JOINT DISARMAMENT PROGRAMS BETWEEN KENYA AND UGANDA AND CROSS-BORDER SECURITY OF NOMADIC PASTORALIST'S COMMUNITIES LIVING ALONG THE TURKWEL RIVER BELT

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my family, my wife Netty Murkomen, my children; Joy, Angelo and Emmanuel for their moral support, sacrifice, and the pleasure to allow me to study.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ADOL	Action for Development of Local Communities
ASTU	Anti-Stock Theft Unit
AU	African Union
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
TIDDP	Turkwel Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PCDP	Pastoralist Community Development Programme
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defense Forces
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
WISP	World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Common Border: This is a shared boundary between two or more countries or communities in this instance the Turkwel Belt along Kenya-Uganda border.

Cross-border: Involving movement or activity across a common frontier that separates two or more communities or countries.

Disarmament: This can be defined as the reduction or withdrawal of military forces and weapons from certain or among people, in this case in the Turkwel Belt.

Intercommunal: This is the term used to describe the co-existence and interaction of two or more communities living along the same region or shared boundary.

Insecurity: This is the state of being exposed to danger or threat or risk; often associated with lack of protection or growing insecurity, and in this case along the Turkwel Belt.

Joint Cross-border Disarmament Programs: It is a multi-agency program from across Kenya and Uganda aimed at withdrawing weapons and militants groups among the people across the Turkwel River Belt.

Cross border Security; it is the protection of the borderlines against illegal activities and movement of weapons that promote insecurity among bordering communities.

Pastoralism is a form of animal husbandry that includes the herding, of large flocks of animals such as camels, goats, cattle, yaks, llamas and sheep in communal land for commercial purposes or as source of livelihood. It also contains a mobile element in which the herds are moved from one place to another in search of fresh pasture and water.

Turkwel River Belt: It is a region located in north- western Kenya, which extends to the Ugandan side of Mount Elgon and the Turkana region on Kenya. The Belt borders two counties inhabited by the Turkana and the Pokot people in northern Kenya. West Pokot County border Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet to the South East, Trans-Nzoia to the South, Turkana to the North and North-East and Uganda to the West. Pastoralism is largely, the mainstay of the Pokot of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya. However, up to 40 percent of the Pokot practice agriculture, crop produce.

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ABSTRACT

This research project focused on the border conflict between the Turkana of Kenya and the Pokot of Uganda along the Turkwel River Belt and the government's disarmament initiative to sustain peace and security of the two communities. Three objectives were the focal point of the study and these include; exploring the security state and cross-border disarmament campaigns and the recurring security challenges that face cross-border disarmament campaign along the Turkwel River Belt Secondly, examining the inter-governmental policy measures. Finally, exploring roles played by professionals and community elites in cross-border disarmament. Background information on the border security issues and other relevant information to problematize the study were retrieved through a literature review. The theory of cooperative security was used to underpin and weave different elements of this study. Two designs, namely, explorative and historical, were used to gather both new and historical information. The target population included, citizen, security agencies, ministry, community leaders and professional from all areas. Primary and secondary research was applied in equal measure to support in collecting adequate data for the study subject. Primary research focused on interviews, questionnaires, and observation as tools for data collection targeting different research informants and respondents ranging from county and sub-county officers, national government officials, community professionals and elites, community residents, and respondents from non-governmental organizations and international bodies. Based on the outcome of the study, the cause of the conflict was majorly associated with high poverty index and major focus to pastoralism rather than diversifying to other socio-economic activities as part of the strategy to protect regional integration. A lot of challenges have been experienced in the disarmament process hindering efforts to pacify the area. Through multi-agency approach, the region is slowly diversifying to other socio-economic activities which may in the long run yield sustainable peace. The study recommends a multi-sector approach and engagement to address conflict challenges and disarmament process of the communities along the Turkwel River Belt. A future study on the role of women in conflict resolution and peacekeeping among the Pokot in Uganda and Turkana in Kenya has also been suggested as part of the diplomacy measures to strengthen relations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Turkwel River Belt like other borderlands have become a common interest area where communities living therein compete for resources. Climate improprieties experienced in this region has escalated tension between these pastoralist communities leading to protracted and widespread conflict. Disarmament and other cross-border security management initiatives are some of the major strategies put in place to enhance peace between these warring communities. Conflict between the Turkana and Pokot exists in different levels that include the regional and local levels. This warrants for the implementation of cross border disarmament and security concerns since the focal point transcends two countries.

According to Markakis (1995), different communities have engaged in conflict management and disarmament as means of maintenance of cross-border security. Their engagement have often proven to be a challenging and difficult activity. Cases in point are the pastoral resource-based conflict between the Damara and Khoe Khoe of Namequaland in Namibia, Wa-Daabe Fulani of Nigeria and Wo-Daabes in Niger, Toposa and Turkana, Merille of Ethiopia and Turkana and the Pokot and Karamojong (Markakis, 1995). The focus of this study is recurring conflict among the Pokot and the Turkana living along the Turkwel River Belt. It is approximated that the conflict has existed for more than a hundred years. It exhibits the cross-border security whose disarmament process have not yielded positive outcome.

According to Kaimba, (2011), pastoralists exist in in over 21 countries across the African continent. These numerous communities are affected by wars, with possible

impacts on their livelihoods. Pastoralism is a main economic activity in which people raise herds of animals, typically in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs). ASALs cover about 80% of Kenya's mainland and back around a third of the country's human populace and 70% of the general livestock herd. An estimated 13 million cattle, 25 million goats, 14.9 million sheep, 1.7 million donkeys and 2.9 million camels are in Kenya's ASALs (KNBS, 2010). Turkana and Pokot pastoralists of north-western Kenya hold a high number of livestock (GoK, 2010). Pastoralism backs about 12% to the country's gross domestic product (FAO, 2005), with the livestock segment creating a projected 90% of all employment prospects and additional 95% of domestic returns in ASALs.

Opiyo et, al. (2011) notes that pastoralism is of essential importance in nomadic pastoralist. The livestock categories kept by the Turkana and Pokot comprise of cattle (zebu), camels, goats, sheep and donkeys (Opiyo et al., 2011). In pastoral lives, livestock ownership serves a variety of social, economic, and religious functions, including providing a consistent source of food in the form of milk, meat, and blood for household members, as well as financials to pay for grains, education, health care, and other necessities. It is also used for dowry, compensation and restitution of battered parties after raids, display of affluence, luxury and status, store of treasure, and protection against drought, illness, and other disasters. As a result, livestock serves as a primary system of pastoral capital, as well as a way of producing, storing, transporting, and transferring food and wealth (Behnke2008).

For instance, Nyaba and Omurungi (2010) indicate that the conflict does not comprise a whole community from a country, as it is typically a specific either cluster of Pokot, Turkana, Toposa or Karamojong doing the raiding. The trend also varies depending on

intention of the raid and its impact. More importantly is the position held by Mkutu (2007) that the conflict between these two communities has adjusted from a traditional dimension to a financial and adaptive approach with the acquisition and use of automatic guns changing its scope and intensity. For Anene (1970) and Rouke (1997), knowledge on international boundaries in Africa is important in understanding how such boundaries interfered with indigenous people's resource use leading to their frequent conflicts though as a macro study.

Ilemi Triangle is one of the key phenomena that informs the nature and operations of conflict in Africa. The Ilemi Triangle is a triangular stretch of around 400 kilometers in three dimensions where the borders of Kenya, Ethiopia, and Sudan intersect. After a meeting of colonial administrators from Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan in Kitgum, Uganda, in April 1924, the Triangle's unrestricted grazing territory was established. The Triangle and its environs comprise of the Lower Omo Valley, occupy a large and prominent place (Baque, 2013). The arrival of Count Teleki and Von Hohnel on the shores of Lake Turkana in 1888 marked the beginning of globalization in the Triangle. That year (1888) also saw the start of a large-scale inquiry in the region by Italian, English, French, Russian, and Ethiopian explorers, the majority of whom had ambitious aspirations for the region following the Berlin Conference (Tornay, 1993).

The triangle was staked out as a neutral zone by settler establishments seeking to minimize strife among their African subjects due to its permanent grassland due to streams from the River Tarach and other small rivers pouring into the Lotagipi wetland and additional linked minor swamps. It was supposed to be a safe haven for pastoralist racial groups in the surrounding zones, who were frequently engaged in bloody struggles over grazing rights and water during droughts. After the stubbornness of the

Kitgum conference in 1924, this impartiality was established (Baque, 2013). Thus, the Toposa (Sudan), Merile (or Dassanetch), Nyangatom and Tirma (Ethiopia), and Turkana (Kenya) were to graze and water their livestock under British supervision in Kenya. The Triangle created the nursery of hurry for armaments in the area, and qualified the first severe scuffles, as it was the first to receive contemporary arms among African hands.

There were a lot of tradeoffs in pastoralist communities where groups aided each other and in replenishing stock in the event of intentional raiding (Muller, 1989). During raids, morality was excised when attacking. Women and children were never slain. Calves were not taken away. This was done to help the raided community to replenish their herds. When captives were involved, the rule was usually integration rather than obliteration of competing groups (Lamphear, 1994:69). As a result, marauding attack was comparatively compassionate. As a result, prowling was carried out under the supervision of elders who ensured that morals were upheld. Elders are often at odds with the young men's antagonistic tendencies, which can lead to an unwelcome extension of war and a weakening of the older men's authority and preeminence. "War was too important a subject to be left to the young," Paul Baxter has said.

Recently, the conflict between pastoralists in Eastern Africa has expanded to new heights. A shrinking reserve base has sparked desperation scuffles for survival, putting these organizations' very existence in jeopardy. Profitable raiding has evolved from prowling and counter raiding for cattle. The numerous fighters in the area want meat, which leads to commercial raiding Mkutu (2007). The combatants have included attackers from Somalia. Other attackers hail from where there is internal fighting between various groups; in southern Ethiopia, where the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF)

is fighting the Addis Ababa government and the government in Kenya's north. In Turkana, Marakwet, Samburu, and Rendille, Pokot livestock robbers are enduring their looting and extermination. Kenya's security forces seem to have lost their resourcefulness and hope.

Pastoralism is an integral way of life in the Horn of Africa. It serves as the primary source of income for close to 15 to 20 million people in the region. Pastoralist communities residing along the borders of Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, and Ethiopia, form the 'Karamoja Cluster,' also known as the 'cattle corridor. The majority of pastoralist societies in this cluster shares the same cultural foundations and speak the Ateker dialect. The Turkana and Pokot pastoral communities of Kenya, the Dodoth, Jie, and Karamojong pastoral societies of Uganda, the Toposa pastoral societies of Sudan, and the Me pastoral societies of Ethiopia make up a brief list of pastoral groups that belong to the Karamoja group (Farah, 2008).

Intermittent skirmishes between these communities have political, economic, social, and cultural consequences. It underwrite economic output, wanes political establishments rendering its inability to deliver vital services to its citizens. The conflicts also lead to demolition and exhaustion of prevailing resources, loss of food production, and capital flight (Kaimba et al. (2011) and Mkutu (2010). It is feasible to calculate the financial cost of war by assessing the harm to potential foreign and domestic ventures as a result of crime and insecurity, lost tourism revenue, and mortality in government sectors such as agriculture. Invasion of immigrants and internally displaced individuals (IDP) from neighbouring countries into Kenya is another direct consequence of violent skirmishes. The prevalence of small arms and light weapons in important towns and pastoral zones in northern, northeastern, coastal,

and western Kenya along its worldwide borders complicates matters further. Bordering civil wars and regional droughts exacerbate this issue.

The Turkwel River Belt, which runs through Kenya and Uganda's northwestern borderlands, has been a hotbed for a variety of low-intensity conflicts during the previous three or four decades, some of which are linked to larger cross-border and regional conflicts (Mkutu, 2007). These conflicts have their origins in environmental issues. All boundary battles inside the Horn of Africa (HOA) reveal a long history of monetary and social marginalization. Larger competition for resources, condensed access to land, water, and other natural resources due to cumulative population and environmental pressures from within and beyond, and abridged access to credit, markets, and other services all contribute to poverty.

Pastoral societies in northwestern Kenya have a long history of fighting. In the broadest sense, a battle can be defined as a powerful engagement that occurs as a result of opposing viewpoints. Pastoralism revolves around animals; hence the fights are primarily over livestock and the assets that come with it: water, land, and pasture. These resources firmly link wars to the ruthless stealing of animals, known as prowling, which is both a contributory component and a battle articulation. On the one hand, marauding causes community disbelief, which is a prerequisite for conflict (Mwangi 2006). People, on the other hand, utilize raiding to express their hostility for competing communities (Eaton 2008).

The increasing number of weapons is what has led to the need for disarmament and cross-border security along the border point. However, it has been challenging to achieve a complete disarmament process and cross-border security along the Kenya

and Uganda border. Despite significant multi-agency approach to get rid of the weapons from the hands of the civilians, there is much that needs to be done to improve the peaceful coexistence among the people living within the region. Cross-border disarmament has continuously occurred through the community administrative systems such as the chiefs and the sub-chiefs. However, due to the spread of modern small arms, the commercialization of livestock raiding, clashes over land tenancy rights, banditry, and predation, the cultural practice has evolved into a vast, sophisticated, more violent, and damaging activity among pastoral communities in northern Kenya in recent years (Mkutu2008). The spread of modern automatic weapons is widely acknowledged as having had a negative impact on the scope and impact of armed vehemence in pastoral communities (Mkutu2006).

Despite the measures to ensure cross border security among the Turkana and Pokot pastoralists, the bitter rivalry between the communities in north-western Kenya has not been adequately recognized. There have been studies, such as Kaimba et al. (2011) and Mkutu (2010), to assess the chauffeurs and vindication model for resource-based weapon wars in pastoral areas, but it has been difficult to analyze the encounters posed by fierce fights due to the difficulty and multidimensional nature of the struggles in the study region.

As conflict keeps escalating, security operations and disarmament process is taking place to alleviate and reduce the level of conflict. The local leadership and the national government security have undertaken measures such as disarmaments. Peaceful disarmament is carried out as a strategy of reclaiming a peaceful coexistence among the communities along the border thus reducing conflict among the communities. A community-based disarmament and peace building initiative has also been undergoing

among the conflicting communities with others taking initiatives such as returning the animals that were stolen at a double level while emphasizing on resource sharing. An amnesty for the withdrawal of arms has also been issued as part of the national government initiatives to disarm the communities and create an alternative livelihood for the communities rather than raiding. These initiatives have been fashioned as key strategies to improving security along the Turkwel River Belt and disarming communities from crude weaponry. This study will deliver a suitable case to examine cross-border disarmament on intercommunal security along the Turkwel River Belt on Kenya-Uganda common border.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The cross-border rivalry, raiding, and cattle rustling between pastoralists, the Pokot of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya, significantly increases the supply for weapons for war and increases the level of animosity between the two communities. This is affecting the cross-border security mission and disarmament process by the security teams of both Uganda and Kenya. The protracted conflict is also exposing the peace process to a challenging situation rendering the disarmament programs ineffective in fulfilling the core aim of ensuring peaceful coexistence among the communities in the region. Making Turkwel River Belt become synonymous with security challenges due to the diminishing resources and the fight for grazing land for livestock. As a result, this research is aimed at exploring the disarmament programs used, cross border security mission applied, and the role of the local community in keeping peace and adding intergovernmental cross-border disarmament programs.

