 Gaps in the Literature Reviewed............................................................................... 29  
  2.9 Theoretical Perspectives........................................................................................... 29  
  2.10 Conceptual Framework............................................................................................ 32  

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.................................................. 34  
  3.1 Introduction............................................................................................................... 34
3.2 Research Design ................................................................................................. 34
3.3 Study Site ........................................................................................................ 35
3.4 Site Sampling Study and Population ................................................................. 38
3.5 Sample Size Determination and Sampling Methods ....................................... 38
3.6 Data Collection Methods and Instruments ....................................................... 40
3.7 Data Analysis .................................................................................................. 42
3.8 Ethical Considerations .................................................................................... 43

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS .......................................................................................................................... 44
4.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 44
4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents ...................................... 44
4.3 Household Land Holding and Use ................................................................... 48
4.4 The Scope and Causes of Conflicts ................................................................. 51
4.5 Effects of Conflict on Livelihoods ................................................................... 58
4.6 Interventions to Eradicate Conflicts in Kerio Valley ...................................... 69
4.7 Suggestions for Improved Livelihoods ............................................................. 75

CHAPTER FIVE - SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . 78
5.1 Introduction ....................................................................................................... 78
5.2 Summary of Findings ....................................................................................... 78
5.3 Conclusions ..................................................................................................... 80
5.4 Recommendations .......................................................................................... 81
5.5 Recommendations for Further Research ...................................................... 82

REFERENCES ....................................................................................................... 83

APPENDIXES ......................................................................................................... 90
APPENDIX - I: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS . . . 90
APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE ...................................... 93
APPENDIX III: HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW GUIDE ............................................ 95
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT ................................................................... 100
APPENDIX V: ETHICAL CLEARANCE ............................................................... 101
LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample of Households.................................................................40
Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristic of the Respondents.........................45
Table 4.2: Household Land Holdings and Use..............................................50
Table 4.3: Frequency, Causes and Severity of Hostilities;..........................55
Table 4.4: Effects of Conflicts;....................................................................58
Table 4.5: Types of Livelihoods Destroyed by Conflicts;.........................60
Table 4.6: Effects of Conflicts on Relationships in Households;..................64
Table 4.7: Effects of Conflicts on Relationships between Neighbours and Communities.................................................................68
Table 4.8: Interventions to Eradicate Conflicts;..........................................70
Table 4.9: Interventions by Various Stakeholders to Address Challenge of Conflict;.................................................................71
Table 4.10: Suggestions to Improve the Livelihoods of Households.............75
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework 32

Figure 3.1: Map showing Study Site 37
LIST OF PLATES

Plate 3.1: A View of Kerio Valley 35
Plate 3.2: A Photo with Focus Group Discussants 41
Plate 4.1: Remnants of Destroyed Homes in Murkutwo 53
Plate 4.2: Dwelling Houses on Escarpment 53
Plate 4.3: A Sheep whose Arm was Blown off by Cattle Rustlers 61
Plate 4.4: Special County Commissioner Addressing a Meeting 72
Plate 4.5: Mangoes Grown as Diversification Measure 73
Plate 4.6: Showing a Kenya Red Cross Irrigation Scheme Site 74
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GPI</td>
<td>Global Peace Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRID</td>
<td>Global Report on Internal Displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North Africa ((MENA))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030)</td>
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ABSTRACT

The United Nations (UN) and World Bank (2017) indicate that the emerging forms of violent conflicts have tended to be more complex and protracted. They involve more non-state and state agencies and are characterized by substantial loss of lives, displacement of population, destruction of property, social and economic wellbeing. Conflicts in the North Rift Region of Kenya, particularly in Kerio Valley, similarly have had severe effects on the socio-economic wellbeing and livelihoods of households. This study sought to examine the effects of the social conflicts on the livelihood of the households, and necessary intervention measures in Kerio Valley Basin. Specifically it sought to establish: the characteristics of the households and the scope of hostilities; effects on the livelihood, social and economic wellbeing; and interventions undertaken to mitigate the conflicts. The study adopted a descriptive cross-sectional survey design. The site of study were locations most affected by conflict and these included; Chesegon Division in Pokot County, Tot Division in Elgeyo-Marakwet County, Kolowa Division in Tiaty Sub-County of Baringo and Kinyach location in Baringo County. Data collection entailed an interview schedule, focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The unit of study was the household and through systematic sampling, from an estimated total of 3170 households, a sample of 422 was interviewed. Key stakeholders were identified for key informant interviews while a cross section of community leaders participated in an FGD. Qualitative data was analysed thematically while quantitative data was entered into SPSS and results analysed and presented descriptively. Ethical and logistical issues were addressed through seeking approvals and permissions from relevant authorities such Graduate School, KUERC and NACOSTI. The study established that foremost, the typical characteristics of respondents were that the majority were male, married, middle aged and occupied mainly in pastoralism and farming; Secondly, Kerio valley conflict assumes inter-clan and inter-ethnic dimensions and are fairly frequent; Thirdly, main causes of conflict included theft of cattle, access to and control of pasture and water. Fourthly, social conflicts have negatively affected the lives and livelihoods of communities by way of, among others, loss of household income when livestock, the main source of family income, is stolen; loss of lives; strained relationships among family members and also neighbours; and loss of marketing opportunities.; Fifthly, some of the interventions undertaken included development of integrated county development plans; diversification of livelihoods through introducing irrigated agriculture and agro-processing, and intensification of security interventions. The study concluded that communities in Kerio valley have been experiencing periodic conflicts which have adversely affected the households in Kerio region and negatively affected pursuit of livelihoods; interventions put in place have to an extent contained the conflicts and especially the engagement with stakeholders. So as to mitigate the adverse effects of conflicts on livelihoods, the study recommends diversification of livelihoods by way of adoption of high value crops through irrigated agriculture; institutionalization of peace committees in the community, and enhancing infrastructure development so as to ease movement of people and their produce as well as quicken the response time by security agencies.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Armed or violent conflict has been used to refer to contested incompatible (dispute or collision over) views, beliefs, goals, interests and/or courses of action between persons, groups, regions or countries and in which a number of mortalities, displacements, destruction of properties, resources and/or environment has been witnessed. Usually conflicts become issues of concern once violence is used to enforce disputed views, beliefs, goals, interests and/or course of actions. Accordingly, social conflicts have been categorized, on a graduated scale (or intensity) from existence of conflict, to violent conflict, armed conflict to a full pledged war; based largely on the number of casualties, magnitude of destruction and displacement of the population among others (Mwagiru, 1999, Pruitt and Rubin, 1986, and Galtung, 1965).

Using such categorization, a number of studies have provided trends on global conflicts, changes in the nature of conflicts and prediction of the conflicts in future. In a remarkable effort, Holsti (1991) traced the nature, intensity and the scope of social conflicts from 1648 to 1989; and Small and Singer (1982) traced similar trends from 1816 to 1980. These studies reported fundamental changes in the nature of violent-armed conflicts first following World War I, secondly following World War II in mid 1900s and thirdly following the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. However, a number of studies have maintained a view that the nature of violent conflicts evolved globally through several
phases, from mid 1900s at the end of World War II, through to the cold war period that ended in 1990s, to the early decades of 2000s (Demmers 2012, Wimmer 2004, Gurr, T. R., Marshall, M. G., & Khosla, and D. (2000).

These studies also maintained a view that while research studies gave attention to interstate conflicts between 1950s and 1990s, the episodes of internal conflicts (or ethnic-resource conflicts) existed and were increasing at a much higher rate than the interstate hostilities. Initial studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s viewed the internal conflicts then as small scale hostilities, low intensity conflicts, wars of a third kind, or even proxy hostilities on behalf of a larger agency (Hegre 2012, Rice 1988, Small & Singer 1982).


In view of the available evidence, trends and the scope of impact of the conflicts, a number of scholars and policy makers carried-out efforts to improve the indicators and measures of the conflicts. Marshall & Gurr (2003) established an index (equivalent to Richter Scale for Earthquakes) to measure severity and destruction of the global internal conflicts. The index and related severity scale by Marshall was used to track episodes of the internal conflicts from 1945 to 1999. The data from the study indicated those conflicts accelerated from 1950s and reached the peak by the early 1990s. The study
indicated also in 1950, 10 per cent of the states had internal conflicts, in 1970 20 per cent of the states had internal conflicts and by 1991 33 per cent of the states had internal conflicts (Ibid).

Furthermore, these studies identified a number of specific trends and predictions; that included: (1) the number of conflict will be increasing; (2) the intensity of hostilities will be increasing; (3) the number of persons to be displaced by the conflicts will be increasing, (4) the number of casualties (deaths) during violent conflicts will be increasing and (5) the ratio of civilians to military personnel to be killed during the conflicts will be increasing (Demmers, 2014, Wimmer, 2004, Marshall & Gurr, 2003, Gurr 2002, Gurr et. al, 2001).

According to the United Nations (UN) and World Bank (2017) resurgence of violent conflicts was witnessed globally in the last decade; accompanied by immense loss of lives, destruction of property, displacements and unsustainable mitigation costs. The report indicated also that violent conflicts became more complex and protracted, involving more non-state groups, regional and international agents, typically linked to global challenges from climate change to transnational organized crime; and have increasingly become obstacles to achieving Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. Similar observations were made by Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) (2016) indicating also that globally the number of conflicts increased; influenced by a number of factors including climate-related shocks and competition for scarce resources among others. The FAO report maintained that conflict has also been a key driver of
severe food crisis, re-emergence and increased famines; that remain more acute in areas with prolonged conflicts and weak institutional capacities.

In respect to pastoralists, the FAO report (2001) emphasized that pastoral communities have historically sustained their livelihood marginal environments, characterized by migratory herding cultures, vulnerability to droughts, shrinking resources, and persistent state of crisis. Fasona, et al., (2016) reported that farmers and pastoralists are engaged regularly in fierce competition for land, pasture and water resources. These authors outlined a wide range of issues that precipitated conflicts in Africa. Further, McCandless and Karbo (2011) reported that Africa has witnessed conflicts of secession, ethnic nationalism, territorial borders self-determination and subsistence among others and that there is hardly any country in Africa which has not experienced a major conflict of one kind or another.

While hostilities have been traced back to 1920s with imposition of fixed boundaries, the contemporary forms of conflicts in the Kerio Valley Basin can be traced to 1970s when re-occurrences increased with greater loss of lives, livestock, displacement and negative impact on development (Chebii 2015, Barasa 2007, Pkalya, et al., 2003 and Kamungi 2001). According to Kamungi (2001), introduction and use of firearms made it easier for raiders to attack more frequently because guns became more sophisticated and effective than the traditional weapons (i.e. bows, arrows, spears and machetes).

Despite studies that have been carried-out, a number of observers (Nori, et al., 2015, Murkomen, 2015, Triche, 2014, Opiyo, et al., 2012, Wasonga et. al, 2012, IDMC, & ISS, 2012, Adan & Masinde, 2008, Krätli & Swift, 2003) have argued that conflicts and related vulnerabilities in pastoral areas have not been given adequate attention as reflected by the persistence, re-occurrence and related vulnerabilities. Specifically Nori et. al. observed that measures that have been adopted have been ad-hoc and limited in view of the nature of conflicts and related vulnerabilities in pastoral areas. Murkomen (2015) also observed that a wide range of measures that have been taken have had limited impact; including deployment of police officers (to police-citizen ratio of 1:62), disarmament, arrest and prosecution, intelligence gathering, clamping down illegal arms and livestock trade, laws and policy framework, community policing, free and compulsory education. Triche (2014) on the other hand observed that whereas factors driving pastoral conflicts within Kenya have long been identified, sustainable mitigation measures have not been pursued with necessary prioritization and consistency. IDMC and ISS (2012) reported that over 200 000 to 400 000 segments of the population that are
displaced regularly in North Rift Region of Kenya including Kerio Valley and fundamental causal processes continue to have inadequate awareness, understanding and mitigation measures. However, the exact effects of these conflicts on the livelihoods of the inhabitants have not been understood, appreciated and adequately addressed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Kerio Valley Basin is largely a semi-arid zone; characterized by diverse ecological zones, varied arable land and access to water. The inhabitants are communities whose livelihood, social and economic wellbeing is generally a blend of agro-nomadic-pastoral system; in which the relationship between the agricultural and nomadic pastoralists has been characterized by competition and conflicts related to resources; notably land, pasture and water (Fasona et. al, 2016). A typical example was the re-occurrence of the hostilities in 2015-2016 with severe consequences and in which over 70 people were killed and over 1000 people displaced in a period of one month. In theory and available evidence, the processes consisting of increase in the population, related demographic dimensions, and changes in environmental conditions continue to deplete available resources; thereby increasing competition and conflicts. Between 2009 and 2017, the population in West Pokot County increased from 512,690 to 777,180, Elgeyo–Marakwe from 370,712 to 460,092, and Baringo from 555,561 to 723,411; in which an average of 77 per cent are generally young persons under 35 years, also an average of over 60 per cent have limited education and unemployed. The convergence and interplay of these processes in the Kerio Valley Basin has led to increasing competition and conflicts. In
view of the above this study therefore sought to establish the effects of the conflicts on the livelihoods of the households in Kerio Valley Basin.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

In view of the trends, persistence and re-occurrence of the conflicts, the purpose of the study is to examine the scope of the hostilities, their effects on the livelihood of the households, and sustainable intervention measures in Kerio Valley Basin. More specifically, it included evaluating the rate of occurrences and extent of hostilities, the way those hostilities have affected the households (loss of lives, property, dispossession, displacements, disruption of the livelihood) and the views of the households on more promising mitigation measures. Notably, the re-occurrences of the hostilities in 2015-2016 were used as a reference point in the proposed study.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study had four objectives namely:-

1. To establish the characteristics of the households in Kerio Valley basin;

2. To establish the scope of conflicts and related hostilities among households in Kerio Valley basin

3. To establish the effects of the conflicts on the livelihood of the households in Kerio Valley basin;
4. To identify sustainable interventions to mitigate the conflicts in Kerio Valley basin

1.5 Research Questions

While the overall question addressed by the study was; in what ways have the hostilities affected the livelihoods of households in Kerio Valley, the specific questions for the study included:-

1. What are the specific socio demographic characteristics of the residents of Kerio valley which render them prone to social conflicts?