1.3 General Purpose

The general purpose of this study is to examine the influence of cross-border disarmament on intercommunal security along the Turkwel River Belt among the Turkana and the Pokot of Kenya- and Uganda respectively.

1.4 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of this study were:

i. To explore the cross-border disarmament campaigns and recurring challenges along the Turkwel River Belt.

ii. To examine the inter-governmental policy measures in cross-border security along the Turkwel River Belt.

iii. To establish the role-played by the local community in cross-border disarmament campaigns along the Turkwel River Belt.

1.5 Research questions

i. What are some of the cross-border disarmament campaigns and the recurring security challenges along the Turkwel River Belt?

ii. What are the inter-governmental policy measures that have been applied in cross-border security along Turkwel River Belt?

iii. Which role does the community play in cross-border disarmament campaigns along the Turkwel River Belt?

1.6 Significance of the study

Inter-communal security is still a 21st century quagmire for most of the African Countries. The inter-governmental security agencies from both the Ugandan and Kenyan sides are always trying to curb this vice of illicit arms trade in and to the

Turkwel River Belt and other notable clusters in Eastern Africa. The increased attraction of national resources to this issue indicates that it is a priority area in government and will be important for the government, the ministry of internal security and departments of counter terrorism agencies of both governments to successfully curb the influx of small arms and light weapons (SALW) through cross-border disarmament and on the new underlying forces of intercommunal insecurity along the Karamoja cluster of the Kenya-Uganda common border. Therefore, this research is relevant in drawing relevant disarmament programs, relevant cross-border security measures, and the role of local community in cross-border security and disarmament. These will be recommended to curb the increasing challenges at the Turkwel River Belt to minimize the increasing warfare between the warring communities.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the study

The study was affected by financial constraint to hire research assistants leading to prolonged period of completing the research process. Secondly, time constraint delimited interviews for the respondents in the village due to long distances between research sites. Turkwel River belt is also part of the Arid and Semi-Arid areas in Kenya with some of the highest temperatures that may hinder travelling across the study area especially during the day. Another key challenge is insecurity that is likely to hinder data collection. The methodology employed also exposed the researcher at risk of encountering hostile cattle rustlers in the course of the study, as there are bandits in the region who attack cars and travelers in pursuit of any valuable possessions. Finally, some of the respondents may not be willing to share some information; village elders and *laibons,* for instance, are never willing tell the truth about the occurrences of livestock rustling.

1.8 Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that the relevant security officials and the key respondents and informants would be willing to share the required information to help the researcher gather enough data and information on the cross-border disarmament and intercommunal insecurity along the Turkwel River Belt on the shared border between Kenya and Uganda. The study further assumed that disarmament and security operation is a continuous process and the pattern of the operation was studied based on how it responds to the activities at hand.

1.9 Scope of the study

The scope of this study was limited to the cross-border disarmament and intercommunal security concerns along the Turkwel River belt that captures the Turkana of Kenya and the Pokot of Uganda on the shared border in the Turkwel River belt alone. The study was therefore limited to identifying cross-border disarmament campaigns, inter-governmental security measures and policy, and the role professionals and community elite' play in the cross-border disarmament program among the pastoralist communities in the Turkwel River belt and not understanding any other aspects or perspectives of battles in the area.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looked at scholarly works that were relevant to the study's theme. The works under review here were organized thematically based on the study's stated objectives. The literature review is followed by an in-depth analysis of the theoretic context and the, conceptual framework. The chapter conclude by giving the scholarly gaps the study sought to unearth by the study and then a summary of literature reviewed.

2.1.1 The cross-border disarmament campaign and recurring challenges along the Turkwel River Belt

Joint effort over global cooperation is obligated in the cross-border disarmament campaigns along the Turkwel River Belt that is to the North West region of Kenya, sharing a border with Uganda. The accomplishment by any one state will be reliant on the shared success in the area. It has been established by prior efforts, for example, those efforts to deactivate the Pokot and the Turkana communities from both sides of Uganda and Kenya respectively (Ng'ang'a 2007). A well-coordinated participation of the bordering countries such as Uganda and Kenya whose communities share a common border along the Turkwel River Belt needs to be strengthened.

Studies by Galanty, (1987); Baxter, (1979); Ocan, (2000); Mkutu, (2001) also allude to the fact that both Uganda and Kenya, have made secluded exertions to address this delinquent individually, but without much success. Efforts by these States to deactivate individuals in the Turkwel River Belt have always faced with opposition, which is sometimes motivated by concerns about external security threats, such as impenetrable

borders and the ease with which weapons flow across them (Kimani et al., 2008). The coordinated efforts to disarm them have raised the possibility of tying these measures together and implementing ongoing procedures to address the delinquent's cross-border aspects.

The strategies discovered cooperation and connection mediums for joint arrangement and joint action across borders with neighboring countries, with the goal of reducing crime, eliminating illicit weapons from societies on both sides of the borders, searching for and eliminating weapons caches, reducing and regulating illicit trade, and improving the security state of people living along the border. 2013 (Baque). On a consensual level, Uganda and Kenya are currently focusing their efforts on resolving the Turkwel River Belt problem by collective determination by the two governments, as outlined in the Joint Kenya Uganda Disarmament Action Plan.

Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) is a World Bank/Government of Uganda-funded project aimed at helping the people of Northern Uganda catch up with the rest of the country in terms of economic growth. Under the reorganization framework, NUSAF seeks to help local governments in combating poverty and delivering progress through engaged community efforts. Gabre, Satya, and Satya, Satya, Satya, Satya (2009). The project's overall goal is to empower communities by improving their ability to identify, prioritize, and design for their needs, as well as to adopt long-term strategies that improve socioeconomic services and prospects. Through a direct funding mechanism, the project makes resources accessible for communities to device sub-projects recognized and accomplished by them.

The literature sources are more focused on the disarmament campaign measures employed to achieve a peaceful coexistence between the Pokot and the Turkana in

Uganda and Kenya respectively. It is more focused on the measures that have been put in place to undertake disarmament process among the two communities living along the border line. Based on this, there is a gap in addressing the disarmament process from the onset of the current operation, the progress of the operation, and expected plans to clearing arms from the arms of the bandits. This research focuses on understanding the current structures with the responsibility of ending the existence of arms in the hands of the civilians.

2.1.2 Inter-governmental Policy Measures on Cross-Border Security in Turkwel River Belt

The Firearms Act (1970) in Uganda imposed firearm registration and gun-owner licensing with harsh requirements. This legislation made it unlawful to own a gun, except for those who leaned towards the government of Apollo Milton Obote. Twelve months later, Army Chief of Staff Idi Amin Dada took control of the country in a coup d'état. Satya (2004); and Gabre (2009). The proceeding terror the Amin regime meted on a population of people whose primitive weaponry did not match the efficiency of the killer government apparatus led to mass murder and killing. By 1979 when Amin was overthrown, 30,000 of the 300,000 slain Ugandans were the Pokot and Karamojong communities.

In 1986, President Yoweri Museveni after fighting his way to power rebuilt his rebel outfit, the National Resistance Army (NRA) to a national army, later named Uganda Peoples' Defense Forces (UPDF). But owing to concerns of insecurity in communities neighboring Karamoja region, Museveni started a new voluntary security management program with the blessing of the United Nations. President Museveni removed the kid

gloves and the forceful phase of launching the security force in the region to ensure stability. The U.N. Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) reported that the forceful operation would include the use of 'police methods' (IRIN, 2002).

The Government of Kenya has the fundamental commitment of guaranteeing safety through sustaining peace. In the arrival of its order, the governing body has strengthened forced with stiff-necked grounding tactics in attempts to tidy up illicit weapons, especially in northern Kenya. Satya (2004); and Gabre (2009). Kenya has affected well more than 50 deactivation actions in the past 100 years. In the midst of President Moi's 24-year administration, it is assumed that the head of state asked for more than 20 neutralization operations among the Pokot and Turkana of Kenya alone.

SIKOM Peace Network for Development. 2010. Coercive measures were, be that as it may, laden with worries about human rights infringement, with groups and common society performing artists criticizing the extreme utilization of constrain and torment. For instance, Nyaba and Omurungi (2010) indicates that some demilitarization endeavors, for example, the 1984 Operation Wajir, have been depicted as slaughters because of the quantity of passings included. By arranging a demilitarization and improvement program known as Operation Dumisha Amani, the government adapted its approach to deal with suit human rights concerns and provide chosen by election employments and substitutes to the targeted populations (Sustain Peace).

The operation seized 1,201 firearms, 1,665 rounds of ammunition, and 201 heads of tamed beasts between February and August 2010. Tensions about the lack of a security game plan and underdevelopment reflect people's resistance to giving up most of their weaponry. Onyango (2010) and Baque (2013). While the organization got a handle on

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change approach to manage weapons aggregation, it realized two compelled grounding practices in Mt Elgon area, Turkwel River Belt, in Bungoma and Mandera areas.

The Anti-Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) provided information on recent coordinated initiatives by the Kenyan government to security personnel. The ASTU recovered ten weapons and 75 rounds of ammunition between January 2010 and July 31, 2011. There were six AK47s (two without ammunition), three G3s (two without serial numbers), and one SAR-80 seized. The majority of the ammo (54 rounds) was 7.6 mm, while the remaining 20 rounds were 5.56 mm. (Oloka-Onyango (1993), Mkutu (2003; 2007; 2008), Knighton, Oloka-Onyango, Mkutu, Mkutu, Mkutu, Mkutu, Mkut (2003; 2005).

The idea for Operation Dumisha Amani was to start a collaborative demilitarization campaign with Uganda and Ethiopia. Transactions and joint ventures began with Uganda, but were stymied by national decisions in Uganda and Kenya in 2006 and 2007, respectively. 2007 (Vries). The talks are still ongoing, with recent efforts focusing on combined Kenyan–Ethiopian demilitarization operations. Another administration initiative to address security concerns has been the establishment and dispatch of members of the Kenya Police Reserve (KPRs). KPRs are considered as necessary by the people group in whom they exist, yet their enrollment and administration are seen as flawed. Baque (2010) and Onyango (2010) (2013). KPRs are cautious officers who are linked to the police and are relied upon to respond to risky safety circumstances if and when they emerge. Despite the fact that they adopt a respectable part, some have privatized the small guns that the government has given them and are allegedly using them for illicit purposes (Ndung'u, (2010).

Therefore, from the above, it is evident that both the Ugandan and Kenyan regimes since 1980s have tried to unilaterally or bilaterally tries to curb the escalation of violent

conflict along the Northern parts of both countries and other clusters such the Karamoja and now the Turkwel River Belt which is under this study. But little can be seen as restoration of peace and security along the Turkwel River Belt between 2003 and 2019. Until today the Pokot and Turkana still scramble for these shared resources along the Turkwel River Belt. Shared resources especially the Turkwel River and grazing grounds has been a historic area of conflict.

Based on the outcome of the studies, much focus is on restoring security by deactivation and disarming the civilians. As much as there are other security measures such as the "Dumisha Amani" security plan aiming to influence the civilians to surrender their arms and maintain peaceful coexistence, much is not discussed about the security status of the region. Therefore, a gap exists and the focus of this study is uncovering information on the role of the multi-agency security sector in influencing the security organization in the region to end banditry. Banditry is a common problem in the region and the study is focusing on addressing it as a security concern and how cross-border multi-agency teams are focused to managing the banditry problem as a security threat.

2.1.3 Roles played by the local community elite in cross-border disarmament campaign along Turkwel River Belt

Studies illustrate that community elite and professionals' participation in conflict management is a vital component of efforts that leads to positive conflict outcome for the warring groups. A similar position has also been taken by (Odegi-Awuondo, 1994; Ocan, 1994; Lind, 2000; Mkutu, 2003; Huho, 2012; Gedi, 2005). However, these works have contextualized their ideas in a macro level while addressing pastoral conflict in the Horn of Africa. Such results should be tested at a micro level which this work has done using the Pokot and Turkana cross border resource conflict persistence.

On his part, Tafare (2006) documented how, in the North Eastern region, the Uganda state adopted a „de facto' policy of encouraging the Turkana, Karamojong and the Pokot to settle disputes on their own. The selective state appropriation of local reconciliation mechanism that fuse customary and religious elements had positive results as it ensured the existence of peace between the clusters of Pokot and Turkana clans. Recent studies have also documented intra and inter-community peacemaking mechanisms among the Africans (Kassa, 2001) the Nyongaton (Bassi 2005), Suri and Duzi (Abbink, 2000) and Somali (Hagmann 2007). Despite the fact that these studies emphasize the local level approach to the pastoral conflict, management, they are devoid of the un resolved long standing historical injustices, broken social relationships and the social dynamic of interpersonal and group differences that are pronounced in the Pokot and Turkana conflict. This study has documented a strong peace infrastructure as the basis of sustaining the two community's long term peace agreement. Kandagor (2005) gave his key findings on pastoral conflicts in Sudan, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Uganda. He found that such conflicts had diverse effects on the people's socio-economic aspects such as health, education, development on micro-economic and infrastructure in general.

In addition, he coined the term "social orphans" to refer to young men who did not qualify as adults in terms of cultural norms and whose claims on property was denied by customary laws. This uncertain status, combined with the kind of poverty exacerbated by insecurity and marginalization, invited attempts by most young men to enlist as bandits. Idris (2011). The limitation of this work is to be found in its lack of complementary interviews, for example with the elders, and traditional leaders whose alternative perspectives would have strengthened the arguments which this study

undertook as it suggested the probable ways through which the conflict can be managed.

The application of *Ubuntu* African philosophy as a theoretical perspective was key to interpreting and analyzing the Pokot and Turkana cross border resource conflict management. The argument in this study is that, through its tenets of collectiveness and cooperation, it is able to bring on board communities and their stakeholders of cattle raids to make inputs into conflict management. Whereas Gedi (2005; 106) insists that neither the local mechanism nor formal framework can offer a lasting solution to the problem, this study argues for a hybrid approach where both indigenous and formal mechanisms are fused may strengthen and make it more effective. Conversely, Niamir (1999) suggests that IGAD and EAC policy approaches on conflict management should be applied for the Pokot and Turkana pastoral case. He argues further that the National Policy on Conflicts Transformation and Peace Building's (NPCTPB), overall objective of concentrating peace initiative within boundaries should be applied. In contrast, we argue that IGAD and EAC have been engaged in firefighting by encouraging Kenyan and Ugandan governments to implement disarmament programs and replace pastoralism with sedentary modes of production without any viable structural provisions for the latter.

Whereas Gedi (2005; 106) insists that neither the local mechanism nor formal framework can offer a lasting solution to the problem, this study argues for a hybrid approach where both indigenous and formal mechanisms are fused may strengthen and make it more effective. Furthermore, when disarmaments are executed forcefully, they become inappropriate instruments of providing a solution because it is impossible to disarm all conflict parties at the same time, to the same degree and to prevent re-

armaments afterwards. Besides the specific objectives of NPCTPB remain at the respective countries" internal levels.

The role of the community and the elite professionals is not well-presented from the studies reviewed indicating a gap in the research. As a result, this research is focused at uncovering key information to identify the role played by the community, professionals, and the elites to addressing the problems of insecurity along the Turkwel River Belt. Much information is aimed to contribute to the understanding of the objective responsibility of the people to achieve success in restoring and maintaining a peaceful coexistence among the people.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The notion of cooperative security and conflict theory forms part of this theoretical framework. According to Jeffery Larsen (1995), cooperative security denotes to an obligation to control the size, technical structure, investment patterns, and operational practices of all military forces by common consent for mutual benefit. Cooperative security is important in this research as it explains the importance and ways in which states work together to solve common problems, in this case Kenya and Uganda working together to address common security problems. On the other hand, conflict theory as developed by Karl Marx explains that the society is in perpetual conflict because of competition for the limited resources (Moshiri, 2019). The existing conflict along the Turkwel River Belt between the Pokot of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya is a true definition of a destabilized society due to conflict for resources which is an important theory in defining why disarmament and cross-border security mission is becoming difficult to achieve.

The cooperative security theory is largely used to define a more diplomatic, but committed, tactic to security through amplified worldwide accord and cooperation. The cooperative security model unconventional by many studies holds four concentric and equally strengthening "rings of security", Individual security, collective security, collective defense and endorsing solidity. Shared Security, which is a political and legal obligation of members states to defend the integrity of individual states within a group of agreement guarantors, and Collective Defense, which is the obligation of all States to defend each other from outside hostility, are the two most well-known and well-understood of these four rings. A Common commitment to Individual Security and Promoting Stability are the new cornerstones of this Cooperative Security paradigm.

When this theory is examined, it is discovered that, despite the fact that many universal security institutions, such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, the OSCE, NATO, and the Warsaw Pact, were founded on the basis of either Collective Security or Collective Defense, only NATO has the authority to work effectively in all four rings of this Cooperative Security model. In recent years, the idea that factual security must be founded, first and foremost, on the security of the individual human being has gained widespread acceptance. Human security and human rights are synonymous with individual security. The cooperative Security plan must also be operational, with its affiliates structured to take collective diplomatic, economic, and, if necessary, armed action in places beyond their mutual space that endanger their welfare and stability.

The conflict theory by Oberchall (1973) and the theoretical perspective of *Ubuntu* African philosophy by Mbingi (1987) is a relevant theory to analyse this study. The former was used to analyze inter-ethnic territorial dispute between Yanonaami and Guayaki communities in 1976 in Amerindia while the latter was used in South Africas

Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1994. Conflict theory traces ethno-territorial border conflict to emanate from sets of suspicious, diverse view on how to share border resources and long standing historical and cultural differences and hostilities by neighboring communities. It states that, under such circumstances, cross-border conflicts are held together not by the positive influences of their shared interest but by the negative influence of their rivalries.

The theory is informed by the idea that people living together or sharing a similar set up compete over scarce resources for their survival. And that such conflict may manifest itself in short or long term or may be latent or protracted. It further opines that scarce resources lead to competition and eventually to conflict especially when the mechanisms of sharing such resources are either weak or not there all together. This study used the social conflict theory to interpret this conflict after the Pokot of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenyan usurped power from their elders after it became weak.

This theory perceives every individual, group or society to represent a force whose action may give a negative or positive relationship and that if the two forces are combined, they produce what Hegel (1975) Calls a synthesis or a combination of a thesis and anti-thesis in philosophical and logical terms. Its tenets or principles include scarcity, inequality, and marginalization of people, poverty, competition and strict adherence or non-observation of traditional or cultural beliefs. For *Ubuntu* African philosophy theoretical perspective, it holds the view that Africans can bond and blend using their own heritage in the management of their conflict. That the divergent African political, social and economic challenges leading to their conflict can be managed as a community enterprise based on the understanding that promoting the good of a community is promoting the good for all which forms the major function of

this theory's tenet of collectiveness. Using its tenets of solidarity, teamwork, cooperation and collectiveness in the African expression that "a thumb alone cannot kill a bed bug, it underscores the importance of togetherness in solving or managing a problem like conflict. Therefore, the study will give more emphasis to the Cooperative Security Theory in analyzing this study for the intercommunal security and cross-border disarmament remains our key variables in the study unlike the analysis of conflict using the Conflict theory.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

According to Young, (2008), a conceptual framework is a succinct account of the phenomenon on study convoyed by a graphic illustration of the main variables of the study, that is, a diagrammatic illustration displaying the affiliation among dependent and independent variables.

Dependent Variable   **Independent variables**

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐         ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Cross-border disarmament programs   │────────▶│ Intercommunal Security              │
│   • International Cooperation       │         │                                     │
│   • National Action Plans           │         │   • Cross-border violence           │
│   • Community empowerment           │         │   • Loss of livelihoods             │
│   • Mult stakeholder approach       │    ┌────▶│   • Armed crimes                    │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘    │    │   • Gun victims                     │
                                            │    │   • Loss and destruction of         │
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐    │    │     property                        │
│ Inter-governmental Policy Measures  │    │    └─────────────────────────────────────┘
│   • The Firearms Act (1970)         │    │
│   • UN-regional Network             │────┘
│   • More Administrative Units       │
│   • Deactivation & Demilitarization │
│   • *Operation Dumisha Amani*       │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                                            ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐    │ Challenges of Disarmament           │
│ Roles played by Professionals &     │    │                                     │
│ elite                               │    │   • Cultural Practices              │
│                                     │    │   • Radicalization                  │
│   • Cross-border Projects           │    │   • Youth Unemployment              │
│   • Aid & Civic Education           │────▶│   • Pastoralism dependence          │
│   • Peace Ambassadors               │    │   • Influx of Illegal Arms          │
│   • Third Party Intervention        │    │     Trade                           │
│   • Alternative livelihoods.        │    └─────────────────────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher, 2021   **Intervening variables**

The study explores the correlation between the intergovernmental policy measures,

cross-border disarmament programs, role of professionals and elites and the status of

the intercommunal security along the Turkwel River Belt. It focuses at understanding

the relationship of the dependent variables and the independent variables.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The following subsections made up this chapter: research design, study site, target population, sampling techniques, sample size, and data collection instruments. Pre-testing, instrument reliability and validity, Techniques and methods for data gathering, data analysis, and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research design

This study adopted an exploratory and historical research design. Historical design is instrumental in gathering, substantiating and creating signal from the previous to launch realities that protect a hypothesis especially from the qualitative materials on the Turkwel River Belt and clusters that exhibit similar security issues such as Karamoja cluster. For an exploratory design as the most convenient and suitable design for inquiries that are addressing a topic around which there are high heights of doubt and obliviousness around the topic, and when the delinquent is not very fine tacit, that is very slight knowledge prevailing study on the issue. The issues here revolved challenges in disarmament programs.

3.3 Study Area

This study is on the Turkwel River belt, which is is Kainuk Sub County and Sigor sub-county. Kainuk Ward has two locations namely Kainuk and Kaptir and six sub locations namely Kainuk, Kakong, Kalemngorok, Loyapat, Katilu and Lorogon. The area is prone to two main disasters; insecurity and drought (Turkana District Development Plan 2002-8). Sigor Ward is in West Pokot County, in the defunct Rift

Valley Province of Kenya. The county borders Uganda to the west, Trans Nzoia County and Elgeyo Marakwet County to the south, Turkana County to the north and east and Baringo County to the south east according to the West Pokot County Development Plan 2010-2018. Sigor Sub-County is made up of 3 locations and seven sub locations namely Marich, Masol, Orwa, Wei Wei, Romut, Sekerr and Nasolot.

3.4 Target Population

The population to be considered included those that have been directly affected by disarmament in Turkwel River Belt, and reside to the North West region of Kenya and to the north east of the Uganda during the exercise. The study targeted local leaders, human rights organization, county administration, national government security, and the government of Uganda (provincial administration).

Table 3.1: Target Population Sampling Matrix

Target Locations	Target Population	Percentage
County & Sub-County Commissioner's Office in Turkana County	250	36
Government of Uganda (Provincial Administration-Districts of Karasuk, Kainuk, Chew Bahitr)	130	19
Local Community and Professionals & Community elite (teachers, clergy & scholars).	210	30
The Kenya National Commission of Human Rights (KNCHR)	108	15
Total	698	100

Source: Researcher, 2021

3.5 Sampling Techniques

Sampling was done through purposive and simple random sampling (Trochim, 2006). Purposive sampling is a state when the investigator picks the sample founded on who they think would be suitable for the study. In purposive sampling, we sample with a resolution in mind in which case the scholar typically would have one or more precise predefined sets they are seeking. The Turkwel belt has been purposively selected due to the high occurrences of conflict that was a special characteristic which was not common with the other divisions in the district, and this belt is used for pre-testing purposes. It is also centrally located and borders the Pokot and Turkana communities. The following: leaders, human rights organization, county administration, national government security, and the government of Uganda were purposively sampled.

3.6 Sample Size

In an exploratory design, a sample size that lies between the ranges of 10-50% is suitable (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2013). This was determined from 698 target population is assumed as 700, which is 250 officials from the County & Sub County Commissioner's offices in Turkana County, the 130 officials will be drawn from the Ugandan side from the districts of Moroto, Kapchorwa and Kotido and office of the North East region of Uganda that has a high Pokot inhabitants, the 108 staff members of the KNCHR and the 210 officials drawn from Church Based Organizations and NGOs along the belt, and the local community. Therefore going as per Mugenda & Mugenda sample size determination, the study used a sample size of 20% (0.2*698=139.6) rounded off to 140 which was adequate so long as it permits for consistent data analysis and permits analysis for importance of variances between approximations.

Table 3.2 Sample size matrix

Target Locations	Target population	Sample size	Percentage
County & Sub-County Commissioner's Office (Turkana County)	250	50	20%
Government of Uganda (-Districts of Karasuk, Kainuk, Chew Bahitr)	130	26	20%
Local community and Professionals & Community elite (teachers, clergy & scholars).	210	42	20%
The Kenya National Commission of Human Rights	108	22	20%
Total	698	140	20%

Source: Researcher, 2021

3.7 Data Collection Techniques & Procedures

The data was composed of both primary and secondary sources by use of semi-structured interviews, focus groups and key informant interviews. The primary data was collected from key informants and from randomly sampled community members. The researcher gathers secondary information from a comprehensive investigation of official government and civil society policy documents, papers, reports, journals, magazines, periodicals and research papers. The aim of this in-depth analysis was to get the present data on SALW and livestock rustle as it affects the international security.

3.8 Data collection Instruments

The study used an interview guide and questionnaire. Key persons are interviewed including the County Commissioner, Sub County Commissioners, area chiefs and sub chiefs, sub county security personnel, The District Commissioner from Uganda side, Human Rights Officials, Church leadership. A Key informant interview guide was also

used. The researcher used focus group discussions involving 29 community members. A focus group discussion guide was employed to collect this information.

3.8.1 Interview Schedule

This study employed interview schedules for the top security personnel and Civil-based organizations. This method helped the researcher to interact with the respondent's face-face and can perceive non- verbal cues and expressions, which would not be detected in other methods (Cohen & Manion, 1995). The interview allowed the researcher to acquire better lucidity of facts being pursued for example questions might be revised if it appeared that they were being misinterpreted.

3.8.2 Focus Group Interview

Focused Group Discussion is an interview research collection approach that focuses on a group of individuals as small as four people and as large as 10 individuals. It is guided by a moderator who asks questions that elicit numerous responses and generate a series of discussions among the participants (Gawlick, 2018). This study focused 29 local community participants represented in groups of between 5-7 members across the locations along the Turkwel River Belt. The advantage of this research approach is the generation of maximum amount of discussion and opinion within the timeframe for the focus interview.

3.8.1 Questionnaire

This study used questionnaire that is organised in a logical arrangement bestowing to the themes discussed under the literature review as objectives, this produced comparable answers being grouped together. The questionnaires allowed the researcher

to obtain more information as the respondents fill in the responses in discretion and confidence that their details or the content of the research instrument is not breached. The closed-ended queries were used since they were easy to examine as they were in an instant operational form, were effective to administer and they were inexpensive to use in with regard to money and time (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

3.9 Pre-testing

A pilot testing for this study was conducted in Karamoja Cluster which is a known region that experiences cross-border violent conflicts such as banditry, livestock theft and presence of SALWs and it has also undergone cross-border disarmament. The pre-testing targets the areas security personnel including the Sub-County Commissioner, Chiefs drawn from the 4 locations, 8 Sub-chiefs drawn from various sub-locations and the 6 civil organizations based within the lower region of Karamoja Cluster. By steering a pilot test it ensures that suitable queries are questioned, the correct data is poised, and that data gathering approaches work. The rule of the thumb is that 1% of the sample ought to be founded the pilot test (Cooper & Schindler, 2013, Creswel, 2013).

3.10 Reliability and Validity of the Instruments

3.10.1 Validity

The validity of the research instruments establishes the affiliation amid the statistics and the variable or the idea of attention. To guarantee precision of the information, the researcher pre-tests the surveys and examine the outcomes and make rectifications on the queries that is not clear. The survey delivered precise information due to the method of pre-testing in the designated sample to legitimacy during the pre-testing and actual

field work. Further, the researcher calls on the sampled respondents to make them cognizant of the necessity of the study that ensures validity of the data collected.

3.10.2 Reliability

The consistency of the research tools was based on the degree of uniformity that the instrument technique validates. Reliability measurement concerns the degree to which a particular measure of dependability the researcher issues the questionnaires to the respondents, gather them and check on the replies. After two weeks the questionnaires are re-tested by running it yet again to the similar respondents on Karamoja cluster. This guarantees internal reliability of the questionnaire and sustains the replies from the designated sample.

3.11 Methods of Data analysis

The data generated by the study was qualitative in nature. After the fieldwork, data was edited and coded for identification of various themes correlating the research objectives. This was because information is reduced to an understandable way. From the qualitative data the researcher seeks to inspect the raw data in order to find associations amid the study objectives and the conclusions with reference to the original study queries. This delivered a chance to triangulate information in order to reinforce the research results and conclusions.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Consent to undertake the study was requested from Kenyatta University, Additional certification pursued from the NACOSTI and the County Commissioner of Turkana County. The police commandant was also informed in case of making a request to be accompanied by police officers due to the insecurity situation along the Turkwel River

Belt area. Further certification was pursued from the Provincial Administration from the Uganda side. The researcher relies on the guidance and directions offered by the security personnel on site for they have the capability to identify prone areas to insecurity caused by bandits and cattle rustlers along the belt. Further, cautious choice of method for data collection, to safeguard validity and reliability, are two chief necessities that must be adhered to in all categories of research.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data was collected in the field. Quantitative data was collected through self-administered questionnaires that were distributed to various categories and collected after completion. The categories included: County & Sub- County commissioners in Turkana Couty, Kenya, officers of the Government of Uganda in the following Districts, Kainuk, Korosuk, and Chew Bahitr. The other categories involved in data collection included teachers, scholars and the members of the clergy which were considered as the professional and county elites. The final category of respondent was the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights. Qualitative data was collected through face-to-face interview from the identified key informants in the above categories.