2. What is the nature and frequency of social conflicts in Kerio Valley:

3. How have social conflicts been manifested in Kerio valley?

4. What has been the extent of displacement and deaths arising from social conflicts in Kerio valley?

5. To what extent and how have the livelihoods of households living in Kerio valley been affected by displacements and deaths arising from social conflicts in Kerio Valley?

6. Which interventions have been put in place by various stakeholders to mitigate the conflicts in Kerio valley?
1.6 Significance of the Study

The significance of the study cannot be over-emphasized. To the extent that social conflict negatively affects households and communities and hampers pursuit of livelihoods and development, any efforts towards highlighting the effects of conflict in the region would go a long way in helping stakeholders find a solution to this challenge. The results of this study would add to the pool of data available to academicians and researchers of social conflict. Further, the results of this study would be of use to stakeholders such as national and county governments in putting in place measures to stop conflicts arising and in the event they arise, undertaking intervention measures to mitigate and redress any challenges faced by residents. Lastly, the results of the study would also avail useful baseline information which would be useful to civil society actors in their peace building missions and civic education in addressing the problem of social conflict in Kerio valley.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

The study was carried out at the extreme north of the Kerio Valley Basin at adjacent locations and divisions that are characterized by re-occurrence of increasingly severe hostilities and a triangle of the three rival communities; namely Pokot, Marakwet and Tugens – thus a lot of sensitivity was required during data collection. On the other hand, the study was restricted to four (4) sites of otherwise expansive divisions namely
Chesegon in Pokot County, Tot in Elgeyo-Marakwet County, Kolowa in Tiati Sub-County of Baringo and Bartabwa Ward of the Baringo County.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

A number of terms were used and defined in the study as follows:-

*Household* - One or more people who live in a common dwelling; usually with some form of relation as a family; and may consist of husband, wife, children and other extended members of the family; and share certain aspects in common such as food, shelter, property, etc.

*Livelihood* - Processes, activities and capabilities to support existence, subsistence and wellbeing; essentially ways to secure basic necessities of life (food, water, shelter, clothing) and the capacity to acquire these necessities either individually or working as a group;

*Livelihood assets* - Refers to a number of key basic requirements 1) Human capital as knowledge and labour available in a household, 2) Social capital as social resources, including networks for cooperation, mutual trust, and support, 3) Financial capital i.e. savings and regular inflows of income, 4) Physical capital or the infrastructure or equipment used to increase productivity, and 5) Natural capital or natural resources, ranging from pasture, water, minerals and energy;

*Socio-economic process* - Refers to three common indicators namely education, income, and occupation. It also refers to a process of livelihood that combines social and
economic activities such as education, health, employment and occupation. Various processes including conflicts may lead to socio-economic deprivation (or erode socio-economic conditions of the household;

*Conflict* - refers to existence of a dispute (incompatibility) between persons, groups (or segments of people or states on issues related to goals, interests, resources, correct course of action and become a concern when carried out by violent means. In some cases, it may be characterized by confrontation, hostilities, clashes, struggles and even battles between the parties involved.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines review of literature in which special attention is given to; the characteristics of conflict; measures of conflict; the general trends in global conflicts; conflicts in pastoral areas; regional experience in pastoral conflicts; pastoral conflicts in Kenya; theoretical perspectives, and conceptual framework.

2.2 Characteristics of Conflicts

Conflict has been defined as incompatible (dispute or collision over) views, beliefs, goals, interests or worldviews; typically a protracted process characterized by hostilities, confrontations, battles and/or wars (Mwagiru, 1999, Pruitt & Rubin, 1986 and Galtung, 1965). Accordingly, social conflict usually refer to a contestation or hostility between two or more groups, typically in pursuits of incompatible (dispute or collision over) views, beliefs, goals, interests, scarce resources and/or self-determination. Various studies maintain a view that conflict emergences at four distinct levels; interpersonal, group level (community), regional (intra-state) and finally at inter-state or international (Mwagiru, 1999, Pruitt & Rubin, 1986, Hocker & Wilmot 1985, and Galtung 1965). Hocker & Wilmot represented social conflicts as a relation of people (groups, communities or states) pursuing incompatible goals (interests) and resulting interference from the opposing sides. Other sources have emphasized the distinction between constructive (positive) conflict, considered necessary and even valuable for human
creativity, and destructive conflict which need to be prevented (Morton Deutsch 1949, 1973). According to Shettima and Tar (2008), positive outcome of conflict involve development of new institutions, rules, infrastructure and empowerment of disadvantaged sides.

Dal and Dal (2011) maintained a view that conflict over distribution of resources and inequality is one of the enduring aspect of human existence; which has been witnessed throughout the various historical times. While defining conflict as "a perceived divergence of interest, or a belief by involved parties that their aspirations will not be achieved“ Pruitt and Rubin (1986) argued that social conflicts have both costs and benefits; in which positive functions include nurturing social change, reconciling interests, and ultimately promotion of group unity. Conversely, conflict can also escalate and become destructive; particularly when contentious approaches are pursued.

Violent or armed conflict has been given considerable attention because of the potential for deaths, destruction of properties, physical facilities, environment and depletion of resources (Demmers 2012, Wimmer 2004, Gurr, et al, 2001, Holsti 1991). These authors have emphasized a view that usually conflicts become issues of concern once violence is adopted to enforce disputed views, goals, interests and/or course of actions. Accordingly, social conflicts have been categorized, on a graduated scale (or intensity) from existence of conflict, to violent conflict, armed conflict to a full pledged war; based largely on the number of casualties, magnitude of destruction and displacement of the population among others (Marshall and Gurr, 2001, Marshall and Cole 2008, 2014, Demmers 2012,
Wimmer 2004, Gurr, et al., 2001, Holsti 1991). According to Sarkees, et al., (2003) internal conflicts are those hostilities between or among two or more groups within the internationally recognized territory of the state; and include civil wars (involving the state government and anon-state actor) and inter-communal conflicts (involving two or more groups, none of which is the state government).

2.3 Measures and Indicators of Conflicts

In view of the attention that has been given to violent conflicts, equal attention has also been given to the way to establish the magnitude, intensity and/or severity particularly in terms of the deaths, destruction of environment and depletion of resources. Among the measures of violent conflict that have been adopted by various authorities and studies include 1) murder (or homicide) rate per 10,000 (or 100,000) has typically been used as a proxy to assess levels of violent crime or even overall crime; 2) battle or invasion deaths (determined by 25 annual deaths on the lower threshold and 1,000 annual death on a higher threshold; 3) indirect deaths largely by lack of access to food, health services and/or destruction of property or environment which have been reported to account for up-to 90 per cent of the conflicts related deaths (Gleditch, et al., 2005, Mack 2005, Marshall and Gurr 2001 and Milton Leitenberg 1982, 2003); 4) displacements and refugees, 5) destruction of property, physical facilities and environment, and 6) the cost of conflicts.
Further, Marshall (2002) established an index (equivalent to Richter scale for the Earthquakes) to gauge the magnitude, severity and destruction of the global internal conflicts which consisted of 1) loss of human resource; direct and indirect deaths 2) population displacement- including forcibly and internally displaced persons and related costs, 3) destruction of individual and household networks –including personal relations, 4) environmental destruction –direct and indirect destruction of the local ecosystems, degradation, pollution and toxic substances, 5) damage of infrastructure and diversion of resources, and 6) depletion of resources necessary to support livelihood and erode access to basic needs.

The index and related severity levels by Marshall was subsequently used to re-assessed conflicts from 1945 to 1999 and led to the observation that the episodes of the internal conflicts accelerated from 1950s and reached the peak by the early 1990s. The re-assessment study also indicated by 1950, 10 per cent of the states were witnessing internal conflicts, by 1970 20 per cent of the states were witnessing internal conflicts and by 1991 33 per cent of the states had internal conflicts (Gurr, et al., 2001). Part of the increases were witnessed in large and heterogeneous states that included Burma, India and Indonesia.

Part of these indicators have been used in the recent past by various authorities and studies to either monitor or to examine the trends of the conflicts worldwide (World Bank Group 2017, UNHCR Reports 2016, 2015 and 2014, and the Global Peace Index GPI 2015). According to the Global Peace Index (GPI 2015) conflicts increased globally by
an average of 2.4 per cent between 2008 and 2015; and in which out of 162 countries, 86 (53 per cent) witnessed increased conflicts. The Global Peace Index Report indicated also that although both external and internal conflicts tended to have increased in various parts of the world, the internal conflicts increased steadily from 2010 by an average of 4 per cent to 2015. Further, the World Bank Group (2017) reported that by 2016; 65 over million people were displaced, out of which 21 were refugees; driven from their habitat by increase in conflict and violence.

Similar observations were made in the UNHCR Reports (2014, 2015 and 2016) in which displaced people globally stood at 59.5 million in 2014, the highest since World War II, 65.3 million in 2015 and 65.6 million in 2016. While some were settled or returned to their normal habitat, the cumulative numbers have continued to increase with an average of 23 per cent being newly displaced, 33 per cent being refugees and 62 per cent being internally displaced persons (IDPs; largely because of violent conflicts and/or generalized violence. In 2016, conflict and violence in various countries led to 5.5 million newly displaced IDPs (UNHCR Report 2015 and 2016) of which more than 1.3 million people were in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, followed by South Sudan (865,000), Libya (630,000), Afghanistan (623,200), Iraq (598,000), and Yemen (467,100).

The other measure is the cost of conflict (or expenditure related to conflicts) and which various agencies have reported to have increased globally by 15.3 per cent, from US$12.4 trillion in 2008 to US$14.3 trillion in 2015; in which large proportions of the
costs were due to the increases in deaths from internal conflict, increases in the support for the IDPs and refugee, and losses in gross domestic product (GDP) (Global Peace Index, GPI 2015).

### 2.4 Trends in Global Conflicts

A number of studies have examined trends on global conflicts, changes in the nature of conflicts and prediction of the conflicts in future. More precisely, Holsti (1991) traced the nature, intensity and the scope of social conflicts from 1648 to 1989; and Small and Singer (1982) traced similar trends from 1816 to 1980. These studies reported notable changes in the nature of violent-armed conflicts from World War I, to World War II, through Cold War that ended mid-1900s to the contemporary episodes. However, a number of studies have maintained a view that more fundamental changes were witnessed in the nature of violent conflicts from mid 1900s at the end of World War II, through to the cold war period that ended in 1900s, to the contemporary episodes (Marshall and Gurr 2001, Marshall and Cole 2008, 2014, Demmers 2012, Wimmer 2004, Gurr et. al., 2001, Rice 1988, Gray 1997, Brown 1996, Stedman 1996, and Sandole 1993).