4.1.1 Questionnaire Return Rate

The researcher distributed the question according the following target population sampling matrix.

Table 4.1 Target population sampling matrix.

Category of target Population	Sample Size	Percentages
Turkana County, Kenya	50	20%
Uganda Districts of Karasuk, Kainuk, Chew Bahitr	26	20%
Local community, and Professionals & Community elite	42	20%
The Kenya National Commission of Human Rights	22	20%
Total	**108**	**100%**

Source: Researcher, 2022

From the table above, a total of 108 questionnaires were distributed as per the category of the respondent listed and feedback from the feedback from the focus group interview undertaken. A total of received back 87 questionnaires were returned after completion while 11 questionnaires were not returned as some of the respondents were away for various reasons including security operations duties. This reflected a return rate of 89 %. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2013), a response rate of 70% and above is excellent. Figure 4.1 bellow depicts the return rate.
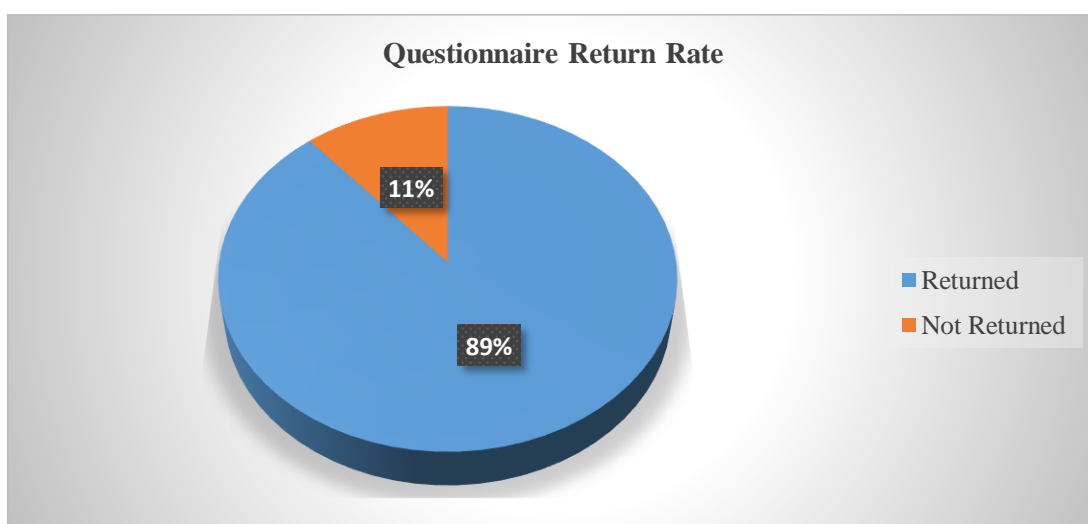
Figure 4.1: Questionnaire Return Rate
Source: Field Data, 2021

4.1.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

This section discusses the demographic characteristics of the sampled respondents which included; gender, age and duration of service of the County Commissioner, officials in Turkana County and officers of the following Districts: Karasuk, Kainuk, Chew Bahitr in Uganda.

4.2.2.a Gender of the Respondents

Cross border disarmament programs cut across all gender. The study sought to collect data from both males and females to ascertain the extent to which the illegal firearms identified as a key cause and driver of intercommunal conflict along the Turkwel River Belt, among the Turkana and Pokot of Kenya and Uganda common border affected either gender. The gender of the respondents was as follows. Approximately 77% of the respondents were male while 23 percent were females.
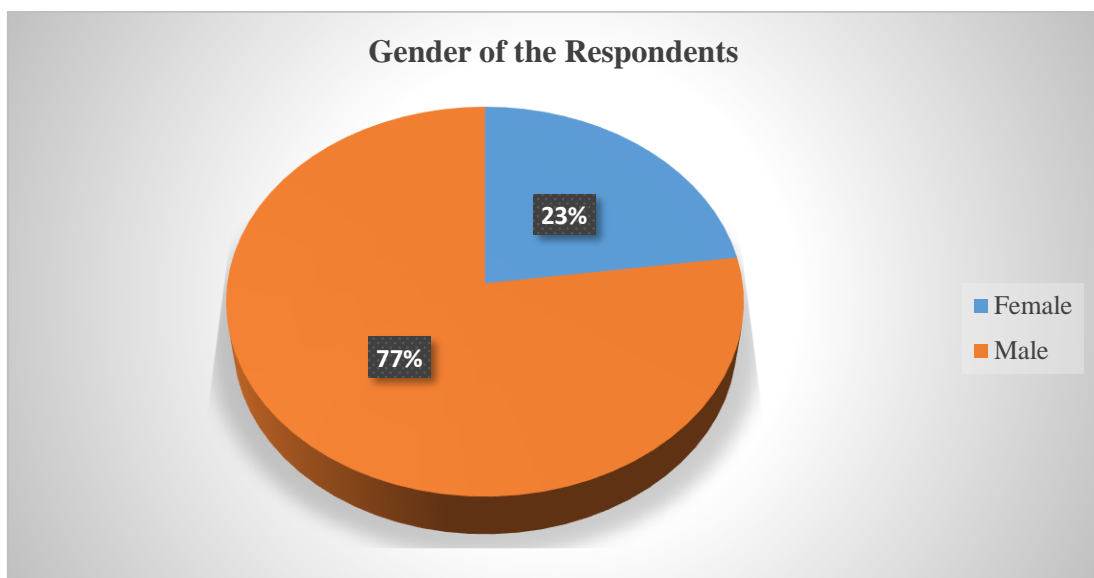
Figure 4.2: Gender of the Respondents
Source: Field Data, 2021

The data in figure 4.2 shows that, 77% of the respondents were male and 23% were female. Although the Kenya constitution (2010) stipulates that there should not be more than two thirds of either gender in an organization, the data is not reflective of that. This can be attributed to government sensitive nature of deployment of government officials in hostile environment of Turkana County. The female gender is significant to understand how women have been adversely affected by the conflict and the extent to which they have been involved in the disarmament process and how this is influencing the security and peace of the region. Most of the officers deployed are also males as the nature of the disarmament operations may not adhere to the third gender rule.

4.2.2 Age of the Respondents

This study purposed to investigate how respondents of different ages perceived Cross border disarmament programs. The ages of the County & Sub- County commission officers in Turkana, Kenya, officers of the government of Uganda in the following Districts, Kainuk, Korosuk, and Chew Bahitr, teachers, scholars and the members of the clergy Kenya National Commission of Human Rights employees used as respondents were sampled. Age demographics are relevant for this study as they bring out the history of the conflict from the older generations and expectation of the younger generation in conflict resolution and disarmament. The findings were as follows:
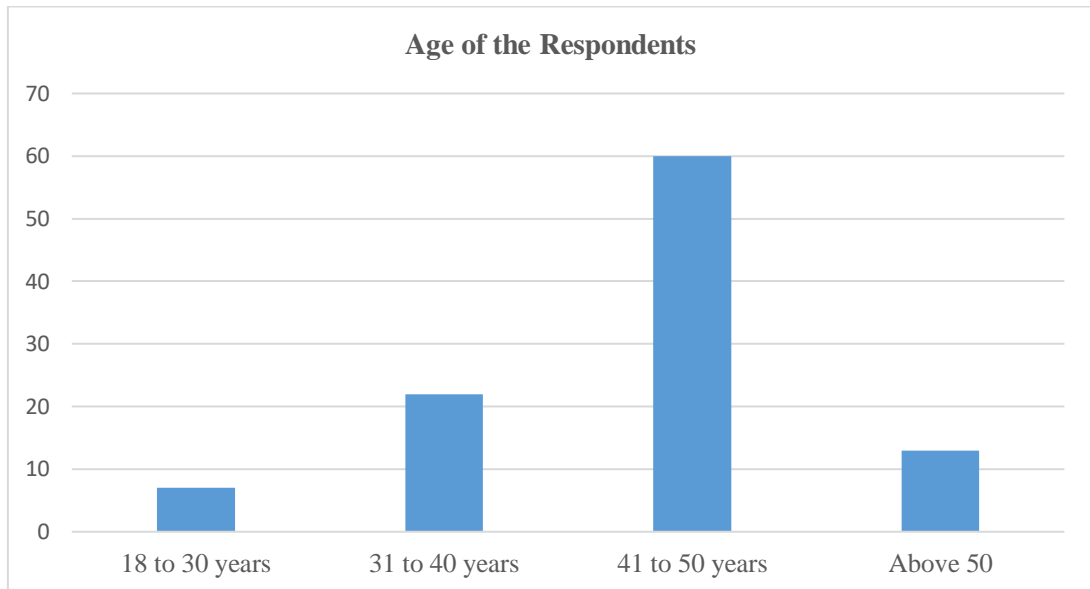
Figure 4.3 Age of the Respondents
Source: Field Data, 2021

From figure 4.3 above, 7 respondents were between the ages of 18 to 30 years, 22 respondents were between the ages of 31 to 40 years, while 60 were between the ages of 41 and 50 years. 13 respondents fell in the age bracket of 50 years and above. Majority of the respondents accounted for approximately 60 percent were young adults aged between 41 to 50 years. The distribution also indicated a normal curve. This is in tandem with studies showing the youth are the majority in Africa. The youth is the category of population mostly engaged in violence.

4.2.2 Duration of Stay or Service of the Respondents in the Turkwel River Belt

The study sought to find out the length of stay or service of the respondents in the Turkwel Belt. The period of stay referred to the inhabitants of the area such as teachers, members of the clergy and the community elites, while period of service targeted the government officers serving in both Turkana County, Kenya and the following Districts in Uganda, Kainuk, Korosuk, and Chew Bahitr. The purpose was to ascertain the duration at which they had first experienced cross border insecurity and cross-border

disarmament campaigns along the Turkwel River Belt. Secondly, to examine their knowledge on the the inter-governmental policy measures put in place to control the influx of small arms and light weapons in the region. Thirdly, to establish the duration which professionals and community elites have been involved in cross-border disarmament along the Turkwel River Belt. The findings are as depicted in figure 4.4 below.

Duration of Stay or Service of Respondents in Turkwel River Belt
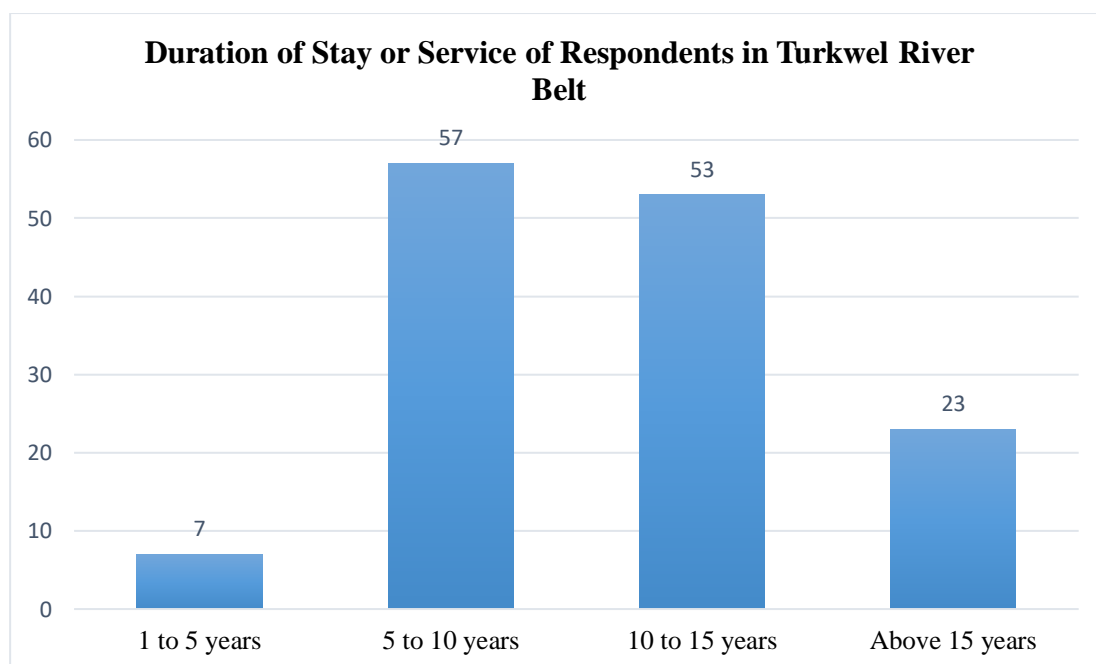
Figure 4.4: Duration of Stay or Service of the Respondents
Source: Field Data, 2021

From the results, approximately 7 % of the respondents had stayed in Turkwel River Belt for a period of 1-5 years, 21% had served for 6-10 years, 27% had served for 11-15 years, 14.8% had served for 16-20 years and 17% had served for over 20 years. This shows that popular of the respondent had served in the area between 5 and 15 years demonstrating wide experience in the matters of concern of this study hence able to make meaningful contribution to this study.

4.3 Cross-Border Disarmament Campaign Along the Turkwel River Belt

The evolving dynamics of the cross-border conflict along the Turkwel River Belt and the ensuing proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the horn of Africa has presented many countries in this region with a dilemma. On one hand, the conflict and disarmament programme call for security operation short of a full-blown war requiring police, paramilitary police or military tactical approach to halt the sporadic attacks. On the other hand, the dispute and the disarmament procedures needed economic handling of the Turkwel River Belt to win the hearts and minds of the folks in the region. Furthermore, the cross-border conflict calls for bilateral and multilateral diplomatic overtures of the states along the Turkwel River Belt.

4.3.1 Cross-Border Amnesty Disarmament Strategy

At first, Kenyan authorities were convinced that the perennial conflict would be resolved through peaceful means of amnesty and dialogues. The residents also confirm that the government had issued an amnesty for all SALW to be surrendered to the security personnel in the county and sub-counties. The government issued an amnesty to the illegal gun holders to surrender them before the government implemented the *Operation Dumisha Amani*. Even though both the Ugandan and Kenyan governments confirm the application of moderate force to disarm the violent groups, the community members indicate that their rights were highly infringed forcing them to surrender what they did not have in the household. According to De Coning and Peter, (2019) peace has to come at a price such as suffering and this is what is drawn from the disarmament exercise at the border point. A further interview with the region's chiefs, sub-chiefs, and the civil organizations of Karamoja indicated that the inter-governmental operations had extended peace in the region despite complaints from the residents.

Some of the residents, engaged in the focus Group Discussion indicated that though they had experienced a devastating condition with the operation to get out the criminals, they have never experienced peace to a little extent.

A further engagement within the focus group interview among respondents in Turkana County, Kenya, indicated approximately 75% of the 108 residents noted that the government of Kenya had taken many measures of amnesty to bring peace along the border. However, whenever amnesty is issues and guns are surrendered the Ugandan side becomes was more militant adept compared to the Kenyan side. Hence bringing about the issue of security dilemma.

Resident across the border on the Ugandan side had contrary opinion. The study argues that Uganda had made significant progress in terms of offering their citizens alternative means of livelihood. They argued that most of the youths in Uganda were now engaging in alternative activities such as food farming rather than cattle rustling activities and the fight for the green pastures for animals along the Turkwel River Belt. The community members from the Kenyans side were now moving towards Uganda which could also cause another conflict due to population pressure and the transferred conflict. The two regions have the Pokot and Turkana communities that are claiming resources for one another despite the peace missions to coexist by the civil organizations in Karamoja and the community chiefs and sub-chiefs. Despite the border security, there is much to be undertaken to solve the issues relating to resource conflict along the border from both governments in Kenya and Uganda.
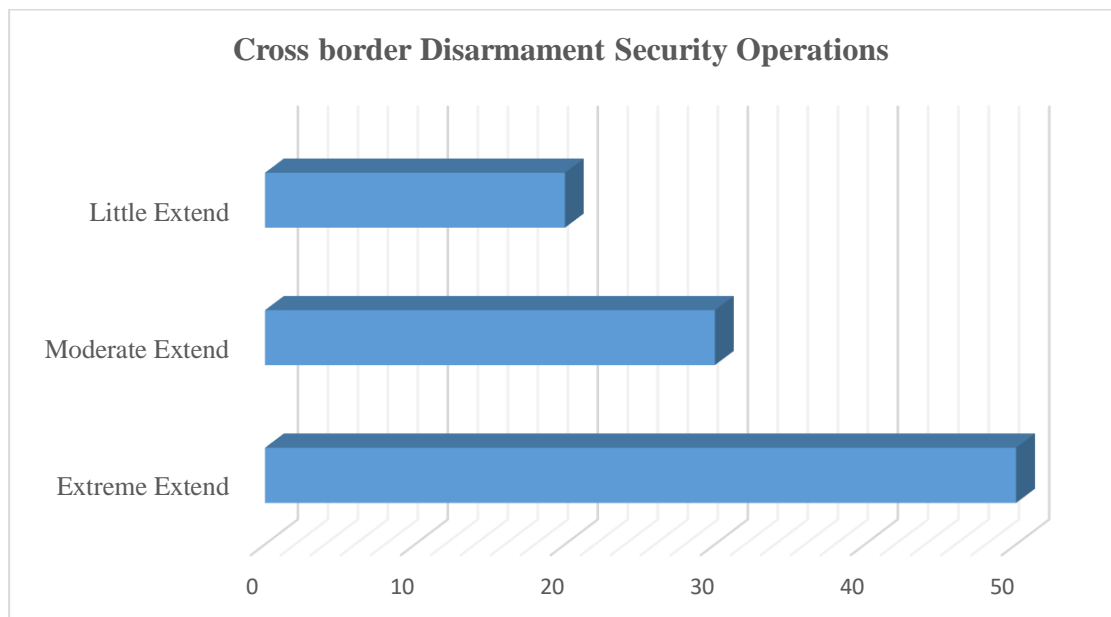
4.3.2 Cross-Border Security Disarmament Operations

It is argued that diplomacy hardly functions independently from other instruments statecraft such as military action when situations warrant. Does military action in terms of internal security to foster disarmament was seen as necessary. The government of Kenya and Uganda adopted the second strategy of disarming the civilians. The internal security operation commenced with the declaration of dawn to dusk curfews as part of ensuring that the internal security operation geared towards disarming the communities succeed. The curfews were followed by an internal security operation undertaken by police, paramilitary police and occasional the army. Based on the questionnaire data collection, cross-border disarmament campaign has been a multi-sectoral plan that has seen the Kenyan and Ugandan governments work together to restore peace within the border communities.

In a focus group discussion with 109 community members, it was evident that the inter-governmental operation from both Kenya and Uganda applied force to get small and light weapons out of the households. Most of the community members are confirming that the government of Kenya imposed a curfew from 6 pm to 6am which was accompanied by security patrol across the border. Most of the households were searched during the day and crude weapons sophisticated from the hands of the civilians. The main objective was to recover the arms and assert to the political authority that the region was volatile. The operation was undertaken by the regular police, GSU, and law enforcement unit. The community members further note a shoot-out on-site order was executed for anyone who refused to surrender to the law enforcement.

County and Sub-County Commission officers and security officers in the three Uganda Districts under review were asked to rate the government's efforts towards security

operations on the scale of little, moderate and extreme extend. Where little means that there were few government operations that the government was not keen in disarming the residents. While extreme means that the government had devoted much efforts in eradications small arms in the hands of unauthorized civilians. Their responses were as follows:

Figure 4.5 Turkana County Rating of Cross-Border Security Disarmament Operations

Figure 4,5 above shows that 50% of the respondents from the Turkana Country government indicated that the government had handled the disarmament along the cross-border to an extreme extend. 30% indicated that the government had moderately handled the disarmament campaign with only 20% indicating that the government had handled it to a little extend. The respondents did not give feedback on whether the government had handled the situation to a very extreme level or at no extend at all. The general implication is that disarmament had been taken to fulfil the peace needs for the

people and restore peaceful coexistence among the Pokot of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya.

Similar response was elicited when the same question was posed to security officials in Uganda. Based on a questionnaire outcome to the Uganda government representatives in the district of Karasuk, Kainuk, and Chew Bahitr, 63% of the respondents indicated that the government had extremely handled the cross-border disarmament in Karamoja, 23% consenting to a moderate handling of the disarmament process and only 14% consenting to little effort in handling the campaigns.
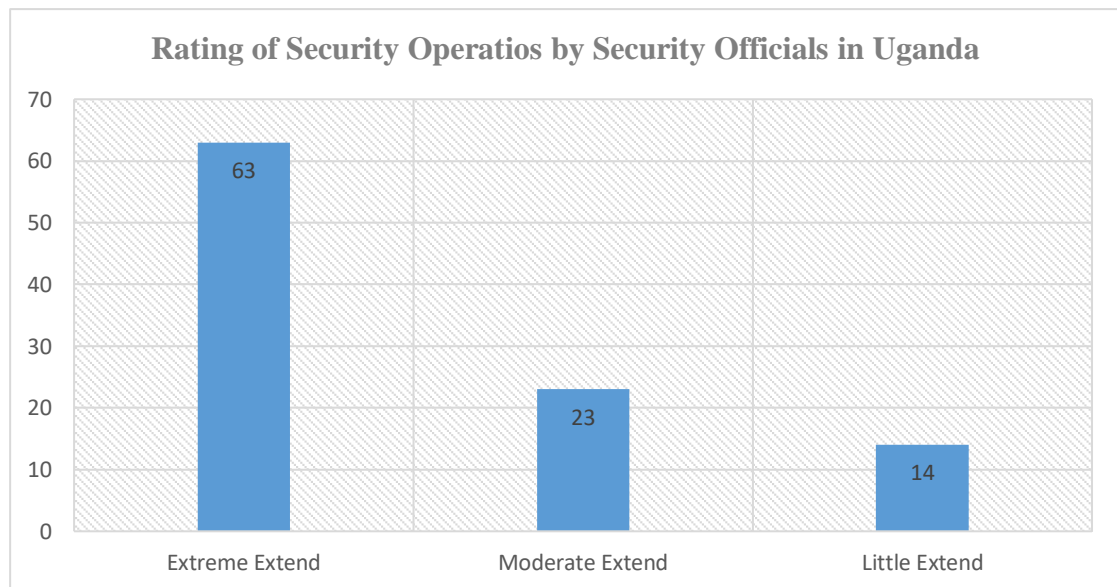
Figure 4.6 Uganda Official Rating of Cross-Border Security Disarmament Operations

Source Field Data, 2021

From the data in figure 4.6 above, the general deduction is that the government had extremely handled the situation in a bid to disarm the people within the community.

Professionals and community elites from both countries were also asked to give their view on the government efforts towards the disarmament operations.

Professionals and Community Elites Rating of Disarmament Operations
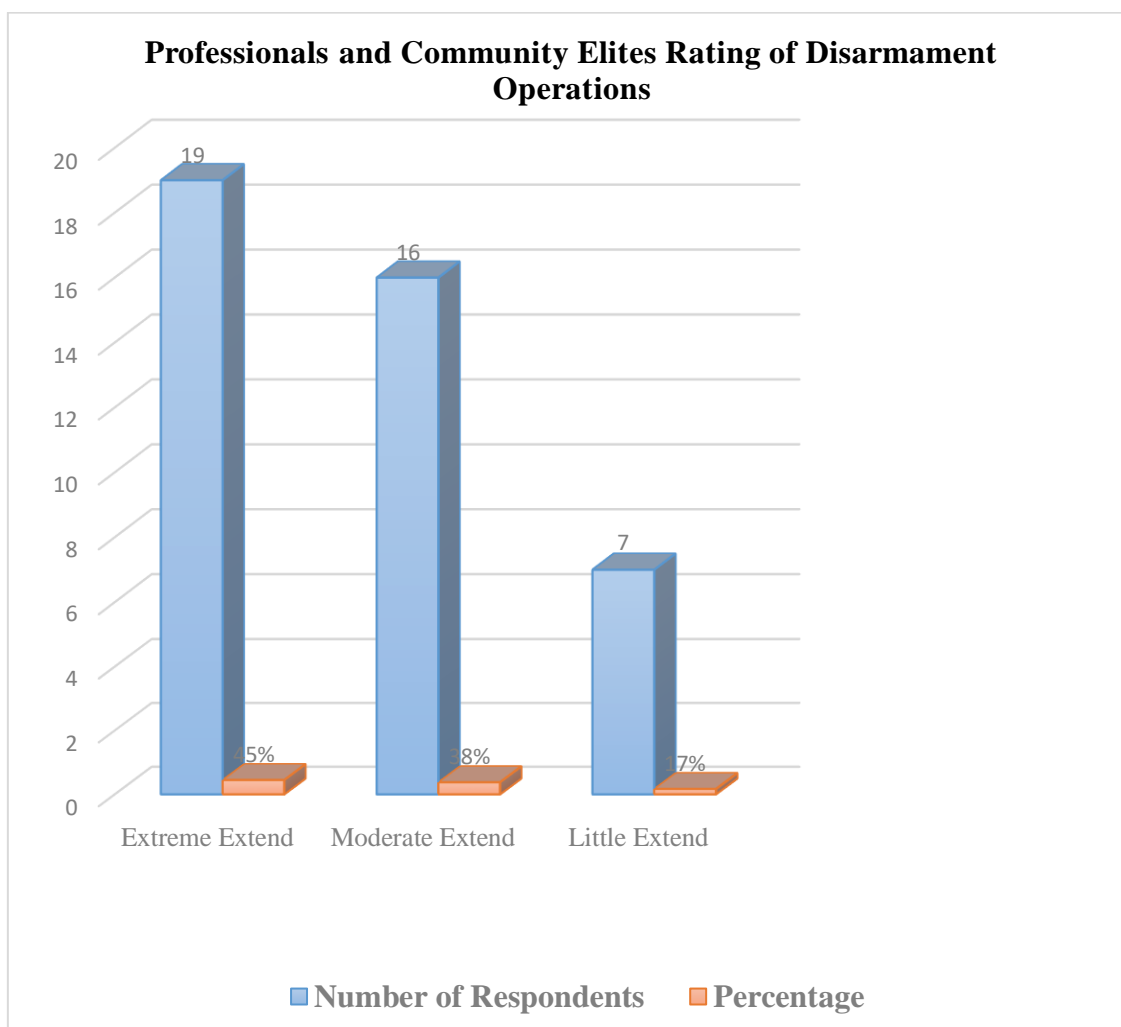
Figure 4.7 Professionals and Community Elites Rating of Disarmament Operations
Source: Field data, 2021

Figure 4.7 above shows that the respondents classified under this cluster consented that the government had extend effort in the campaign for the disarmament along the Turkwel River Belt. Out of the 42 respondents, 45% of the professionals were contented that the government took an extreme extend in campaigning for cross-border disarmament. 38% indicated a moderate extent in cross-border disarmament and only 17% indicating the campaign at a little extent to disarm the violent and rival

communities along the Turkwel River Belt. The elites and professionals did not give feedback on whether the government applied a very extreme or no extent at all.

Questionnaire review on the feedback of Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights on government efforts towards disarmament indicated as follows:
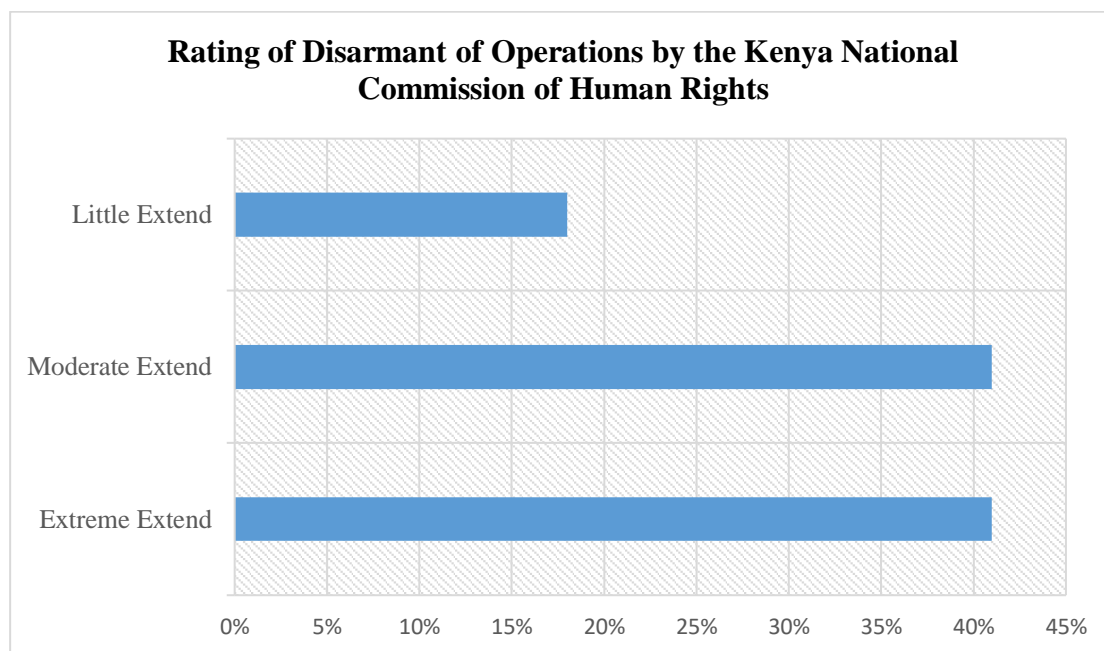
Figure 4.8: Kenya National Commission of Human Rights Rating on Disarmament Operations
Source: Field data, 2021

According to Figure 4.8 above, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights representatives, 41% agreed that the government was handling disarmament operations with seriousness to an extreme extent, 41% also agreeing that the government was dealing with it at a moderate extent. Only 14% indicated that the government was making progress but at a little extend thus supporting the consequent of disarmament. The commission respondents did not show any concern at either no extent or very extreme extent for the disarmament process.