These and other studies observed also that internal conflicts, characterized by ethnic-resource conflicts, increased globally from 1945-1950s, reaching the peak by 1993-1994 which included those of Bosnia, Soviet Blocks, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan (Gleditch, et. al., 2005, Mack 2005, Marshall and Gurr, 2001). These studies also
maintained a view that, while research studies gave attention to interstate conflicts between 1945-1950s and 1990s, the occurrences of internal conflicts (or ethnic-resource conflicts) existed, were increasing at a much higher rate than the interstate hostilities, and led to cumulative battle death of 16.2 million as compared to 3.33 million interstate battle deaths (Fearon and Laitin, 2003). It is interesting to note that initial studies by 1980s noted but viewed the internal conflicts at that time as small scale hostilities, low intensity conflicts, wars of a third kind, new wars or even proxy hostilities on behalf of a larger agency (Hegre, 2012, Rice 1988, Small & Singer, 1982). With his publication, The Coming of Anarchy, Kaplan (1994) emphasized the way scarcity, crime; overpopulation, tribalism and disease were rapidly destroying the social fabric of the planet. Eventually, by 1900s to early 2000, attention shifted in research studies from emphasis on the interstate to internal violent conflicts; which by then were considered to entail greater security risks to the respective states, regions and the global peace (Wimmer 2004, Gray 1997, Holsti 1996, Brown 1996, Stedman 1996, Singer 1996, Kaplan 1994 and Sandole, 1993).

The report by the Hart-Rudman Commission (1999) predicted that interstate wars will occur over the next 20 years, but most of the violent hostilities will arise from the internal conflicts; within geo-social political territories or states. Consistent to this prediction, relatively recent studies have reported that ethnic conflicts within a state increased from 90 in 1990 to 140 in 1995 and remained around 100 by 2005. These new forms of internal violent conflicts have been on the increase particularly in the global south driven by ecological processes, competition for depleted resources and political power. It
included conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia, Ambon, Dayaks and Madurese in Borneo, and the ethnic conflicts in East Africa. The wave of conflicts in 1990s were largely predatory conflicts (invasion of resources) and tended to be more resistant and persistence than other forms of conflicts (Gurr 2007, Gleditch, et al., 2005, Mack 2005). These and other studies, identified a number of specific trends and projections, that included predictions that (1) the number of conflicts, particularly the internal conflicts and mostly in the developing countries, will be increasing; (2) the intensity of hostilities will be increasing; (3) the number of persons to be displaced by the conflicts will be increasing, (4) the number of casualties (deaths) during violent conflicts will be increasing and (5) the ratio of civilians to military personnel to be killed during the conflicts will be increasing (Demmers 2012, Wimmer 2004, Marshall 2002, Gurr 2002, Gurr, et al., 2001).

Further, recent reports have indicated resurgence or increased conflicts globally in the 2nd decade of 2000 (UN and World Bank 2017, FAO 2017, World Bank Group 2017, UNHCR Reports 2016, 2015 and GPI, 2015). The GPI (2015) indicated that conflicts increased globally between 2008 and 2015 by an average of 2.4 per cent; where out of 162 countries, 86 (53 per cent) witnessed increased conflicts. The report indicated further that although both internal and external conflicts were witnessed in various parts of the world, internal conflicts increased steadily from 2010 by an average of 4 per cent to 2014. The UN and World Bank (2017) indicated that a resurgence of violent conflicts around the world between 2005 and 2016; accompanied by large loss of lives, displacements, destruction of property and unsustainable mitigation costs. The UN and
World Bank report indicated also that violent conflict became more complex and protracted, involved more non-state groups, regional and international agents, typically linked to global challenges from climate change to transnational organized crime; and has been recognized increasingly as an obstacle to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030.

Similar observations were made by FAO (2017) and reported also that the number of conflicts increased globally; precipitated by a number of factors including climate-related shocks and competition for scarce resources among others. The FAO report maintained that conflicts have also been the key drivers of severe food crisis, re-emergence and increased famines; that remain more acute in areas with prolonged conflicts and weak institutional capacities.

The GPI (2015) reported that in 2014, five (5) out of nine global regions witnessed varied and increased forms of conflicts. While Europe in general witnessed low levels of conflicts (i.e. limited domestic and external conflicts), Middle East and North Africa (MENA) experienced the greatest occurrences of violence, in which some of the areas experienced sectarian strives and civil conflicts; followed by South America where a number of countries experienced popular protests and criminal activities (GPI 2015).

2.5 Conflicts and Trends in Africa

Between 1990 and 2015, the Africa region experienced a relatively high number of conflicts; in the range of 630 episodes; state and non-state armed conflicts (Morgan 1993,
Osaghae 1994, Kieh and Mukenge (2002, Marshall 2005, Bevan, 2007, Uppsala Conflict Data Program, UCDP 2016, Institute for Security Studies, ISS 2016). These sources indicate also that during the last two decades of the 1900s, 28 countries in the sub-Saharan African were engaged in violent conflicts; in which Rwanda recorded about 800,000 fatalities and Democratic Republic of Congo recorded cumulatively much larger fatalities. According to Kieh (2002), virtually every region of the continent has witnessed varied forms of the civil conflict epidemic. Other reports indicate that by the turn of the 21st century more people were being killed in conflicts in Africa than a combined number for the rest of the world.

Among the most notable conflicts included Oromo conflict in Ethiopia (1973) with estimated cumulative 8,900 fatalities; Somali civil wars (1991) with over cumulative 500,000 fatalities; Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria (1998) with estimated cumulative 17,156 fatalities; Maghreb insurgency covering a number of countries in West Africa (2002) with over cumulative 17, 458 fatalities; war in Darfur in Sudan (2003) with cumulative 300,000 fatalities; Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria (2009) with cumulative 51, 567 fatalities; and conflicts in the Central Africa Republic (2012) with over cumulative 7000 fatalities. While reduced incidences were witnessed in the first decade of 2000, the trend of violent conflicts increased with more severe impact from 2010; particularly in the sub-Saharan Africa. Between 2014 and 2016, notable conflicts were recorded in the following countries South Sudan with 50,000 fatalities, Nigeria with 11,360 fatalities, DR Congo with 1,700 fatalities and Ethiopia with 1,115 fatalities.
Various reports indicated that Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) have been part of the key instruments in those hostilities, invasions and/or raids (Ayuba and Okafor 2015, Laurence and Stohl 2012, Bevan, 2007, Amoa 2006, Salopek 2001, and Laurance 1998). Of the 550 million (Karp, 2007 and SAS, 2001) that were in circulation globally, 100 million small arms and light weapons were circulating in Africa; increasing the impact of the conflicts. By virtue of their easy availability, low cost and manageability, SALW have become the weapons of choice in most conflicts globally and particularly in Africa and have contributed to the intensity and severity of the armed conflicts. Although the presence or proliferation of SALW does not cause the conflicts, witnessed around the world, they do contribute to the level, intensity and severity of the episodes, and generally make it more difficult to resolve those conflicts. Part of severity includes the number and costs of deaths, injuries, destruction of property, destruction of the socio-economic facilities and destruction of the environmental resources. Amoa (2006) reported the role of SALW in the volatile region of Maghreb in West Africa that stretches from Mali, Libya, and the plague of Boko Haram in West Africa to South Sudan and the Central African Republic.

2.6 Pastoral Conflicts in Africa

While part of the episodes have arisen in Africa from issues related to decolonization, boundaries, inequalities and self-determination, considerable proportion of the conflicts have revolved around the livestock pastoral production (Morgan 1993, Osaghae 1994, Kieh and Mukenge 2002, Marshall 2005). Accordingly, these sources have emphasized
that livestock agriculture (production systems or agro-ecosystems) has remained the primary source of livelihood globally for over 20 million pastoral households, a source of income for about 250 million households; particularly in Asia, Africa and South America, and also an important investment asset and insurance for most of the rural pastoral households. Further, various reports have indicated that livestock sector use 1/3 of the total global land area and about 2/3 of the land surface under agriculture (Michele Nori, et al., 2015, Shettima and Tar 2008, FAO 2001, Haan, et al., 1997, Sere and Steinfeld, 1996, and FAO, 1994).

According to Shettima and Tar (2008) livestock as a primary means of livelihood for 12 million people in West Africa has been dominated by traditional systems of production, processing and marketing. In addition, 70 million people in the same region continue to depend on livestock related enterprises. The pastoralists in the West Africa operate in expansive geographical landscape between semi-arid north and rainy south during the dry season; in which part of the ecological gradients induces contacts between the crop farmers and the herders because of the potentials for both new pastures and expansion of the crops cultivation (Hussein 1998). Further, Hussein observed that one of the important characteristics of the semi-arid is the low level and unreliability of the rainfall; which influence the livelihood and related activities for the households and communities.

The same reports have categorized Livestock agriculture into three broad production systems; namely grazing, mixed farming and industrial systems. In this respect, the reports indicated that about 47 per cent of the global usable land surface, 60 per cent of
the global pasture and 66 per cent of the land in the Continent of Africa has continued to
be occupied by grazing systems. According to a FAO report (2001) these pastoral regions
provide 10 per cent of the global meat production, and support about 250 million pastoral
households and nearly a billion livestock. In addition, the same reports indicated that
while some level of sustainable equilibrium had been maintained in the past and in
various regions, such balance and harmony has been eroded by progressive increase of
the human and livestock populations, demand for livestock products, levels of poverty
and related vulnerabilities (Shettima and Tar 2008, FAO 2001, Haan et al., 1997,
particularly that the human population in the semi-arid countries of sub-Saharan Africa
(notably Botswana, Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Namibia, Niger, Senegal
and Zimbabwe) increased at a rate of 3.2 per cent in the last quarter of 1900s.

The reports indicated that the livestock production, particularly the grazing system is
generally distributed along arid, semi-arid, sub humid, humid, temperate and tropical
highlands ecological zones which have witnessed environmental degradation over a
period of time because of progressive increase of the human and livestock populations,
demand for livestock products, levels of poverty and related vulnerabilities. Further, FAO
(2001) reports that these zones have remained relatively marginalized environments
characterized by migratory herding of livestock and vulnerabilities related to droughts,
depleted resources and conflicts; and traditional raids have become more explosive
because of the influx of guns and other modern weaponry. Others have reported that
pastoralists have lost their traditional pastures, water and vital environmental resources
because of the environmental degradation, depletion of resources and contemporary socio-political administrative processes (Sidahmed, 1996 and Sidahmed, et al., 2008). In addition, a UNEP study (Oldeman, et al., 1991) estimated that crop-agriculture has caused 28 per cent of land degradation, overgrazing 35 per cent, and deforestation (or over-exploitation of forest resources) 37 per cent. Within Africa, overgrazing has been found to account for 49 per cent of the total degraded land area.

A number of authors contributed to a book Pastoralism and development (2013) that outlined processes of drought, conflict and famine and related adaptations that have been witnessed for centuries in pastoral areas; particularly in the Greater Horn of Africa that include Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Puntland, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (Michele Nori, et al., 2015, Andy Catley., et al, 2013). These and other authors emphasized the view that livestock will continue to be the social and economic foundation in the arid and semi-arid areas particularly in the Horn of Africa partly because of an envisaged livestock revolution; a projection that the demand for livestock products will drive changes in animal productions systems across the world, including African pastoral systems ((McPeak, Little, and Doss 2011, Delgado et al., 1999). However, the livestock revolution may result in a different, more capital-intensive pastoral system aimed at production for the market (rather than for subsistence).

One of the key features of the pastoral livelihood and production is mobility to secure seasonal pastures and access to water among other resources; a process that has been repeated traditionally through regular pathways, routes and routine practices.
Accordingly, mobility has been considered as the core of pastoral livelihood; and therefore changes (reduction) of these pathways, routes and routine practices have been associated with increased vulnerabilities and conflicts. Pastoral mobility involves use of distributed (spatial and temporal) resources by diverse livestock on a rotational basis along grazing gradients. While mobility has been associated with environmental variations, traditional herd mobility has been associated with different socio-economic status (Gufu Oba 2013, Turner 2011, Shettima and Tar 2008, and Basett and Turner 2007).

While other studies have reported similarities between pastoral livelihoods in West Africa and the Horn of Africa including East Africa, others have reported considerable differences. Various reports have indicated that the pastoralists in West Africa have not been limited to the arid and semi-arid areas; because a large number have expanded into the sub-humid and humid zones; and have been integrated into regional economies and agricultural systems for a considerable longer period of time (Sandford 2006, Raynaut 2001, Boutrais 1996, Ellis and Galvin 1994, Kerven 1992). Further, pastoral production in West Africa has been characterized by a wide diversity; ranging from highly-mobile extensive systems to more sedentary, capital-intensive systems (Moritz, et. al., 2009).