4.4 Outcome of the Cross-Border Security Operation

The strategy applied in the disarmament process involved the use of amnesty and force for those that did not submit the arms within the set timeline. In a focused interview, the respondents noted that the disarmament was conducted in absolute recovery of the illegal weapons by the General Service Unit and other law enforcement units within the region. Most of the community members surrendered the SALW within the set timeline that was accompanied by objectivized confiscation of community animals to threaten the submission of the illegal arms in the hands of the civilian. According to Karlsrud (2017), the use of force by the government is warranted if the criminals fail to honor the government amnesty to surrender the weapons as directed. The extreme handling of the disarmament process was due to the delayed process of voluntary submission of the SALW. It is the reason the government instituted extreme measures such as arrests and confiscation of animals to threaten the community to reveal the perpetrators of the violence within the community.

A further exploration through the focus interview on disarmament strategy along the Turkwel River Belt indicated that there was a shoot on site on suspected criminals that refused to surrender to the orders leading to ambush within the community. The community members note that a significant number of law enforcers collaborated with the county security enforcement teams to combat the criminals that were fleeing away with animals to ensure they stopped the animals retained by the security personnel. The community also confirms that there was an extreme violation of the human rights in a bid to disarm the community of the arms they used in conflict execution. However, most respondents in the focus group note that they acquired most of these arms to protect themselves from the hostile communities they believed attacked them as a result

of neglect from the Kenyan government. The most devastating aspect is that both countries have been subjected to high level and forceful disarmament from both Uganda and Kenya making it more hostile for both communities. The Situation was witnessed in both Karamoja in Uganda and the Kenyan Turkana community.

The findings of the study are illustrated in the following pie chart.
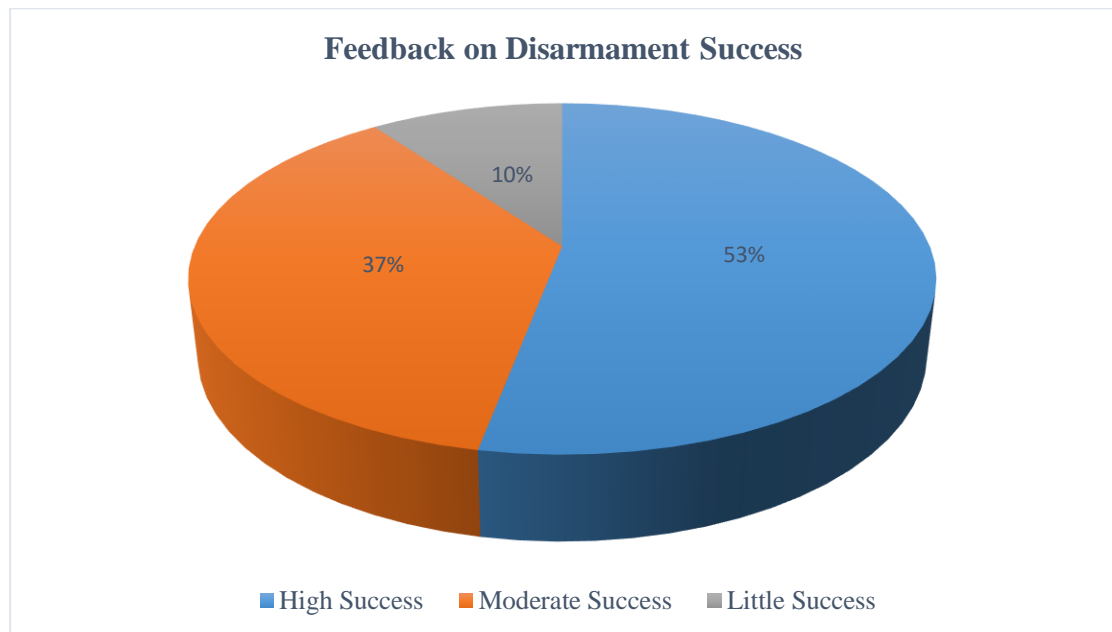
Figure 4.9: Feedback on Success of Disarmament Operations
Source: Field data, 2021

Figure 4.9 above shows that a significant percentage at 53% of the government officials indicate success in security attainment along the Turkwel River Belt. The feedback also indicates that 37% the disarmament has achieved moderate success while 10% indicate that the operations had achieved little success in attaining security goals. It generally indicates the government success in achieving the disarmament mission along the border even though 100% success has not been fully achieved.

4.4.1 International Corporation

The third disarmament strategy was through adoption of diplomatic strategy by engaging the international community based on international practices of UN peace Keeping Missions. According to the United Nations peace keeping mission is a multi-dimensional approach that involves an international approach to solving the issues at hand and maintaining a peaceful coexistence among communities (UN, 2021). Based on the research undertaken, Kenya and Uganda have taken a common goal of solving the existing conflict between Turkana and Pokot. There is the aspect of international cooperation that is witnessed in the resolution to the conflicting communities. A questionnaire distributed to the county and sub-county commissioners of Turkana and district officer of Uganda-Karamoja gives evidence that the peace mission is an international corporation affair and seeking to create a harmonious existence between the conflicting communities of the two countries. According to Naish (2017), any conflict arising from borderline, a people centered approach should be undertaken by both parties to enhance diplomatic relations among the existing communities (Naish, 2017).

A focus interview with the region's chiefs, sub-chiefs, and the civil organizations of Karamoja indicated that the inter-governmental operations had extended peace in the region despite several complains from the residents. Even though peace is a long-term concept to achieve in an area, the corporation among the countries have been enhancing a progressive conflict resolution for the communities.

A further engagement and interview with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) officials indicated a series of outcomes. The unstructured interview was undertaken among three respondents that noted that IGAD had played a

significant role in security and cross-border disarmament through development interventions. They noted that IGAD used two initiatives that include the Conflict Early Warning and Rapid Response (CEWARN) and the IGAD Drought, Disaster, Resilience, and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) to respond to the conflict among the Pokot and Turkana along the Turkwel River Belt. Based on the outcome of the interview, IGAD rolled out CEWARN to identify violent conflicts and their outbreak in IGAD member countries for which the Pokot and Turkana conflict qualify as violent conflicts in East African region. The IDDRSI initiative has dealt with the active response mechanism by building a strategic and sustainable development along the conflicting region as a priority since it is a cross-border issue.

Based on the interview outcome, the focus of this initiative has been conflict prevention, peace building among the communities, livelihood support to shift sources of livelihood from livestock, and partnership with the local authorities. They further noted that as an international organization, they have managed to establish the Informal Cross-Border Trade (ICBT) framework meant to enhance the cross-border security governance along between Pokot of Uganda and Turkana of Kenya. It has created a bilateral cooperation and coordination between Kenya and Uganda thus strengthening the international relations of the border communities through trade. The framework encourages entrepreneurial activity along the border point and constitute an important source of income for the vulnerable livelihoods especially women. This model has enhanced interstate cooperation and is enhancing peace among the border communities as it advances regional cohesion as a significant goal towards African region relations.

International programs such as the United States Aid (USAID) program have significantly played an important role in conflict management as they realize that ill-

defined borders could be the sources of conflict. In an interview with two respondents who are officials and representatives of USAID in Turkana County, the US program has been involved in conflict management program and much concerned about the border between Kenya and Uganda. The respondents noted that they defined the cross-border conflict between the Pokot and Turkana to be related to the long hold to pastoralism and the declining resources to manage the large herd of cattle. Their objective was therefore using peace programs to build a strategic conflict management along the border line. They managed it through the Peace III program in East Africa that funded the regional economic transformation in East Africa. Based on the respondents, the main aim was strengthening the relationship between the local government and the communities in the region while enhancing conflict management. It therefore indicates the concern by the international bodies and how they embarked on an international relations mission to support conflict management among border communities in East Africa. The mission has made it easier for the local leadership to disarm the communities while educating and giving them alternative sources of livelihood.

4.4.2 National Action Plan

The fourth strategy adopted by the Government of Kenya and Uganda in addressing cross-border disbarment programs was through the adoption of national action plan on disarmament. This is the strategic plan set by the national government to enhance a prospective disarmament process and regaining of peace within the border of Turkana and Pokot. The national government has a strategic role to play in managing conflict along its borders by looking at the root cause for the problems at hand and finding a solution for the problems. Some of the major aspect the residences note as action plan

by the national government to combat conflict and gain peace within the area include putting up schools within the region to support learning and increase enrollment to reduce future culprits to cattle rustling and peace destabilization. Even though this has been undertaken, the residences note that there is still much that need to be done to achieve a peaceful coexistence. The increasingly sensitized education program is facing a hitch in the resources available and inadequate teachers to implement the plan which has derailed the overall action plan. Approximately 90% of the 109 residences engaged in the focus group interview hint to the government implementing programs addressing the primary to secondary school bottleneck.

Some of the strategies members of the community who participated FGD recommended include merit scholarship for leaners from poor backgrounds gaining admission into national schools and an enhanced enrollment to ensure the region is not remaining behind. As an action plan implementation strategy, the government should also take up school feeding programs to see the learners are remaining in schools and undertaking civic education to inform parents of the economic value of schooling to reduce school dropouts. These strategies will ensure the National Action plan is fulfilling the needs for education in the region.

4.4.3 Community Economic Empowerment

The fourth strategy adopted by the government of Kenya and Uganda in order to achieve effective disarmament of illegal arms was economic empowerment of the region. By establishing political conditions that fostered winning the hearts and minds of the people. Inside Kenya, the government was after mollifying the people of Turkana and Pokot Counties by initiating development projects. There was vivid evidence that

the Government of Uganda had established a number of economic projects in the region. However, the benefits of such projects have not tricked to the locals. Pkalya and Adan (2005) argues that conflict between the Pokot and Turkana communities in 1992 led to shutting of numerous business grounds and marketplaces. The capacity of trade in Makutano and Chepareria trading centres went down drastically. Non-Pokot traders fled with their business to other counties such as Trans Nzoia. Additionally, between 1998 and 2003, most livestock markets in West Pokot County experienced recurrent closings creating deflation of livestock value.

Based on the results, the researcher concluded that insecurity has a significant impact on investment opportunities in West Pokot County although other factors mentioned by various key informants may have also played a role. For instance, a government official in the region attributed the lack of investment in the region to poor infrastructure. Most of the roads have not been tarmacked and this makes accessibility a problem. In addition, lack of rural electrification is one of the reasons why investors are reluctant to invest in the County. However, there are some attempts by the government to spur investments to the county, for instance the proposed cement factory in Sebit in Pokot South Sub County, which is yet to commence its operations

UN recommends that upholding peace and security requires the development of welcoming relationships among nation and endorsing social progress, better living ideals, and the human rights. The main aspects here are social justice and better living standards that can be used to influence the general coexistence of communities along the border. Economic empowerment for communities is a recipe for economic freedom and reduced levels of conflict that are leading to frequent conflicts between

communities in the border points (Setianingsih & Aalin, 2020). According to the county, sub-county administrators, and the district officers, a strategic empowerment has been influenced by organizations such as UN regional network that is supporting human resource progress, transformational governance, comprehensive and sustainable pecuniary growth, ecological sustainability, land administration, and human security.

These aspects are the basic roots towards the destabilized peace along Turkana and Karamoja areas between the border of Kenya and Uganda. Turkana County is also undertaking projects with the UN regional network such as the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) that draws strategic programs with the aim of developing a successful shift from community-based conflict to a sustainable county. According to the focus group interview with the administrators and the district officers, 85% of them indicated that these projects have helped address the issues of conflict but by a smaller percentage as arms are still in the hands of some communities and require more resources to support the projects. If the projects can receive a successful support they could create a sustainable peace within the region.

4.4.4 Multi stakeholder Approach

The achievements so far made along the Kenya-Uganda border between the Pokot and Turkana is an image of multi-stakeholder approach in enhancing peaceful coexistence among the communities in the region. Based on the research study, the peaceful coexistence has been the function of the county and county commissioners representing the Kenyan government, government of Uganda, professionals and county elites, and the National Commission for Human Rights. Each of these stakeholders has played a role as interviewed in building a collaborative relation between the communities along

Turkwel River Belt. Each stakeholder has played a critical role in managing a successful disarmament and peaceful coexistence among the people living along the boundary. Based, on the outcome of the study, 70% of the questionnaire feedback received from the 138 questionnaires indicate that there has been an objective engagement that has enhanced disarmament by each party whether it is through collaboration or use of force. The outcome of the engagement indicates that multi-stakeholder engagement is fruitful despite the challenges that may exist in disarming the violent communities.

This study sought to investigate the opinion of the KNCHR on the state of implementation of the state of multi-agency and multi-stakeholder approach towards disarmament. Analysis of the questionnaires yielded the following responses.
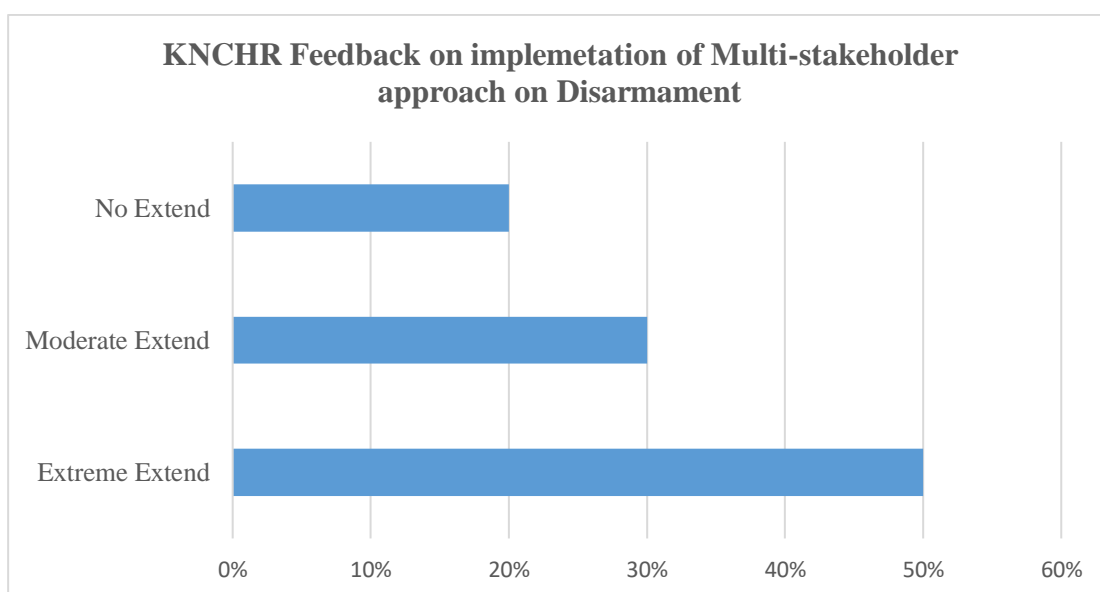
Figure 4.10: KNCHR Feedback on Implementation of Multi-stakeholder approach on Disarmament