In addition, a number of studies have used Chad Basin around Lake Chad to examine the interaction of the human and livestock populations, environmental degradation, depletion of environmental resources and related conflicts (Sandford, 2006, Raynaut, 2001 and FAO, 2004). These studies reported that Lake Chad continues to shrink, driven by
processes that consist of dams, increased irrigations, reduced rainfall, depletion of environmental resources, increased conflicts and the rise of Boko Haram in the region. Indeed, some of the observers have maintained a view that the West Africa practices should be used as promising models in addressing pastoral livelihoods and related conflicts in the East Africa zones (Moritz et al., 2009).

In view of the above trends and observations, (Nori, et al., 2015, Catley, et al., (2013) observed that the principal mechanisms that have been used to address internal environmental resource conflicts has been education, animal health services, small arms control programmes and support for local dispute resolution processes among others. However, these authors maintained a view that such efforts have been limited and ad hoc; without grounding in the lessons learned from other pastoral regions; particularly to the urgent needs of affected communities.

2.7 Conflicts and their Effects in Pastoral Areas in Kenya

The episodes of conflicts in Kenya have been summarized by various authors and include secession attempts in North Eastern Kenya in 1960s and persistent pastoral conflicts in North Western Kenya; which has been characterized by hostilities between a number of neighbouring ethnic communities; notably Pokot and Karamojong, Pokot and Marakwet, Pokot and Tugens (Rohwerder 2015, Gibbons 2014, Oyugi 2003). According to Rohwerder contemporary high levels of conflicts have been precipitated by a number of factors that include among others i) boundaries, ii) competition over land, pasture, water
and other resources, iii) migration of herders in search of pasture and water, iv) political party zoning, v) underdevelopment, poverty, and inequalities and vi) proliferation of small arms among others. Other authors maintain a view that inter-communal conflicts are much higher in Kenya than elsewhere in Africa (Dowd & Raleigh, 2013). In a similar trend to those of most regions in Africa, while some hostilities have been associated with issues related to de-colonization, boundaries, inequalities and self-determination, the most persistent, frequent and intense conflicts have revolved around the livestock pastoral production.

Displacement in North Rift and pastoral areas was intrinsically linked to the loss of livestock, the primary basis of subsistence, and the loss of access to land, pasture and water, related resources and markets (IDMC, 2014). IDMC further emphasized that conflict, violence, cattle rustling and varied forms of human rights violations as principal processes driving loss of lives, livestock and displacement. Other processes include disasters such as floods, drought and environmental degradation; as well as state and private interventions. IDMC report concluded that each of these processes, have operated independently (in combination or sequence) to erode the social and economic wellbeing of the pastoral communities, loss of lives and displacements.

More specifically, invasions and related hostilities in the Kerio Valley, have had severe impact on the local communities, particularly at the household level that included loss of lives, property, displacements, disruption of the socio-economic wellbeing and livelihoods (IDMC, 2014, Barasa 2007, Mwaniki, 2007; Langat, 2004, Pkalya, et. al,
2003, Kamungi, 2001). These reports indicate also that conflicts have precipitated starvation, poverty and dependency. By 2003, a total of 164,457 people had been displaced by conflicts in North Rift districts; in which 70 per cent were women and children below 14 years. Further, available reports indicate that the notable re-occurrence of the conflict in 2016 had severe consequences in which over 70 people were killed and over 1000 people were displaced in a period of one month.

2.8 Gaps in the Literature Reviewed

It was noted that large part of the literature, particularly in the Kerio Valley Basin, has concentrated on the historical aspects and the causes of the conflicts. Limited attention has been given to the effects particularly in relation to the displacements, interruption of the household relation, labour and productivity, destruction of the resources, properties and facilities that support livelihood, social and economic wellbeing.

2.9 Theoretical Perspectives

Three theoretical perspectives have been applied to the analysis of conflicts; particularly pastoral conflicts. A discussion on each one of them and their application in this study is done below:-

*Socio-economic inequalities perspective* (also known as exclusion and marginalisation).

This is a perspective developed by Shettima and Tar (2008) drawing from the works of Hildyard (1999) and Lattimore (1940, 1962). The perspective posits that universally
conflict arises out of the inequalities between different segments of the populations – which is also true of Kerio Valley. Further, the perspective holds the view that by restricting populations that were historically mobile to a limited space, through fixed boundaries and territories, adopted social organization, results in inequalities and scarcities. These in turn subject semi and nomadic pastoralists to vulnerable livelihoods resulting in acute competition and this in turn increases the severity of conflicts. The key principle in this perspective is that equity in the management of resources would mediate adverse effects of natural or social scarcity – a principle which would be of interest in Kerio valley to ensure equity of access and control of resources and opportunities for enhancing livelihoods.

*Increased population and fixed boundaries perspective.* This is a perspective advanced by Hardin (1968, 1988) and also by Ostrom, et al., (1992). They argue that increase of human and livestock population within fixed boundaries puts pressure on resources and relationships – leading to conflicts. The fixed boundaries precipitate degradation and/or depletion of environmental resources which in turn precipitates conflicts. The perspective is informed by the reality that all a long fixed boundaries have long been a challenge to nomadic pastoralists who had maintained the sovereign importance of movement - to herd livestock in mobile ways that minimized vulnerabilities related to environmental degradation, depletion, scarcity and access to resources. This is the wisdom employed by communities in Kerio valley – yet it carries seeds of conflict and impairment of livelihoods – the nexus this study seeks to establish.
**Environmental degradation perspective** – This perspective was advanced by Homer-Dixon (1991, 1994, 1995, 1999) and Baechler, 1999). They hold that environmental disasters, including drought, lead to diminished resources, increased competition and subsequently conflicts. They argue that conflict between multiple resource users is an inevitable outcome of competition for scarce natural resources necessary to maintain security of the livelihood. Indeed Homer-Dixon (1994) maintains that environmental changes, population growth and unequal social distribution are the three principal causes of scarcity leading to vulnerability, insecurity and on to violent conflict. On the other hand, Baechler (1999) maintained that scarcity has always been a common and ever present condition of existence throughout human history and is an enduring fact of human life. For instance, drawing from this perspective, De Haan (1998) reported that conflicts increased between sedentary farmers, semi and nomadic pastoralist in Northern Benin because of the changes in the demographic and environmental conditions. It will also be noted that this perspective became prominent after the UN World Commission on Environment and Development declared in 1987 that environmental stress was a possible cause as well as a result of the conflict. This is true of Kerio valley where environmental stressors are adversely impacting on the agro-pastoralist way of life and thus possible adversely affecting the livelihoods of communities- an aspect this study seeks to establish.

These perspectives are in line with established literature from FAO (2001) and UNDP (1994). FAO (2001) maintained that the pastures and transit routes for pastoral livelihood, occupation and production have been decreasing largely because of expanded
cultivation, environmental changes, conservation areas, expanded population and related unemployment, fixed boundaries and related restrictions among others. The report concluded that this is a common feature in Africa where large parts are dominated by pastoral livelihood, occupation and production. On the other hand, UNDP (1994) Human Development Index Report on Human Security identified new security concerns to include environmental degradation; rising unemployment and deepening poverty increased cases of intra-state violence, armed conflicts and increasing civil wars, massive trade and transfer of illegal surplus arms, growth of religious fundamentalism and large scale refugee movements and migrations, among others. To a large extent these are the aspects this study sought to establish and their effects on livelihoods in Kerio valley.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

The study was guided by the conceptual framework summarised below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Intermediate Variables</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-demographic characteristics</td>
<td>Depletion and scarcity of resources</td>
<td>Effects:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic inequalities</td>
<td>Low human resource development</td>
<td>Fatalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in human population</td>
<td>Limited Capabilities</td>
<td>Displacements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Degradation</td>
<td>Conflicts</td>
<td>Disruption of households and livelihoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and illiteracy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Destruction of resources</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework
Conflicts have underlying causes which include depletion of resources and the accompanying pressure from increase of human population, increased livestock, expanded cultivation and deforestation. All these in a situation of inequalities result in completion for diminishing resources, including human resources and capability for optimal exploitation of livelihoods, the net effect of the ensuing conflicts include fatalities of human beings and livestock as well as displacements. Conflict also leads to disruption of lives and livelihoods and continued destruction of resources which would otherwise have been invested for development.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods that were used to carry out the study. It includes the research design, description of the area of study, population and sampling procedures, data collection methods and instruments, as well as, analysis of the data.

3.2 Research Design

In view of the nature of the conflicts in Kerio Valley, particularly diversity and distances, the preferred design for the study was descriptive cross-sectional survey - a design in which a set of questions, for a set of issues being examined, (usually imbedded in an instrument) are administered to a population (or a sample of the population) at a single point in time (Groves 2010, Alreck and Settle 2004, De Vaus 2002, and Kalton 1983). It is usually used to describe the rate (or frequency) of occurrences, prevailing conditions in a population, characteristics, and preferences or views on necessary policy options. The survey was augmented by interviews with key informants and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with a cross-section of community leaders. In contrast to the other designs cross-sectional survey can be considerably efficient (covering large area and population in the shortest time) and has potential for greater reliability, accuracy and capability for generalization.
3.3 Study Site

The Kerio Valley lies within the Great Rift Valley, along the slopes of the Kerio Escarpment, Cherangani, Embobut and Tugen Hills. The Valley stretches along Kerio River that flows northwards to Lake Turkana in the North and the major tributaries include Chesegon, Embobut, Embolot, Enou and Embomon rivers. The northern part of the Kerio Valley lies between the Cherangani- Embobut Hills and the Tugen Hills.

Plate 3.1 A View of Kerio valley

The Elgeyo Escarpment declines to about 1,830 meters to the floor in which Kerio River flows northwards; and provides three distinct topographic zones namely: the highlands,
the escarpment and the Kerio Valley. The Valley is inhabited by ethnic communities in a
triangle consisting of Pokot in the North, Marakwet to the South and Tugen in the South
East. The borders of the Elgeyo Marakwet, Pokot and Baringo counties converge and
constitute part of the ecological and administrative zones at the Valley. Some of the
notable administrative and trading centres that continue to witness conflicts include
Murkutwo, Chesongoch and Tot in Marakwet side; Cheton, Cheptulel and Lomut in
Pokot and Kolowa in Tiaty Baringo. Also Mosol and Sekerot in Chesegon division are
among the conflict prone locations. The communities in Kerio valley sustain their
livelihoods (social and economic wellbeing) through a range of agro-pastoral to nomadic-
pastoral culture, technology and resources in which livestock have intrinsic value.

About 41 per cent of the Elgeyo Marakwet County is either escarpment or low lands
stretching to Kerio Valley (Government of Elgeyo Marakwet GEM 2013) and 55 per cent
of the Pokot County is gradual low lands stretching to the triangle borders with Elgeyo
Marakwet and the Baringo Counties at the bottom of the Kerio Basin. The triangle
borders fall within an arid and semi-arid region, characterized by frequent drought,
recurrent food insecurity and poverty level standing at 69.7 per cent. Subsequently,
majority of the population have not been able to access the minimum basic nutritional
supplements (Government of Elgeyo Marakwet GEM, 2013, Government of West Pokot
GWP 2013). While the national poverty level stood at 46 per cent in 2013, using the
Human Development Index, the poverty levels stood at 57 per cent in Elgeyo Marakwet,
67 per cent in Pokot and 67 per cent in the Escarpment and the Kerio Valley
(Government of Elgeyo Marakwet, GEM 2013). It is therefore important to point that
Kerio valley was selected because it is region characterized by persistent conflict since 1920s due to, among other factors, increase in human population; environmental degradation, and competition for pasture and water resources. Yet so many efforts by different stakeholders to address the inter-ethnic conflict and cattle rustling in the area have not succeeded.

Figure 3.1: Map Showing Study Site
3.4 Site Sampling Study and Population

3.4.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in the study was the household, while the unit of observation was the head of the household. This was the person who was interviewed, provided responses, observations and experiences on behalf of the household.

3.4.2 Target Population

Target population was all households in the study locations. Study locations were identified purposively based on their being part of a historical, cyclical and severe rate of conflicts in Kerio valley. These included, Cheptulel location in Chesogon Division of Pokot County; Endo/Kaben location in Tot Division of Elgeyo Marakwet County; Kolowa location in Tiati Division in Baringo County and Kinyach location of Bartabwa division in Baringo County.

3.5 Sample Size Determination and Sampling Methods

This section outlines 1) the procedure used to determine the necessary sample size and 2) the method to be used to obtained identified sample size. This was necessary because of the number of the entire households in the four locations; i.e. large or infinite populations necessitate use of samples (or subsets of representative populations) to be used to estimate the particulars (characteristics) of the entire population. In this respect, the goal was to obtain representative samples; in which the sample research data correspond to the

3.5.1 Sample Size Determination
Kerio Valley basin has more than 10,000 households, thus the formula by Fisher et al., (1925) was used to determine required sample size at 95% confidence level. This yielded a sample size of 384 which was adjusted by 10% to address non-responses - hence resulting to an overall sample of 422 respondents (see formula below). However, based on preliminary assessment, the four identified locations had a total of 3170 households; that is, Cheptulel 783, Kaben/Endo 950, Kolowa 757, and Kinyach 680. These were used to arrive at sample population per site (see Table 3.1).

\[ n = \frac{Z^2 \times p (1-p)}{M^2} \]

- \(N\) = Sample Size for infinite population
- \(Z\) = value (e.g. 1.96 for 95per cent confidence level
- \(P\) = population proportion (expressed as decimal) (assumed to be 0.5 (50per cent); that assumes maximum heterogeneity in the population
- \(M\) = Margin of Error at 5per cent (0.05)

\[ n=1.96^2pq/d^2=3.842 \times (0.5/0.05)\times (0.05)=384.2 \]

3.5.2 Sampling of Households
So as to draw households for the study, a central point was randomly established in every one of the four locations as a starting point for systematic sampling (Kalton 1983, and
A sampling interval of every eighth (8\textsuperscript{th}) household was determined based on dividing the target population of 3170 with the desired sample size of 422. \( K = \frac{3170}{422} = 7.5 \ldots\text{rounded to 8} \). Subsequently systematic sampling was carried out and by picking every 8\textsuperscript{th} household until the target number was achieved in the four locations. Accordingly, the sub-samples were drawn from the four (4) locations as follows;

**Table 3.1: Sample of Households**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheptulel</td>
<td>Cheptulel</td>
<td>783</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot</td>
<td>Kaben/Endo</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolowa</td>
<td>Kolowa</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartabwa</td>
<td>Kinyach</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3170</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>422</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3.6 Data Collection Methods and Instruments**

**3.6.1 Interviews**

The sampled heads of households were interviewed with the use of the questionnaire (annex A) to obtain data on the characteristics of the households, occurrence of hostilities, the scope of the hostilities, and the effects of those hostilities and measures that would mitigate those hostilities. The interview guide had both open-ended and structured questions intended to generate data that would be subjected to statistical analysis.

**3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)**

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was carried out with a cross-section of twelve local leaders at Tot – with seven men one of whom represented the youth, another one
represented people living with disabilities and five women. Amongst the group were religious and business leaders, as well as, women group leaders (See Plate 3.2).

Plate 3.2: A Photo with Focus Group Discussants (Researcher May 2018)

The FGD guide with open ended questions was used to generate qualitative information that provided greater understanding of the hostilities, the nature of occurrence, key causal factors and institutional capacity to mitigate those hostilities. The FGD was used because of its advantages that include eliminating perceptions related to intrusion and/or threat to respondents (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

3.6.3 Key Informants

Further, interviews were carried-out with selected key informants using a key informant interview guide to solicit strategic qualitative information necessary to facilitate greater
understanding of the issues being examined. A total of six key informants, who included, a Sub County Commissioner, a religious leader (catholic priest), the Special County Commissioner in charge of security who is based in Tot, a chief and women groups chairlady, were interviewed and provided in-depth information on the types of conflicts, rate of occurrence and the key drivers, effects of conflicts on livelihoods and what different stakeholders are doing to address the challenge of conflict in Kerio valley.

3.6.4 Observation

Observable data was collected and recorded in the course of data collection. Photographs were also taken, subject to informed consent to depict some of the typical and significant events and outcomes of the conflict in study area.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data that was collected fell within two broad categories, namely, qualitative and quantitative. Accordingly, qualitative analysis was carried-out by examining typical occurrences of the social conflicts, incidences of the causes, typical experiences, and impact of such occurrences. The data was coded, categorised and thematically analysed and presented descriptively.

Household survey data from respondents were coded and the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to aid analysis. Data was summarised and presented descriptively using frequencies and tables.
3.8 Ethical Considerations

The study sought informed consent from the respondents. They were informed that they had a choice to willingly withdraw from the study before it was complete. The respondents in the study were also assured of the confidentiality of information and their safety during the study. They were also made aware that the purpose of the study was only for academic reasons thus the information obtained would not be applied or used for any other purposes. Approvals and permissions were obtained from Kenyatta University, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), as well as, the local administration. Ethical clearance was also obtained from Kenyatta University Ethical Review Committee. Data was stored electronically with no unauthorized access allowed.
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION
OF RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of data analysis. In order to address the various aspects of the study, the chapter consist of five sections, covering the various themes, namely, the characteristics of the households; the rate and scope of the conflicts; the effects of the conflicts on the livelihood of the households; and the mitigation measures put in place by various stakeholders.

4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The first objective of the study was to examine demographic characteristics of the communities in the Kerio Basin. It was envisaged that part of those characteristics may provide insight into the nature and the scope of the conflicts, as well as, the livelihoods aspects in Kerio Valley. The characteristics related to gender, age of the household, marital status, education levels and occupations were examined through a sample of 422 respondents and the results are summarized in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Demographic Characteristic of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Household Head</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Household Head</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-35</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-54</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-90</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed/Widower</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Wives</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education of Household Heads</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never attended</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of Head of household</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock herder</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal employment</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Business</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1 Gender of Head of Household

Out of the 422 respondents, 82 per cent were male and 18 per cent were female (Table 4.1). The large discrepancy was not surprising because the targets of the study were the head of the households. Second and more importantly, the households at the Kerio Valley were largely patriarchal and pastoralists; a system where male household heads are required to provide leadership in most of the issues. These results are also roughly similar to other studies on rural households and particularly the rate of 20 per cent for female-headed households in ASAL zones (FAO 2015). It is important to note that while it stands at 20 per cent in ASAL regions, the average female headed households stands at around 30 per cent in Africa (Ajewole, et al., 2015, FAO 2011, 2015). The proportion of female-headed households has surged significantly since the 1990s. However, the majority of those are de facto female headed households and arise because male heads migrate in search of other income-earning opportunities. The proportion of female-headed households varies from 12.9 per cent in Niger to 39.3 per cent in Namibia between 1998 and 2003. The female-headed households tend to be more heterogeneous. On an average, they tend to be small in size, have lower incomes and less likely to adopt technology.

4.2.2 Age of Household Head

While twenty four per cent (24 per cent) were between 18 and 35 years of age, the youth category, fifty one per cent (51 per cent) of the respondents were in the category between
36 and 54 years; the prime adulthood age (Table 4.1). This is a typical age distribution among the populations in the agro-pastoral nomad zones (Ofem and Inyang, 2014).

### 4.2.3 Marital Status of Household Heads

Most of the head of households (84.1 per cent) were married (Table 4.1). Although 13 per cent reported married with two wives, most of the respondents (53 per cent) were monogamous. This family practice can be considered a modern trend given the background of a long standing tradition of polygamy in the region.

### 4.2.4 Education Status of Heads of Households

The study established that 82 per cent of the respondents did not have substantive education – 64.7 per cent never attended formal education, and only 17.3 per cent attended primary education (Table 4.1). These results were indeed comparable to those of the earlier studies in Baringo East and Marakwet East (Cheserek, et al., 2012), those of the Njemps ethnic community of Baringo (Yazan 2012) and agro-pastoral nomads, particularly those in Yakurr Region of Cross River State in Nigeria (Ofem and Inyang, 2014). These authors reported that 70 per cent of the population in Yakurr Region had no formal education or had only primary education. Thus indicating education levels amongst pastoralists tend to be rather low. It is important to recognize these education levels as substantial shortcoming and a challenge in such regions and specifically in Kerio Valley. In view of various authorities, education is a process to develop acquisition of knowledge, skills and provision of lifelong learning. It is also a primary means of
social mobility, national cohesion and socio-economic development (Scott-Villiers et al., 2015).

4.2.5 Occupation of Heads of Households

Majority of the respondents were farmers (46 per cent), followed by the herders (23 per cent), formal employment (20 per cent) and the trade business (11 per cent). Accordingly, it can be concluded that the main sources of livelihood in Kerio Valley are basically farming and cattle herding. These results are in line with data captured in ASAL Policy (GOK 2017) where mixed farming is practiced in semi-arid and arid areas with crop farming, notably Sorghum and millet, cultivated for subsistence. Commercial horticulture has been introduced in some areas and appears to be promising. Livestock contributes 45 per cent of the Agricultural GDP and 10 per cent of the GDP of Kenya. It accounts for about 90 per cent of employment in ASAL regions, over 95 per cent of family income and with estimated 23.2 million animals contributes an annual average of Kshs. 10 Billion. Trade is mainly retail outlets in administrative centres. While women have tended to dominate retail outlets, men have dominated livestock business and other high value trade (GOK 2017).

4.3 Household Land Holding and Use

At the areas occupied by the Marakwet ethnic group, the land was owned by the clans and households are allocated portions to use with some discretion (Cheserek et al., 2012, Elfversson 2016). Indeed, the study established from the key informants that land at the
side of the Marakwet community in Kerio Valley was owned by the clans who regulated the use by the households. However, clans control the boundaries and in the event of disagreements amongst clans over borders, this can also result into a conflict. The informants and the Focus Group Discussants at Tot narrated a case of a conflict of two Marakwet clans over land and water, a conflict said to have extended and at some stage encouraged participation of the Pokot warriors. In Kinyach, Bartabwa Division in Baringo, the land was also owned by the clans. However, at the areas under Pokot jurisdiction, the land was either communal or freehold, with vulnerabilities related to the famous tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968). While freehold land ownership is largely in the highlands where land is arable, most of the communal lands are basically at the lowlands, stretching to Kerio Valley, and dominated by the pastoral nomads (Government of West Pokot GWP, 2013). It is instructive to note that by 2013, only 11 per cent of the farm households had title deeds. The County Government noted the need for land adjudication to enhance the land tenure system, to minimize related conflicts, to create incentive for improved land management and to improve farm production (Government of West Pokot, 2013).
Table 4.2: Household Land Holdings and Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Land Holding in Acres</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – 5</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal land</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Land Use</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herding</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 shows that a total sample of 114 did not respond to the land holding question probably because land ownership in this area is mainly communal. Accordingly over 80 per cent of the 308 respondents held land in the range between 0.5 to 6 acres and in which they had some discretion to use. Most of them (57 per cent) held land size between 0.5 and 2 acres, and a considerably smaller proportion held land sizes between 3 and 6 acres. Moreover, according to the Focus Group Discussants in this study, the system of the land ownership in the Valley has been largely responsible for the conflicts, particularly during the season of drought where livestock need to move wide and long distances for better pasture and water. It was argued that during such season, the Pokot communities will enforce such wide and long distances for better pasture for their livestock. In this process, they graze even beyond the borders of their community land hence leading to conflict. These results are consistent with observation that 67 per cent of the 3 billion rural people, globally, live on less than 2 hectares parcels of land, experience
limited production, incessant food insecurity, and most of all live in severe hardship and poverty (Yazan et al., 2012, ILO, 2015, & AGRA, 2017).

With regard to household land use, it is a fact that land tenure is an important factor in determining livelihoods, as well as, also addressing the issue of conflict in Kerio valley. In addition, it has been noted that land degradation has increased largely because of the climate change, overgrazing, deforestation and cultivation. As a result, communities migrate to find greener pastures for their stock which increases the chances to be raided (or stolen) and subsequent conflicts (KNCHR, 2015). As indicated in Table 4.2, most of the respondents (45 per cent) used land for farming, an equally considerable proportion (40 per cent) use land for herding of the livestock and about 15 per cent used the land for both farming and herding (agro pastoralism). Similar use have been reported among the Njemps ethnic community of Baringo (Yazan, et al., 2012); on crop-based and pastoralism farming systems under conflicting land use relations (Msuya, 2013), and in Yakurr Region of Cross River State in Nigeria (Ofem and Inyang, 2014).

4.4 The Scope and Causes of Conflicts

Objective number two of this study sought to examine the scope and causes of conflicts in the Kerio Valley, and particularly at the triangle borders of Marakwet, Pokot and Tugens ethnic communities. Studies show that conflicts deteriorated and became more intense in many agro-pastoral and pastoral areas, particularly in Africa from 1990s, where an upsurge of violence caused by conflict over increasingly scarce land and water
resources was witnessed. These were also exacerbated by the ready availability of automatic weapons (Behnke & Freudenberger, 2013). The County Government of Pokot addressed the conflicts as intra and inter community aggression revolving around access and control of natural resources particularly water and pasture (Government of West Pokot, 2013). It included conflicts arising from livestock raids, land and border disputes. The report indicate that during the dry spell interethnic conflicts increases among the communities in the highlands notably Chepareria, Lelan and Kapenguria and in the lowlands, particularly Kacheliba, Sigor and Cheptulel; which is one of the study areas.