Source: Field data, 2021

From Figure 4.10 above, shows that a further study and response from KNCHR they applaud the multi-sectoral initiative the government has taken in disarming the conflicting communities along the Turkwel R. Belt by a moderate extent. 50% of the respondents from KNCHR said that the multisectoral engagement worked better in the disarmament process, 30% noted a moderate extent in the exchange of information between the government and other key sectors in disarming the communities for peace building along the border. 20% agree that no extent has been achieved from the multi-sectoral engagement of the key sectors involved.
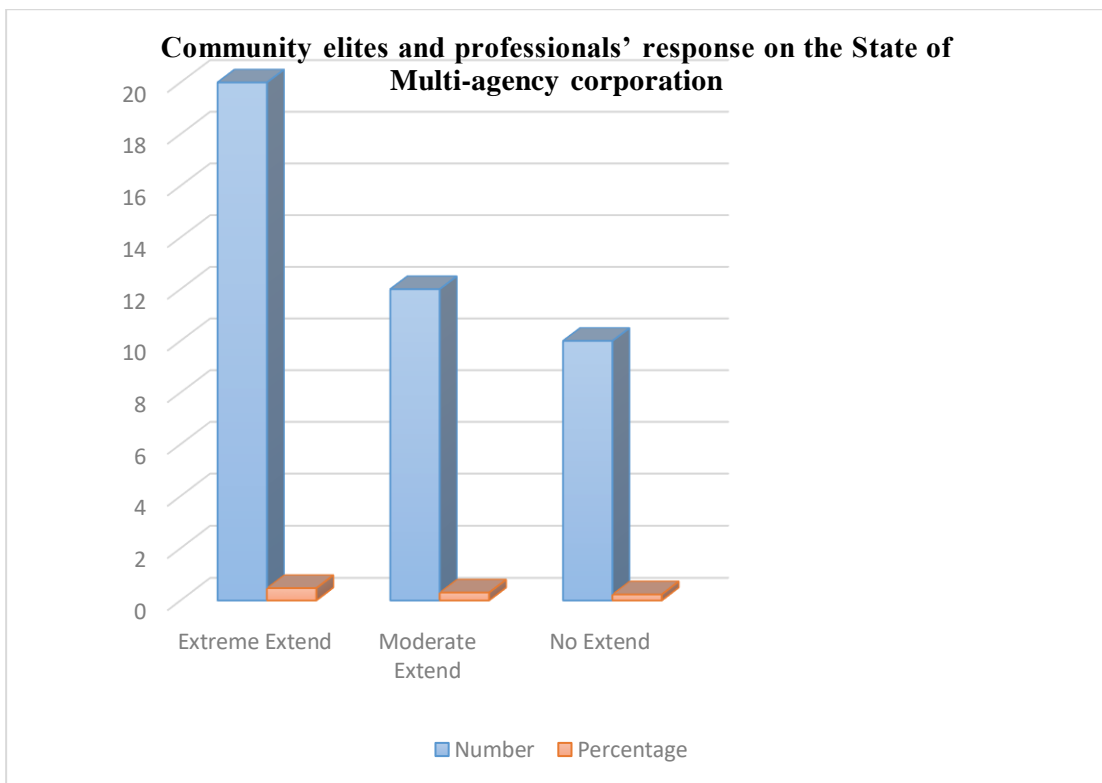
Figure 4.11 Community elites and professionals' response on the State of Multi-agency Corporation
Source: Field data, 2021

Professionals have played a key role in the disarmament process and the respondents in this study note that all the stakeholders have extremely played a role in the disarmament process. 47% agree that to an extreme extent the professionals, government, community

leaders, and the clergy have played an important role in managing the disarmament process. 30% have indicated a moderate extent in the engagement of the community to enhance a successful disarmament process while only 23% of the professionals agree that nothing has been done for the success of the disarmament process within the Turkwell River Belt.

4.4.5 Inter-Governmental Policy Measures

The uncontrolled propagation of SALW poses a stern threat to countries in the Turkwel River Belt. Individual states have made numerous attempts to contain the spread to no avail. Like weapons of mass destruction, the threat of SALW calls for international cooperation. Kenya and Uganda have to this respect engineered foreign policy relating to the disarmament in the Turkwel River Belt. These form the basis of the existing intergovernmental mechanisms geared towards containing the threats posed by SALW and challenges faced by government led disarmament programs. This section examines such intergovernmental policy measures.

4.4.6 The Firearms Act (1970)

The firearms Act (1970) prescribes the regulations for the purchase, ownership, manufacturing and sale of firearms and ammunition. When the country and sub county commissioners in Kenya were asked whether the community was aware of the existing regulations on the possession of firearms, most of them indicated that there was no evidence based on gun possession. In most cases, gun owners would have certificates, however, most of the guns in the hands of the community living around the Turkwel River Belt did not have the certificate of ownership and neither are they acquired within the country.

The study was interested to find residents awareness of the Firearms Act. The responses were as shown in figure 5.1.

Residents Awareness of the Firearms Act
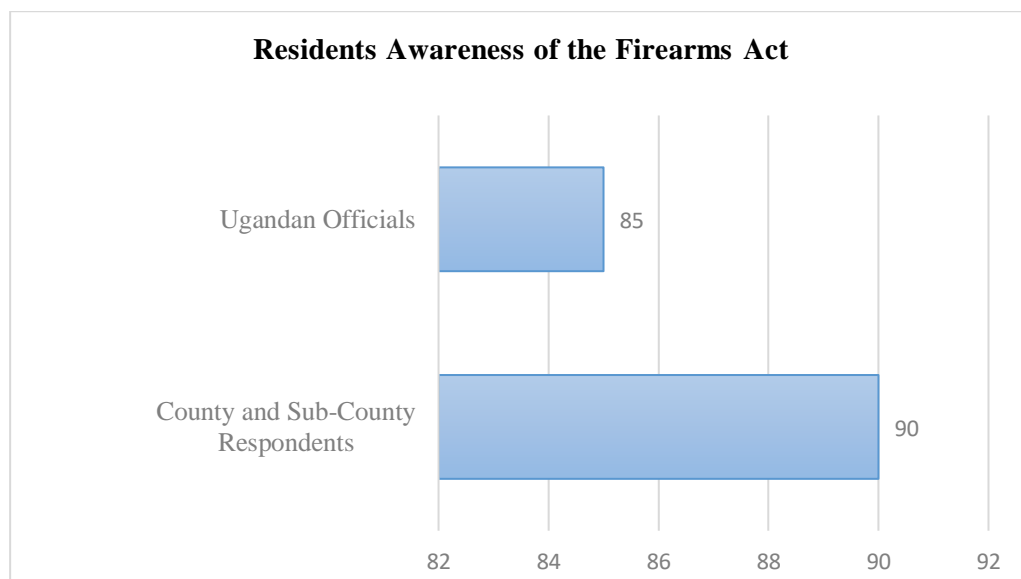
Figure 4.12 Residents Awareness of the Firearms Act

Source: Field data, 2021

From Figure 5.1 above, approximately 90% of the County and Sub-county respondents indicated that most of the individuals within the community were unaware of the Firearms Act 1970 and operated SALW as means of community defense and as raiding equipment to acquire animal and ward off enemies. 85% of the Ugandan government official also indicated that the data available from the firearms licensing and regulation does not indicate any possibility of issued firearms to the community along the Turkwel River Belt. It was therefore presumed illegal ownership of arms and both governments indicate that they have the responsibility of repossessing the guns and sealing the loopholes for the acquisition of firearms.

The sub-county and county officials for Turkana County and the government officials note that they are liaising with the Firearms licensing and regulation boards from both countries to educate the community on the existing laws governing the possession and use of guns. In a focus group interview with the officers, most of them indicated that it was becoming necessary to educate and sensitize the community on the laws against illegal firearm ownership and the need for a peaceful coexistence even as the government is working towards disarming the community. The sub-country and the county government initiatives included engaging the communities on a one-on-one civic education to sensitize them on the measures of handling small and light weapons and the government is regulating the ownership of the weapons for the good of the community. They indicated that even though the measures have been undertaken to educate the public, there is still much that should be undertaken to disarm the community. Most of them are rigid and would probably be disarmed at an alternative activity for a living. The arms are majorly used in cattle raiding which later spikes conflict.

4.4.7 UN-regional Network

The role of United Nations has been significant in Turkana County as they are defining a new moment in the county to empower and drive alternative economic activities for the communities around. In an interview with the county commissioner indicated a strategic engagement between the county government, the national government and the UN. The commissioner indicated that the UN has been a crucial partner in setting a new approach to integrate the communities in Turkana to long-term livelihood solutions and welfare thus supporting the disarmament measures and improving the livelihood of the communities. The UN regional network has ventured in human capital development,

transformational governance, comprehensive and sustainable economic progress, and environmental sustainability, land management, and human security. The concepts are strategically changing the conflict landscape within the region and providing alternative economic activities for the communities aiming to reduce conflict and enhance disarmament.

The county commissioner made reference to the United Nations Development Assistance Program (UNDAP) that seeks to change the narrative of the county as a conflict related county to a prosperous, peaceful, and just county. Turkana County and UN are working as an integrated group under the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) that draws strategic programs with the aim of developing a successful shift from community-based conflict to a sustainable county. Based on the county commissioner's sentiments, it is obvious that the UN regional network is enhancing a successful engagement with the employees within the region. As part of the measures the county is putting in to disarm the communities, they are addressing specific issues that are affecting the communities in the region. As a regional matter, the role of UN is strategically enhancing disarmament measures, which is attributed to lack of alternative economic activities for an income.

A further analysis in the Turkana County and UN Integrated Program indicates that the UN regional Network in Turkana is majorly concerned with people empowerment to reduce incidences of conflict. Empowerment of the region is due to its marginalization and underdevelopment for many years, which has led to high poverty and illiteracy within the region thus spiking the level of conflict with the neighboring communities such as Pokot of Uganda. One of the actions the joint partnership has led to is building

schools within the region and employing teachers through the county education program (Program Cycle Report, 2019). The program is aimed at human capital development to empower and train the locals to understand their position and value in the society and get out of retrogressive activities in the society such as cattle raiding. They are also empowered not to depend on cattle rustling and farming as the only activity but rather consider other activities such as crop farming, fishing, and other professional activities as sources of income. The plan is based on a vision 2030 footprint aiming to alleviate poverty end empower the community with alternative economic empowerment activities. 75% of the 109 residents included in the focus group interview said that the programs by the County government and the UN have supported a great shift from depending on pastoralism to other sources of income such as fishing and irrigation supported farming. As a result, this has resulted to a decline in the conflict rates by a larger percentage and empowered the community, which has resolved conflict.

4.4.8 More Administrative Units

Units of administration are a representative of the government initiative in a given area. One of the causes of violence between the Pokot and Turkana as noted from approximately 70% of the 109 residents in the focus interview is the concept of marginalization. As a result, the administrators noted that the government is increasing the level of administrative units to increase the level of both national and county government coordination. The administrative units are working with the county administration through the administrators, and the non-governmental organizations such as the UN to provide an alternative source of livelihood to the people within the region thus eliminating the concept of conflict. According to 70% of the focus group

interview concerns is that the communities in this region is that they are dependent on livestock farming and due to the increasing pressure with a declining pasture, the level of conflict is increasing. As a result, this is creating land boundary disputes and water resources that are affecting the general peaceful coexistence among the residents.

Most of the residents engaged through the focus group interview note that the development and creation of administrative units will ensure critical amenities are fulfilled within the region as an alternative to livestock farming thus increasing the level of performance. Various stakeholders right from the chief to the political leaders are representing the position of the government to the people with the aim of disarming the communities and enhancing a peaceful coexistence. Based on the administrators, effective collaboration and making of the decision to put up most administrative units is identifying the government to the people hence increasing people representation and possessing some of the arms within the population. The respondents noted that the government representatives in the region are bringing on board the people's needs even though some community members are not willing to be disarmed. Some of the regions are receiving government support with 60% of the administrators noting that most of the areas of representation have started improving from conflict related activities to adoption of alternative livelihood activities such as farming.

4.4.9 Deactivation & Demilitarization

After using military force to disarm the community along the Turkwel River Belt, the government seems to have changed tact as a measure to apply more civilized models to disarm the conflicting communities. In a focus interview engagement with the administrators indicates that most of the human rights activists and frontiers were much

against the use of military force to disarm the community. Based on Perry, (2004), the concept of deactivation and demilitarization is drawn from the post-cold war era when governments in Mozambique, Kosovo, Bosnia, and Afghanistan. There was a sustained and proliferated violence due to the presence of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the regions that necessitated deactivation and demilitarization and application of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programs. The focus interview with 3 administrators indicated that the company was using military force when there was hesitance in voluntary surrendering the weapons to the government with the basic context of developing a successful and unique plan for the general business performance.

However, the Kenyan government is scaling down the military occupation within the region and using alternative disarmament measures aiming to eliminate the weapons within the region. The programs are well intentioned and strategically set to fulfill a strategic and contractual model within the disarmament process in the region. As a government and non-government initiative, the different professionals within the region are managing to recover small and light weapons voluntarily with a clear will to minimize the level of conflict in the region. The administrators note that some of the strategies that have been applied include '*Operation Okota*' that is majorly aiming that is aiming to forcefully take the weapons from those who have refused to surrender the arms. Administrators further note that the reason the government is applying these initiatives is to reduce the level of illegal arms in the hands of the civilians.

As part of the deactivation and demilitarization process, administrators are noting a further engagement between the government and the civilian through recruitment to the Kenya Police Reservist (KPR). In this context, holders of illegal arms are given the

option of being recruited to KPR if they return the weapons in return for government registered and licensed ones. After they are issued with licensed arms, they are trained and tasked to provide security to the community as an initiative of disarming the community and getting illegal arms out of the community to reduce conflict. The country administrators indicate that the Kenyan government through the ministry of interior is guided by the need to solving the existing problems within Turkana. The ministry is also working with the Ugandan counterparts to create alternatives to demilitarization and maintain the security of the region while eliminating the insecurity problem within the region.

4.4.10 Operation *Dumisha Amani*

It has been applied extensively by the Kenyan government as a disarmament measure to reduce the conflict between communities in the North Rift. A focus interview with the 50 county and sub-country administrators indicated that the national government was more committed in disarming the conflicting communities and this is why they were working on a plan to integrating other activities within the region. Some of the development aspects the government is engaging within the community include rehabilitating water points and rebuilding infrastructure to open up the region for economic activities such as agriculture and trade. 'Dumisha Amani' means maintaining peace where the government is using coercive measures to allow the community to surrender the arms voluntarily. In the focus interview with the residents about the use of 'Dumisha Amani' in restoring peace, 80% of them said it is a good initiative only that it requires to be fully implemented to be fruitful. The advantage of this disarmament strategy is that it was taken in conjunction with Uganda as a coordinated model to ensure a successful disarmament from the Turkana of Kenya and Pokot of Uganda. Sub

county and county administrators indicated that the model bore fruits and it currently used to fully disarm the communities along the Turkwel River Belt.