Study participants reported that in Kerio Valley, there was what has come to be referred to as the Murkutwo massacre, near Chesongoch, in 2001 which epitomised the conflict between the Marakwet and the Pokot. It was reported that the episode started when a drought hit the Pokot grazing lands, and in response the Pokot herdsmen grazed their cattle on the Marakwet side of Kerio River. A series of minor raids and counter attacks by both sides followed. Subsequently, on the morning of 12 March 2001, hundreds of heavily armed raiders attacked Murkutwo location, leaving around 50 people killed, houses and property destroyed (Elfversson 2016, Macharia & Chesos, 2001). Focus Group Discussants reported that others were displaced and settled on the cliff edges of the Marakwet escarpment (see Plates 4.2 and 4.3 of remnants of destroyed houses and dwelling places on escarpment).
4.4.1 Frequency of Occurrence of Conflict

As part of establishing the scope of the conflicts in the Kerio Valley, this study sought to establish the frequency of conflicts experienced. Respondents were requested to indicate
the number of invasions (hostilities or conflicts) that they witnessed in the past one year, that is, in 2017. Key informants had indicated that the latest wave of conflicts in the Valley ran from 2015 to 2018; with 2017 as the peak of that wave. Of the entire sample of 422, 82 per cent (347) reported that they had experienced conflict in a range of 1 to 5 incidences during 2017 (see Table 4.3). Indeed, 58 per cent of the respondents reported to have experienced at least three (3) or two (2) invasions in their neighbourhood in 2017, while 31 per cent of the households experienced three (3) invasions, and 27 per cent of the households experienced two (2) invasions.
Table 4.3: Frequency, Causes and Severity of Hostilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Number of Hostilities in One Year (2017)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>09.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Main causes of hostilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle rustling</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killings and revenge</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary disputes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of pasture</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter community conflicts</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarcity of water</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most Severe Forms of Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle rustling</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killings and revenge</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition for pasture and water</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property destruction</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary dispute</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drought</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data from the respondents were collaborated by the Police Records at the Tot Division of the Elgeyo Marakwet County. Equally they were supported by the key informants and Focus Group Discussants, who also cited incidences of massacre in the last two decades around Tot Endo-Kaben locations. Nevertheless, what was apparent from the respondents, key informants and FGDs was that occurrence of invasions (hostilities) was regular and sometimes occur with severe intensity. They reported, it is not a question of if …but rather of when the next one will arise and at what level of destruction. Conflicts are just frequent.
4.4.2 Main Causes and Severity of Hostilities

Table 4.3 also reports on the main drivers of conflicts, which were indicated as cattle rustling (47 per cent), killings and revenge (19 per cent), inter-clan boundary disputes (14 per cent) competition for pasture and water (8 per cent). Asked to indicate the most severe form of conflict, respondents more or less consistently reported that cattle rustling was number one at (50.3 per cent), followed by killings and revenge at 18.7 per cent) and displacement at 10 per cent). Police Records at Tot Division, key informants and Focus Group Discussions also indicated cattle rustling as the key process that encompassed and drove conflict. These observations were consistent with previous observations that emphasized livestock rustling and intense competition for limited water and pasture as the major and immediate causes of the conflict; particularly during drought periods (Barasa, 2007, Cheserek et. al., 2012, Behnke and Freudenberger, 2013, and Elfversson, 2016). These observers provided incidences where livestock rustling and competition for pasture/water resulted into violent confrontation between Marakwet and the Pokot communities as strived to control increasingly scarce resources for their own use. These authors also cited other factors that included proliferation of illicit firearms, increased levels of drought-induced poverty, and diminishing role of traditional governance. Further, other informants made reference to climate change, particularly changes in the regularity of the droughts that have increased in occurrence and intensity; precipitating pressure on pasture and water, and attendant regularity and intensity of the conflicts. Indeed, available data indicate that changes on the droughts cycles in Kenya have
reduced from 10 years in 1960 to 5 years in 1980s to the present 2 years (Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), 2001).

It is interesting to note that killings and related revenge ranked second as part of the factors associated with and driving conflicts. This observation was also cited by the key informants and the Focus Group Discussants, and emphasized that killings occurred during cattle raids which in turn spur revenge missions. This causes a spiral that continues to trigger conflicts as it also sows seeds for future attacks. Such spiral sequence is not limited to Kenya. Ali (2018) reports that the same is true in Nigeria where he stated that in July 6th 2018, 200 people were killed in central Plateau state after three days of violence, adding to hundreds of lives lost this year (2018) alone. This is indicative of the grave danger inter-ethnic conflict poses to life and livelihoods.

The third main driver of conflict that was reported was disputes over boundaries. It is worth noting that land in this area is largely community owned. However, in as much as there is a clear sense of traditional boundaries there always arises contestation with regard to where the boundaries should be and particularly when pasture and water become scarce. That was why scarcity of water and pasture was also cited as a cause of conflicts. This is in line with most cases elsewhere involving conflict between farmers and herders. For instance, Mikailu (2018) reports that the Fulani herders can travel hundreds of miles in large numbers with their cattle in search of pasture... often armed with weapons to protect their livestock…and frequently clash with farmers who consistently accuse them of damaging their crops and failing to control their animals.
4.5 Effects of Conflict on Livelihoods

The third objective of this study was to examine effect of conflicts on livelihoods of households in Kerio Valley, particularly at the triangle borders of Marakwet, Pokot and Tugens ethnic communities. The study established that conflicts had effects beyond just livelihoods. These results are presented in the sub-sections outlined below.

4.5.1 General Effects of the Conflicts

Respondents were asked to indicate both the general effects of the conflicts and the key effects. As reported in Table 4.4, the immediate effects of conflicts included displacement (32.4 per cent), loss of lives (23.5 per cent), loss of livestock (16.6 per cent) and loss of property (11.8 per cent).

Table 4.4: Effects of Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate Effects of Hostilities</th>
<th>Frequencies</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of lives</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of property</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closure of trading centres and markets</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close of schools</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Focus group discussants were also of the view that the cattle rustlers have guns and do not fear…yet they also cause fear amongst the communities. One male member of the FGD asserted, the one with the gun feels big …gig as god…they even resist arrest- and
they go on to threaten others. The net results of this was said to create an atmosphere where communities could not go on with their lives freely.

These results are consistent with previous reports that indicated substantial loss of lives property and destruction of infrastructure in the conflicts between the Marakwet and the Pokot (Kipkorir and Welbourn, 2008). It is also estimated that during these conflicts about 1200 lives were lost, 32,000 people displaced and 300,000 livestock stolen between 1999-2009 (KHRC 2001, Cheserek, et al., 2012). Indeed, previous studies have linked conflicts to increased insecurity, loss of lives, injuries, trauma and displacement, destruction of property, illiteracy, and under-development (Barasa 2007, Cheserek, et al., 2012, Schillng, et al., 2012, Behnke and Freudenberger, 2013, Elfversson, 2016). Schools have also been closed as a result of conflicts. For instance, The Star Newspaper in February 2018 reported that about 10,000 students had been forced out of schools by conflicts. It thus is instructive to note that all these conflicts have widespread and adverse effect on the lives and livelihoods of communities in Kerio valley. Key informants and focus group discussants also concurred with the results as reported by the respondents.

4.5.2 Effects of Conflicts on Livelihoods

Cross ethnic conflicts were reported to have adversely effects on the livelihoods of the households in Kerio valley.
Table 4.5 Types of Livelihood Destroyed by Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Livelihood Destroyed by Conflicts</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Livestock stolen</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farms destroyed</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markets closed</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools closed and education disrupted</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bee hives stolen</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased poverty in household</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business premises destroyed/closed</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents reported various sources of livelihoods were destroyed (Table 4.5). The destructions reported included livestock stolen (45 per cent), farms destroyed (16 per cent), and markets closed – so no businesses running (12 per cent). The conflicts went as far as also having schools closed (11 per cent). Bee hives were stolen (9.2 per cent). The destruction was such that even some respondents saw conflicts as increasing poverty in households (4.7 per cent). Even animals were not spared. A key informant reported, *even some livestock were shot at - killed or maimed*. See in the Plate 4.3 – a sheep whose front leg was shot off.
More graphic perspectives were painted by other key informants with regard to the effect loss of livestock has on the community life. A senior provincial administrator who was a key informant observed that – *loss of animals equals a key loss to the economy – as it is loss of means of livelihood, it is loss of incomes, loss of food.* He added, *loss of cows is seen as loss of everything. Loss of animals – it is like one has lost life!* He cited the case of Singor area where the community relies on cattle one hundred per cent – and he stated that loss of cattle to cattle rustlers brings life to a standstill for the community.

The net result of these effects was that conflict by destroying livelihoods, planted seeds for further conflict as this coupled with the bitter hatred it brought in the relationships, it
jeopardised any hope of peaceful coexistence. Virtually all key informants were of the view that conflict resulted into poverty – which poverty pushed communities into conflict out of destitution. FGD discussants in Tot stated, after people experience loss of livelihoods ...they are so bitter and always plan to revenge one day...the young men usually see it as their duty to prepare and avenge for their community. As indicated elsewhere in this thesis, that was why revenge was an important cause, as well as, a source of conflict.

Livelihoods were also adversely affected when conflict reported to displacements. Key informant and Focus Group Discussants were unanimous that displacements were a reality during conflicts. FGD participants in Tot held that, when attackers come or there is word about an impending attack – people together with their animals run away from their home until the situation is resolved – during which time pursuit of everyday livelihood is hampered – people cannot herd peacefully or even go to their farms – markets are also closed so people cannot raise any money from their animals or even agricultural produce. The same focus group discussants also observed that the authority of men had also been diluted by conflicts – they said - economic power of men has been eroded as they cannot totally focus and engage in economic ventures.

Various authorities report that members of the households and communities in lowlands, including Kerio Valley, are compelled regularly during the conflicts and related droughts to move to the highlands claiming ownership of the arable land triggering conflicts - a spiral effects driven by the loss of livelihood sources and the search of alternative sources (Government of Elgeyo Marakwet, 2013; Government of West Pokot, 2013).
Moreover, key informants and the focused group discussants also narrated the process of displacement that involved a number of interrelated processes. Conflicts in the Valley are usually directed at livestock rustling with collateral damages that include destruction of dwellings, threat to or actual loss of lives, repeated social and economic losses. All of which precipitate displacement. Further, the displacement itself was reported to have direct effect on livelihood and social organization of the communities in the Valley. Several key informants also indicated, *displacement process involved members of the household seeking shelter and livelihood in other counties (Uasin Gishu/Trans-Nzoia), the highland zones and the slopes of the escarpment.* They added, *a substantial number of the households have established semi-permanent residences at the slopes of the escarpment because of the conflicts.*

With regard to the overall loss, study participants did not readily have concrete data with regard to the extent and value of losses suffered because of conflict. However, their estimates indicated that conflict has negatively affected livelihoods and the figures are huge. A provincial administrator summed up the situation by indicating that – *in the past year over 100 people had been killed during cattle raids,* and he added that in as far as he could remember, *recently over 10,000 animals had been stole.* His observations were close to what had been reported by The Star newspaper on February 2018 that - *120 people have died and property worth Sh1 billion destroyed in a year; 300 houses were razed by bandits in revenge attacks; .Hundreds of families in parts of West Pokot, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet have been affected and more than 10,000 children forced*
to abandon school, as twenty schools have been shut down and more than 30 teachers want transfers, citing security threats.

From the foregoing, Kerio valley is in a dire situation where lives and livelihoods are at risk and continue to be degraded with every wave of cattle rustling. This ushers in a great sense of human insecurity – a life of fear.

4.5.3 Effects of Conflicts on Household Relations

Conflicts also adversely affected livelihoods by way of having negative effects on relationships within households as well as across the community. Respondents reported that conflicts at Kerio Valley affected relationships within the household, between neighbours and between communities. They were of the view that conflicts were an added stressor on top of diminished resources, deprivations and displacements, and they definitely reportedly led to stressed relations within the households.

Table 4.6 Effects of Conflicts on Relationships in the Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household relations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broken relationships- Misunderstanding and disagreement</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>66.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household stability affected due to displacement</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not affected</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce among intermarried communities</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased family disputes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation of family members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 4.6, majority of respondents (66.3 per cent) reported that conflicts resulted into broken household relationships, while 15 per cent of the respondents stated that conflicts resulted into reported instability in the household. All these had an adverse bearing on pursuit of livelihoods. Key informants, as well as, focus group discussants elaborated on the cause of misunderstandings. There was consensus that … the pressure from hostilities led to misunderstanding and even disagreements within the household as they had to rearrange their living arrangements, as well as, how they pursued their livelihoods. This was a significant observation in light of the fact that respondents reported that indeed there were cases of divorce (4.5 per cent) and especially in those households that had intermarried between the communities in conflict.

It is also important to point out that conflicts affected men and women differently. Focus group discussants clustered these effects as below:-

a. *Effects on men* – a) Many men have been killed as they are in the frontline in the defense of their community and their families; b) The health of men has deteriorated because during episodes of conflict, they spend many days and nights in the bushes, sleeping out of their houses and do not eat most of the time; c) men are prone to injuries arising from running during confrontations and while defending their families or communities; d) Most men are traumatized as result of the constant danger they are exposed to as they sleep in the bushes on guard and are always on call to defend the
community and their families; e) Economic power of men has been eroded as they cannot totally focus and engage in economic ventures.

*Effects on women* – a) Widowhood - Some women have been rendered widows because their husbands have been killed during violent confrontations in the conflicts; b) Women’s health has been affected as they spend most of the time in the bushes during conflict. Some fall ill, for example, some have contracted pneumonia and malaria as they spend the nights in the cold; c) Women are also traumatized as they live in fear all the time, hence cannot effectively perform their normal daily activities; d) Injuries - women have been injured during escape from enemy strikes in the community as they run in rocky and steep areas in the hanging valley and across rivers and bushes; e) Marriages have suffered and some broken as men spend most of their time in the bushes and/or relocated far away as a result of conflict. This is especially common among young couples who may separate and live far from each other.

*Effects on children* – a) Dropping out of school – children have dropped out of school because of lack of parental care, displacement from their homes, long closure of schools during conflicts; b) Injuries – some children get injured during violent conflicts as they run away for safety; c) Lack of food – during conflicts children do not get adequate food; d) Poor relationships among themselves – because inter-clan as well as cross border conflict, tensions normally occurs pitting also children against each
other and thus these conflicts have led children to hate other communities or clans at a very young age.

*Effects on people living with disabilities* – FGD participants indicated that people living with disabilities were even affected more by conflicts as they could not run away – they even reported – *there was even a case of a disabled student who had been shot at when his clutches were mistaken for a gun.*

What could be deduced is that all these effects had adverse effects on relationships within the households and ultimately they negatively affected pursuit of livelihoods due to the associated stress.

### 4.5.4 Effects of Conflicts on Relationships Between Neighbours and Communities

Conflicts also affected relationships with neighbours (Table 4.7). More specifically, fifty one per cent (51 per cent) of the respondents indicated that neighbours had been displaced; creating physical distance with them and reduced interaction. Still over one fifth (22.3 per cent) indicated that tensions and mistrusts arising from the conflicts had also been associated with poor relations among neighbours. All these affected the extent to which neighbours supported each other including in pursuit of livelihood activities such as buying and selling farm produce and products from each other. Sharing of any useful community development matters was also impaired. This ultimately affected productivity of the neighbourhood.
Table 4.7: Effects of Conflicts on Relationships between neighbours and Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationships with Neighbours</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arose enmity</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased competition for resources</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor relations</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours have been displaced</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinal relationship</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High dependency</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship Between Communities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No interaction between the communities</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited movement</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped trading relations</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great hatred between the communities</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Led to increased hostility</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further, as indicated in Table 4.7, respondents reported that conflict adversely affected relationships between communities. Of significance, adverse effects including experience of increased hatred between communities (43 per cent), severing of trading relations and lack of interaction between communities (13.5 per cent) were reported. Key informants and Focussed Group Discussions pointed out trading centres including Tot that have operated below half capacity because of conflicts. There was consensus that deteriorated relations between neighbour and the communities affected livelihoods as they reduced the scope of viable socio-economic activities. Focus group discussants in Tot reported that, *during conflicts there is basically no movement ...even markets remain closed so people cannot sell or buy anything*.

These findings were consistent with reports on herders-farmers conflicts in Nigeria that relationships between communities have been adversely affected by the conflicts (Ali,
The deteriorated relations also affected access to livelihoods as normal livelihood activities were brought to a halt and or were at least slowed down during and after the conflicts.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that conflicts adversely affect relationships both within the households as well as across households. To a large extent therefore conflicts have the potential to break the life of the community. What could also be implied from the findings is that with hostilities threatening lives and livelihoods, there is always the regressing of individuals and households to the mode of self-preservation, which threatened relationships and by extension the sense of community.

4.6 Interventions to Eradicate Conflicts in Kerio Valley

Objective four of the study was about establishing the sustainable intervention which could be put in place to address the perennial challenge of conflict in Kerio valley. Respondents reported that a number of measures have been carried-out in the last three (3) years with a view to mitigating as well as eradicating conflicts in the Kerio Valley. As indicated in Table 4.8, the main interventions mentioned by respondents included holding peace meetings (47.5 per cent) and the fact that the government had increased the number of the national police reservists (35.4 per cent).
Table 4.8: Interventions to Eradicate Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interventions to Eradicate Conflicts</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holding peace meetings</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased number of National Police Reserves</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Call for mediation talks</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduced farming activities</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building more police stations</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of relief food</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nyumba Kuni</em> Initiative</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As asked to indicate the interventions undertaken by the various stakeholders, participants in the study (respondents, key informants and focus group discussants) mentioned a broad cross-section of interventions and actions taken by various agencies and institutions. The interventions by these stakeholders are summarized in Table 4.9 and reflect considerable overlap.
**Table 4.9 Interventions by Various Stakeholders to Address the Challenge of Conflict**

| **Government**                     | - Recruit more National Police Reserves (NPR)  
|                                  | - Organized peace meetings  
|                                  | - Organized peaceful boarder meetings  
|                                  | - Organized public barazas with locals  
|                                  | - Organise peace tournaments between conflicting communities  
|                                  | - Initiated projects that will create job opportunities  
|                                  | - Posted a Special Commissioner in charge of Security  
| **Political leaders**             | - Preached about the importance of peace  
|                                  | - Arranged for prayer meetings  
|                                  | - Introduced IGA projects  
|                                  | - Built joint churches  
|                                  | - Engaged both communities in peace building  
|                                  | - Coordinating peace forums  
|                                  | - Visited affected areas and talked of peace  
| **Religious leaders**             | - Donated food, blankets and tents to the IDPs  
|                                  | - Constructed boreholes and water kiosks  
|                                  | - Advocated for peace in the area  
|                                  | - Called for law and order  
|                                  | - Engaged communities in income generating activities (IGA) projects  
| **Civil Society Organisations**   | - Holding peace meetings  
|                                  | - Called for border meetings with the other communities  
|                                  | - Held peace meetings with the youth  
|                                  | - Initiated irrigation schemes to diversify livelihoods  
|                                  | - Formed peace committees  

There was consensus that the most commonly adopted intervention by all stakeholders was holding of peace meetings to address the root causes of conflict. Key informants and focus group discussants narrated a story that after Murkutwo Massacre in 2001 elders from both sides took initiative to reconcile the two warring communities. The initiatives involved campaigning for peace within their respective communities and building support for a dialogue process supported by the church before a meeting of the elders of the two communities. This particular peace process came to be considered more effective than those initiated by the government.
Respondents and key informants pointed out also some other more innovative interventions that had also been put in place and had greatly reduced incidences of conflict. These included

*Posting of a Special County Commissioner – in charge of security* - In response to the incessant conflict in the region, on February 2018 the Cabinet Secretary (Interior) posted a special County Commissioner who is directly answerable to him to coordinate security along the valley of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet and West Pokot counties. Focus group discussants welcomed the posting of a special administrator – based at Tot - and added that – *he had been able to act as a coordinator between the various security agencies and thus mobilised response to attacks and conflict much more swiftly.*

*Plate 4.4 Special County Commissioner Addressing a Meeting (Courtesy of Mr. Chacha)*
In a key informant interview with the Special County Commissioner, he indicated that – *I have been given mandate to operate across the borders and thus reduce the bureaucracy in mobilising response.* He added that security had improved significantly because of-

- reduced time of response to within 30 minutes of any report of conflict or attack
- opening up of security roads to enhance mobility of security officers
- reduced bureaucracy in mobilising security teams across county boundaries

**Holding of sports tournaments between communities**- sports tournaments have been introduced bringing together communities which otherwise do no easily interact. The tournaments are meant for enhancing bonding and interaction between communities.

**Diversification of livelihoods** – since cattle are the main source of conflict, efforts have been made to diversify sources of livelihoods through promotion of irrigated agriculture along Kerio river, introduction of fruit farming, as well as promoting income generation activities (see Plate 4.5).

*Plate4.5 Mangoes Grown as Diversification Measure(Researcher May 2019)*
Similar studies have come up with suggestions in the same direction. Seide (2017) writing about the Nuer of Ethiopia recommends that the Nuer should not hold on to their traditions at any cost….with climate change, land leasing and population pressure looming, it is in the Nuer’s best interests to diversify their livelihood strategies, for example, by expanding their partial farming practices and engaging in the exchange economy. Best practices have also been drawn from the pastoralist communities in the Somali region in eastern Ethiopia where many of the Somali herders engage in petty trading and run business activities on the side.

Setting up of peace committees – Peace committees have been started in the area and charged with working towards ensuring peaceful coexistence amongst the communities.
4.7 Suggestions for Improved Livelihoods

Respondents indicated a number of measures that they consider necessary to reduce conflicts and to improve livelihoods in the Valley (Table 4.10). Among the key measures included building dams to support irrigation (30 per cent), educating people for better farming (21 per cent) and creating employment for the youth (18 per cent).

Table 4.10 Suggestions to Improve the Livelihoods of Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion on Improving Livelihoods of Households</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building dams to conserve water for irrigation</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educate people for better farming</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Create employment for youth</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Build more schools to encourage education</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve infrastructure and social amenities</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demarcation of land</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What could be deduced from Table 4.10 and the supporting arguments by other study participants is the increasing awareness that agriculture and irrigation had potential to reduce conflicts and to improve livelihoods in the Valley. For instance, key informants and focus group discussants emphasized initiatives that include encouraging people to engage in crop farming, building mango processing factories, zero grazing and exploring the potential of mining industries.

In a nutshell, study participants were of the view that the most viable way of enhancing livelihoods was improvement of agricultural practices. Key informants and focus group discussants held the view that - *given the reduced space for pastoralism and the attendant conflicts focus should shift to agriculture which is seen to even paying better.* Hence
their suggestions about irrigated agriculture and setting up of fruit processing plants, among others. With diversification of sources of livelihood it was argued by the study participants that youth would be able to get employment.

On the other hand, respondents reported that communities needed to be educated for better living. One of the issues which was also raised by key informants and focus group discussants was the need to look for alternatives to paying dowry. Realising that conflict arises out of the need to raid to raise cattle for dowry, the study participants were of the view that payment of dowry by way of cattle should be revisited. The suggestions included – paying using goats, or even money (FGD discussants at Tot). Such a move was seen as reducing the value placed on cows as a medium of exchange in marriages and thus remove the pressure for communities to organise raids for purposes of raising cattle for payment of dowry. Equally on education – there is also emerging resolution to enhance education of children. Kibor (2018) on a feature article on conflict in Kerio Valley that was carried by The Standard Newspaper he quotes a former lead rustler who said there was no benefit in fighting, only death and destruction. He stated, to end banditry and cattle rustling, the next generation has to get education and be socialised into the changing world. We have resolved to take our children to school to ensure they do not follow what we used to do.

Lastly, study participants indicated that there was need for development of supportive infrastructure for purposes of enhancing livelihoods. Hence suggestions about enhanced markets and roads for ease of movement of goods and services to boost the local social
exchange economy. It is important to point out that as a result of these interventions, Key informants and Focus group discussants reported that some positive outcomes were already being achieved. These included that, opening up of markets in both Kolowa and Tot. As a result, more Marakwet people have started using the markets in Kolowa, Chesegon, Sangach, Lomut and Tot. There was enhanced freedom of movement of people and goods across the borders of Marakwet and Pokot. In fact some normalcy has been witnessed in many urban centres that had been deserted during the conflict. Indeed most households have returned to their farms and are producing food crops as observed during field work. Grazing of animals along the Kerio River has resumed though with a lot of precautions among the community members, while studies have resumed in many learning institutions as the schools have been re-opened as a result of the prevailing peace. More so, as observed during the survey, suspicion among warring communities and clans has reduced significantly with the peaceful atmosphere currently experienced in the region.
CHAPTER FIVE - SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of study results, as well as the conclusions and the recommendations of the study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study sought to address four objectives, namely, to establish the characteristics of the households; to establish the scope of conflicts and related hostilities; to establish the effects of the conflicts on the livelihood of the households, and to identify sustainable interventions to mitigate the conflicts. Based on the study objectives the study established the following:

Foremost, the study established that the typical characteristics of respondents were that the majority were male, married, middle aged and practicing mainly pastoralism and farming.

Second, with regard to the second objective on establishing the scope of hostilities, the study found that in Kerio valley, conflict assumes inter-clan and inter-ethnic dimensions. It was observed that communities in the Kerio valley region have had to live with fairly frequent conflict. The majority of the respondents reported that they had experienced conflict about three times in the past one year, (that is 2017). They also reported that conflict tended to reoccur every three years. Participants in the study reported that the
main causes of conflict included theft of cattle, access to and control of pasture and water.

Third, in pursuit of addressing objective three of this study which sought to establish how social conflicts impacted on livelihoods, the study established that social conflicts have negatively affected the lives and livelihoods of the studied communities in many ways. Participants in the study, reported that conflicts had led to among other things, loss of household income when livestock which is the main source of family income, is stolen by raiders. For instance, focus group discussants reported that because of conflict - economic power of men has been eroded as they cannot totally focus and engage in economic ventures. Conflicts had also led to loss of lives of family members or injuries; strained relationships among family members as they are forced to live far from each other; underdevelopment of the region as investors shy away from investing in projects that could have employed so many young people and local farmers; loss of marketing opportunities as during conflict crops and livestock cannot reach the market, and indeed there are cases markets are closed; as well as lowering of education achievement, as schools are frequently closed when conflict occurs and qualified teachers always seek transfer from the region hence compromising education standards. Closure of schools due to conflicts is an indication of disruption of lives and by extension livelihoods as life in the community comes to a standstill.

Finally, the study established that various stakeholders have undertaken interventions to mitigate the challenges of conflict, as well as lay foundation for addressing the drivers of
conflict in the community. Some of the interventions undertaken include, diversification of livelihoods through introducing irrigated agriculture and agro-processing; intensification of security interventions, by especially posting of a special County Commissioner in charge of security, setting up of peace committees, and opening up of what has come to be known as security roads so as to enhance response by security officers in the event of any conflicts.

5.3 Conclusions

In light of the foregoing findings, this study concludes that foremost, households in Kerio valley while largely engaged in pastoralism, they are also involved in other forms of livelihood including rain-fed agriculture in the slopes of the escarpment, as well as irrigated agriculture along the Kerio River basin, and trading.

Second, the study concludes that the communities in Kerio valley have been experiencing periodic conflict within and between themselves. The cycle of conflict has increasing to intervals of three years from the previous five years. The main driver of conflict is cattle rustling which leads to cycles of revenge killings. Attendant result of these cattle rustlings and killings are clan disputes and animosity – thus sowing seeds for further conflict. Competition for pasture and water compounds the problem.

Third, the study concludes that social conflict has adversely affected the households in Kerio region as their way of life and pursuit of livelihoods has been disrupted in times of conflicts. Households are not able to go to their farms or look after their livestock in
peace. Homes have been burnt and people displaced. Children’s learning has been interrupted and this has led to poor educational outcomes in the region. Lives have also been lost in times of conflicts.

Finally, the study concludes that some of the interventions put in place have lately reduced the incidences of conflict in the region. These include; a) establishment of peace committees; b) enhanced engagement with the security stakeholders (local leaders, government public administration officials and security agencies) and c) improvement of infrastructure and especially access roads have reduced response time in the event of incidents.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

a) Diversification of livelihoods – communities should be mobilized and engaged on the need to diversify livelihoods, especially from livestock keeping to uptake of high value crops through irrigated agriculture;

b) Institutionalization of peace committees in the community so as to have community based and controlled mechanisms of dealing with conflict situations as they arise.

c) Enhancing infrastructure development – existing roads should be improved while new access roads should be opened up so as to ease movement of
people and their produce as well as quicken the response time by security agencies in the event.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Research

The study recommends more research could be done on best practices of conflict resolution in pastoralist communities in Kenya. Further researcher could also be researched on the social dynamics of the militarisation as well as commercialisation of cattle rustling.
REFERENCES


Seide, W. M. (2017) *The Nuer Pastoralists: Between Large Scale Agriculture and Villagization: A Case Study Of The Lare District in the Gambella Region of Ethiopia*. The Nordic Africa Institute; Department Of Political Science at Lund University.


APPENDICES

APPENDIX - 1: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Background and purpose of the research

My name is William Chirchir, a student at Kenyatta University. I am undertaking research work as part of my studies and the information I gather from you will be used only for academic purposes. The title of this study is “Effects of Social Conflict on livelihoods of households in Kerio Valley Basin, Kenya”.

Participant Selection

You have been selected to participate in this study because you are a key stakeholder in this community with regard to ensuring security and development of livelihoods. It is my judgment therefore that your experiences will contribute much to our understanding of social conflict and livelihoods in this community.

Voluntary Participation

Please note that participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be forced to participate in the activities and you can withdraw at any point.

Procedures
You will be subjected to an interview which will consist of questions seeks your views. The process will take about 45 minutes. The interview will be recorded in a note book.

**Risks**

I will only ask you questions whose answers I will record. There are no foreseen risks or any events that will cause you harm in the process. If for any reason you feel uncomfortable in the course of the interview feel free to share with me or any member of the research team or contacts given below.

**Benefits**

There will be no direct benefits to you from participating in this research. However the results of this research will help improve security situation in the area. There will therefore be no payment in form for participation in the study.

**Confidentiality**

The information that you will provide to me will be kept confidential. I will also not identify you by name. This will help to ensure that I protect you by keeping your private information confidential.

**Contact**
If you have any questions, you may contact Dr. Henry Rono (0729163525), Dr. Daniel Muia (0721237458) or the Kenyatta University Ethical Review Committee Secretariat on kuerc.secretary@ku.ac.ke or via telephone (020-8710901).

If you agree to participate in this study append your signature below which will mean that you have read or you have been explained the above information regarding this study. You may ask for any clarifications.

Signed……………………………………..

Date………………………………………..
APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Effects of Conflicts on Livelihood of Households in Kerio Valley Basin

This is a study to identify effect of the conflicts on the households in Kerio Valley Basin. I wish to request for your time and accurate response to the questions below. Your name is not necessary-only the identity of the area-and information will be treated with necessary confidentiality. The goal is to establish sustainable interventions in addressing the persistent conflicts and to mitigate their impact.

1. Name ---------------------------------- Gender----------------------------------------Age-----------------

2. Location ........................................................................................................

3. Position of Key informant-------------------------------------------------------------

4. Generally explain the general status of development in Kerio valley

5. What are the main forms of livelihoods pursued by households in this area?

6. What is the status of social conflict in this area?

7. What has been the main cause of these conflicts?

8. Can you kindly describe how these conflicts have affected households?

9. What has been the main effect of the social conflicts on the livelihoods pursued by households in this area?

10. Which interventions have been carried-out in this area in the recent past to address the issue of social conflict?

11. In your assessment, how successful have these interventions been?
12. Suggest in the order of importance what you consider to be most effective and sustainable interventions that can be undertaken to address the challenge of social conflict in Kerio valley

13. Suggest the best options in enhancing the livelihoods of households in Kerio valley

14. Any other comments?

Thank you
APPENDIX III: HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW GUIDE

Effects of Conflicts on Livelihood of Households in Kerio Valley Basin

This is a study to identify effect of the conflicts on the households in Kerio Valley Basin. I wish to request for your time and accurate response to the questions below. Your name is not necessary-only the identity of the area-and information will be treated with necessary confidentiality. The goal is to establish sustainable interventions in addressing the persistent conflicts and to mitigate their impact.

1. Interview guide No -----------------------------------------------

2. Household No -------------------------------------------------

3. Location of the household --------------------------------------

4. Indicate the following key aspects of the Household Head

   Gender
     Male ---------------------------------
     Female --------------------------------

   Age of the household head --------------------------------------

   Marital status of the Household head
     Single --------------------------------
     Married --------------------------------
     Separated ---------------------------------
     Divorced --------------------------------

   Number of children -----------------------------------------------

5. Indicate education levels achieved by the following members of the Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No formal</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

95
6. Indicate key employment (occupation) for the following members of the Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment/Occupation</th>
<th>No real employment</th>
<th>Subsistence farming/herding</th>
<th>Commercial farming/herding</th>
<th>Formally employed</th>
<th>Formally employed and farming/herding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of the Household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Describe further the type of employment status

1) Subsistence or commercial farming/herding

2) Type of formally employed, farming or herding

8. Indicate the size of land owned (or occupied) by the household (in acres)

   Size of land owned/occupied -----------------------------------------------

   Main use of the land (farming or herding)----------------------------------
9. Estimate monthly income in KES for the following members of the household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Monthly Income (KES)</th>
<th>Key Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head of the Household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Indicate the number of cross-ethnic hostilities that the household has witnessed in the last

1) One year -------
2) Three years --------
3) Five years-----------

11. Describe the key types of those cross-ethnic hostilities that the household has witnessed

----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

12. Which cross ethnic hostility has been the most severe for the household and why

----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

13. Describe the key impact of those cross-ethnic hostilities to the household
14. Indicate the number of household members that have been affected by the cross-ethnic hostilities in any of the following ways

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1) Fatally wounded</th>
<th>2) Injured</th>
<th>3) Displaced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4) Other (specify)

15. Describe the types of livelihoods of the households that have been destroyed by the cross-ethnic hostilities

16. Name interventions that have been carried-out in the last three years to mitigate the conflicts

17. Name interventions that have been carried-out in the last three years to mitigate the impact of the conflicts on households; in order of importance
18. Suggest in the order of importance what you consider the most effective and sustainable interventions by government, local agencies and the individual households.
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT,
MR. WILLIAM CHRICHIRI CHEPKET
NAIROBIC has been permitted to conduct
research in Kericho, Elgeyo-Marakwet,
West Pokot Counties

on the topic: EFFECTS OF SOCIAL
CONFLICTS ON LIVELIHOOD OF THE
PEOPLE IN KERIO VALLEY BASIN,
KENYA

For the period ending:
20th March, 2019

Applicant's Signature

[Signature]

Republic of Kenya
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT
Serial No.A 17971

CONDITIONS: see back page

If you agree to participate in this study append your signature below which will mean that you have read or you have been explained the above information regarding this study. You may ask for any clarifications.

Signed: ____________________________

Date: 19.03.2018

100
APPENDIX V: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Fax: 871242/8714575
Email: kaerc.chairman@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

Our Ref: KUE/ERC/APPROVAL/VOL.1 (133)                         Date: 14th June, 2018

William K.C. Chirchir,
P.O Box 43844 – 00100,
Nairobi

Dear William,

APPLICATION NUMBER: PKU/819/1885 “EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS ON
LIVELIHOOD OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN KERIO VALLEY BASIN, KENYA”

1. IDENTIFICATION OF PROTOCOL
The application before the committee is with a research topic “Effects of Social Conflicts on
Livelihood of the Households in Kerio Valley Basin, Kenya” received on 21st February, 2018 and
discussed on 12th June, 2018

2. APPLICANT
William K.C. Chirchir

3. SITE
Kerio Valley Basin

4. DECISION
The committee has considered the research protocol in accordance with the Kenyatta University
Research Policy (section 7.2.1.3) and the Kenyatta University Ethics Review Committee
Guidelines and APPROVED that the research may proceed for a period of ONE year from
12th June, 2018.
5. **ADVICE/CONDITIONS**

   i. Progress reports are submitted to the KU-ERC every six months and a full report is submitted at the end of the study.
   
   ii. Serious and unexpected adverse events related to the conduct of the study are reported to this committee immediately they occur.
   
   iii. Notify the Kenyatta University Ethics Committee of any amendments to the protocol.
   
   iv. Submit an electronic copy of the protocol to KUERC.

When replying, kindly quote the application number above.
If you accept the decision reached and advice and conditions given please sign in the space provided below and return to KU-ERC a copy of the letter.

[Riwaq's signature]

DR. TITUS KAHIGA  
CHAIRMAN ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

I, William Church, accept the advice given and will fulfill the conditions therein.

Signature: WC Dated this day of 2nd June 2018.

cc.  DVC-Research Innovation and Outreach