Implementation of 'Dumisha Amani' has been there for quite some time based on the sub-county and county administrators' feedback and has seen the local communities largely change to as strategic disarmament plan. When undertaking the strategic plan, it was noted that the strategy was taken on a top-down approach with basic conception directed from the ministry of state to the provincial administration and internal security. Military has also been involved in recent clashes to compel and intimidate the community to surrender the arms on a voluntary basis. The initiative has seen the government retrieve high number of small and light arms from the community. However, the administrators note that most individuals fear to bring the arms on board for fear of an attack from the Pokot community even though disarmament is undertaken in both countries. It is observed that Dumisha Amani Operation was implemented in 2005 in the first phase and the second phase implanted in 2010 with a target of recovering 50,000 arms from Northern Kenya. However, the government initiative failed to achieve the intended objective and only managed to recover 1201 firearms, 1665 rounds of ammunition, and 201 stolen livestock (Ndung'u, 2010). Even though most of the residents saw it as an elaborate plan to get the weapons from the hands of civilians, the government saw it as a failed strategy and had to rethink about changing the people's culture of gun ownership.

The Ugandan side consequently applied the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Program (KIDDP) that has empowered the communities living along Turkwel River Belt in what is referred to as poverty eradication action plan and the

peace, recovery, and development action plan. The strategy is in consistent with the UN pillars for conflict resolution that has seen a decline in the insecurity issues along the border. In an interview with the district officer in Karamoja, the government has played a key role in the disarmament process which has seen the recovery of illegal firearms from the civilians. By creating the KIDDP, the government managed a successful disarmament process that saw a successful provision of livelihoods to the people for sustainable peace while relinquishing their weapons. It became a worthy cause since the entire community including the development partners was actively involved for the disarmament process. The KIDDP is run by civilians who are highly welcomed in the community. The policy has established a successful security mission that seeks to empower the communities living on the borders of Turkwel River Belt.

4.4.11 International Conflict Resolution Policy

The UN approved international policy on conflict resolution is aimed at disarming, demobilization, and reintegration process (DDR). The process sees the deployment of experts, drafting provisions of the agreements, and negotiation as part of the mediation process. Secondly, it involves analysis that takes into consideration mapping of the armed groups and identification of entry points for programmatic engagement. Finally, there is the capacity building that involves strengthening the parties involved and working towards an agreement to find a lasting solution. The policy involves the community violence reduction and has been applied through the DDR process through the governmental and non-governmental process that has seen the achievement of a successful disarmament and empowerment process.

4.5 Roles played by Local Community and Professionals & Elite in the Disarmament Programs

Different stakeholders have been playing key roles in the disarmament process along the Turkwel R. Belt. Apart from the inter-governmental initiatives between the national government, the Ugandan government, and the country government, the professionals and elites have also taken the frontline initiative to engage and enhance the disarmament process and the success of the entire process within the community. An engagement with professionals and elites such as teachers, scholars, and clergy. A focus interview was conducted with each of these groups and presented different views on how they are managing the conflict between the Pokot of Uganda and Turkana of Kenya. Each group presented significant views and strategies they applied in managing a successful disarmament process and enhancement of peace within the Turkwel River Belt.

4.5.1 Cross-border Projects

The study sought to establish the role of cross-border project in enhancing disarmament programs and cross border conflict along Turkwel River Belt. This study noted that there are number of programs set up to enhance peace in the region. The most conspicuous is the international peace advocacy. This was developed to address the root causes of conflict across the three pillars of United Nations that include peace and security, human rights, and development. According to Ako (2017), addressing the root causes of conflict among communities at the border points could count to a strategic model of regaining peace and order. As a result, through an interview with 8 scholars from different Universities such as Kenyatta University and University of Nairobi, they have advocated cross border projects which have been successfully applied to enhance peace within the region. The scholars indicated the support for cultural activities and

other grassroots initiatives that promote peace across the border. An example is the Karamoja Cluster Project (KCP) a collective project that has been undertaken amid the University for Peace, the Uganda Martyrs University, and the Children Peace Initiative in Kenya. The scholars interviewed indicate that the Pian-Pokot-Sabiny Cross Border Conflict Program in conjunction with the Turkana-Pokot-Sabiny Cross-Border Conflict Management Initiative have engaged the communities regularly across the border to create the sense of sharing of pastoral resources. The strategies have strategically enhanced the general building and achievement of peace across the border.

There are also Pastoral Field Schools established in the region that promote peace building as well as economic wellbeing of the communities. Almost 100% of the scholars from the university community interviewed also said the contribution of the pastoral field schools in training of the communal animal health workers, alleviating poverty, and enhancing the social coexistence. The outcome of the strategies implemented is immense and has improved the situation of the communities along the Turkwel River Belt. Even though the scholars note that their programs have not borne much fruits due to limited resources, the strategies have helped reduce the level of conflict and enhance the disarmament of individuals within the region. Much has been done by the elite group to alleviate the conflict along the border and contribute to the role of community development and reduction of confliction patterns. The common problems along the border are competition for water and pastures that has led to reciprocal violence. However, the scholars noted that the decision to develop an alternative for pastoralism by schooling for empowerment and driving the sense of peace among the community are significant diplomacy measures the scholars are undertaking to create a peaceful co-existence along the border. As a result, it is a

conflict resolution driven mechanism enhancing the peaceful existence along the border.

4.5.2 Aid & Civic Education

Another role played by professional and community elites is promoting civil education. Teachers were identified to be playing a major role in this. The study noted that teachers have been instrumental in supporting a strategic disarmament and conflict resolution between the warring communities of Pokot and Turkana. Based on a focus interview with 20 teachers from Uganda and Kenya, 75% noted that they are focused on developing an alternative plan and preventing conflict in the future. As NGOs and governments of Uganda and Kenya are putting up schools, teachers are playing an important role of civilizing and educating learners. Teachers have noted through a focus interview that their role has been facilitating the provision of education to the Pokot and Turkana communities as a strategy of creating a level ground and emancipation from poverty and community violence. Teachers for Karamoja and the Kenyan side have indicated that they teach learners from both regions despite the challenges they still undergo. Some of the challenges mentioned include the volatile environment that surrounds the community making it impossible to hold classes in some incidences. Due to such issues, the teachers find it difficult to administer learning in an environment that is not suitable for learning.

Apart from learning teacher have been used by organizations such as UN to enhance civil engagement with the community around the Tuckwell R. Belt. 80% of the 20 teachers in the focus group interview indicated that they have been operating with the community-based organizations to ensure they reach the conflict bases and change the narrative to a success. NGOs such as the Red Cross have sorted teachers' support to

minimize the crisis and maximize productivity by addressing the community-based programs to address the community conflict. Other organizations such as the European Union have also used teachers to reach for boys and girls within the community by advocating for equality in education. The 80% teachers noted that the strategy had enabled the young boys and girls to be in school and this is changing the narrative of holding arms for conflict and cattle rustling. It is changing the future of the community in the region as most of them keep understanding the value of education to the community. Teachers further noted that the learners are also used as peace ambassadors to the community for peace building ambitions to prevent future conflicts. Schools have been involved in the peace race and fashion show competitions to engage the locals through recreational activities and contributing positively to improve the level of education along the Turkwel R. Belt.

4.5.3 Peace Ambassadors

The term peace ambassadors refer to people of distinguished careers, personality who are carefully selected from the fields such as art, music, literature, science, education or entertainment so as to be messengers of peace in regions where peace is threatened. There a number of individuals identified as peace ambassadors in the Turkwel Rive Belt. The clergy also plays the role of peace ambassadors in peace restoration?

This study observed that the clergy was playing a major role in the area as peace ambassadors intending to minimize the level of conflict within the region. The Pokot and Turkana conflict have existed for a long time but the worst part is that it is turning out to be a worse conflict with a myriad of destructions affecting the livelihood of the communities. The Catholic Church has been fond of advocating for peaceful coexistence of communities in the region that prompted a focus interview with a group

of clergies. According to an interview with 4 clergy, the mission of the church is underpinned by promoting peace and justice within the sacredness of the human life, human rights, development, ethical character, and integrity creation. The clergy indicated that their peaceful mission is subject to the government mission and the main concern is enhancing a peaceful living among the communities along the border point.

The clerics further note that they have no constitutional role to play in conflict resolution. However, they administer the missionary work to the conflicting communities such as the Pokot and Turkana. 75% of the clerics indicated that the reason for the involvement is the failure for involvement would diminish justification within the society when they stand in as peace ambassadors and neutral ground to cool down the temper. The presence of the Catholic Church in Pokot and Turkan land is enhancing socio-spirituality among the people and engagement will enhance a strategic progress for socio-political issues to address the matters at hand. The clergies further noted that they have played the role of evangelization and preaching for the salvation of the Pokot and Turkana involved in the cross-border conflict. The deal is prospective and relevant for the entire process in ensuring a successful engagement and surrendering of the weapons used for the conflict execution.

Based on the feedback, it is undeniably true that the clergy plays an important role in managing a successful disarmament process along the Kenya and Uganda border between the Turkana and Pokot communities. Preaching on the essence of peace along the border and facilitating salvation through evangelization is one of the attributes of civilization to the communities. The communities along the border get to know the importance of living in peace and subscribing to a faith-based church. As a result, this forms part of the reform agenda for enhancing a successful disarmament process for the

communities living along the border. The effectiveness of the Catholic Church in conflict resolution is enhancing a successful conflict management as an objective strategy towards meaningful patterns of identified challenges within a specific source of conflict. Conflict resolution means finding an amicable solution to the root causes of a conflict through diplomacy (Wallesteen, 2018). Due to what conflict resolution and management calls for as a practice, the church was involved in the interventionist effort to preventing negative escalation of violence between the Pokot and Turkana. The church has therefore played a critical role in responding to critical issues such as social and spiritual needs within the community prospects. The feedback from the clergies is relevant and indicative of their roles in disarming the conflicting communities along Turkwel Rier Belt.

4.5.4 Third Party Intervention

The analysis of the contribution of third-party interventions towards disarmament in the Turkwel Rive Belt indicates that third parties have made a wide variety of contributions. The table below illustrates some of the contributions.

Table 4.2: Analysis of Contribution of Third-Party Intervention

Memorandum of Understanding Played a role			Joint Border Programs	
Number of Respondents		98	98	
Feedback	Yes	No	Significant	Not Significant
Number	88	10	75%	25%
Percentage	90%	10%	74	24

The prevailing conditions call for third part intervention to reduce the impact of the conflict along the Kenya-Uganda border between the Turkana and Pokot. The existing resources provide inadequate platform for planning and enhancing community engagement. Kenya and Ugandan leadership have played a critical part in capsizing the existing war between the people and ensuring the communities have a good co-existence. A focus group interview with the 98 district officers from Uganda, the County administrators, and the representatives from the National Commission on Human Rights indicated that the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the Ugandan and Kenyan presidents in 2019 has played a greater role in peace building. 90% of the team indicated that the MoU was majorly signed to launch sustainable peace and development in Turkana-Pokot-Karamoja region along the border for the two countries. The strategy represented an alternative model to undertaking peaceful agreements between the two communities along the border of the two countries and ensuring the company is fulfilling its intended purpose.

Approximately 75% of the total respondents in the focus interview noted that there is significance in the joint border program between the Kenya and Uganda for sustainable peace and development. Most of the objectives were aimed at calling for an action to end poverty and ensuring there is peace and stability of the prosperity of all within the warring region. As Sustainable Development Goals are a universal commitment, they are considered necessary to enhancing a successful universal engagement of every community to ensure no one is left behind. They are geared towards ending poverty, promoting peace, reducing hunger, and promoting inclusive society. The respondents further note that the deal is an alternative to ensuring sustainable peace and that neighbors shall not be forced to rise against other neighbors due to the socio-economic

circumstances that exist between them that could cause conflict. Third party intervention measures have borne fruits and aiding in the successful disarmament and peaceful coexistence among the communities. Peace agreements are assuring a strategic and successful existence of communities within the region and helped the Turkana and Pokot communities to live as one.

4.5.6 Alternative livelihoods

Most areas within the boundary of Pokot and Turkana experience drought that contributes to a high-level poverty. Development has been derailed in the region due to inadequate resources to aid in development of the region and overdependence on livestock farming that is considered as a form of currency. Using alternative livelihood prospects would ensure an adequate and sustainable peace within the region. The role of this strategic component has been based on providing alternatives such as economic activities other than pastoralism to eliminate the concept of cattle rustling. In a focus interview with a sample of the border residence, 85% of the residents said that there is a dynamic shift in the nature of activities the residences are undertaking for a livelihood due to international and national intervention measures for the increasing conflict between the conflicting communities. Existence of alternative livelihood measures such as fishing and agricultural farming is changing the dependence on livestock to other activities. It is also changing the conflict landscape as most people within the communities are shifting from pastoralist activities to agricultural farming.

The residents further noted that international communities such as European Union and United Nations are putting irrigation projects in conjunction with the county and national governments to enhance sustainable farming due to drought. The value of alternative livelihoods is creating a value-based concern for the company thus

enhancing a successful intervention for the problem of drought, raiding, livestock diseases, and the declining land space for livestock feeding. Even though the entire community has not been reached by this shift in livelihood, the value of the shifting consumption is enhancing and creating a successful environment for the coexistence of the communities within the region. Generally, based on the feedback from the residence, the shifting livelihood dependency is adequately enhancing the success and peaceful coexistence of the communities for the long-run. The local participation has enabled a successful engagement of communities and enhanced livelihood.

4.6 Challenges Faced in the Cross Border Disarmament Programs in the Turkwel River Belt

Disarmament programs in the Turkwel Rive Belt have experienced major challenges. The challenges noted by this study include: First and foremost, the ever-increasing influx of small arms and light weapons in the region and the related challenge lucrative trade on illicit arms. Secondly, numerous allegations of human rights violation during internal security operation meant to mop out arms from civilians. Thirdly, the perennial cattle rustling between the communities living in this area continue to pose serious security threat. Fourthly, there is a challenge of population increase as opposed to declining resource availability. Fifthly, there is emerging threat associated with terrorism and youth radicalization. Religious and ethnic animosity among residents of the Turkwel River Belt is another challenge to the disarmament efforts. The se nth challenge is community resentment to government led operations and strategies. The eighth and final challenge investigate by this study is ever increasing number of school dropouts. This section analyzed these eight challenges as follows.

4.6.1 Continued Influx of Small Arms and Light Weapons

Despite numerous operations to rid the Turkwel River Belt of illicit firearms in the hands of civilian population, the region is increasingly becoming the target of small arms and light weapons. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon. The influx of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in an out of Turkwel has been majorly fronted to be caused by issues such as lack of security, gun culture, lack of employment for the youths and the large number of school dropouts. Other factors include the feeling of vulnerability among residents as result of security dilemma among other reasons. The factors seem to echo Kamenju, Wairagu and Mwachofi in their work Terrorized Citizens: Profiling Small Arms and Insecurity in the North Rift Region of Kenya, which details the proliferation of SALW in the North Rift region of Kenya and insecurity. They argue that the root cause of influx of SALW is the gun culture in the region. The Pokot and the Turkana communities believe that SALW, it is easy to protect their pasture and water points for their livestock. Further, Kumssa, William, and Jones, (2001) posit that the causes and patterns of insecurity among pastoral communities include tribalism, scarcity of resources, availability of SALW from neighboring countries and cultural practices such as cattle rustling, poor governance and incitement from political leaders. (Kumssa, William, & Jones, 2001).

The study sought to establish the to what extent the do stake holder hold that the ever-increasing influx of small arms and light weapons is a threat to cross border security in the Turkwel River Belt. The response of various categories of the respondents was as follows.
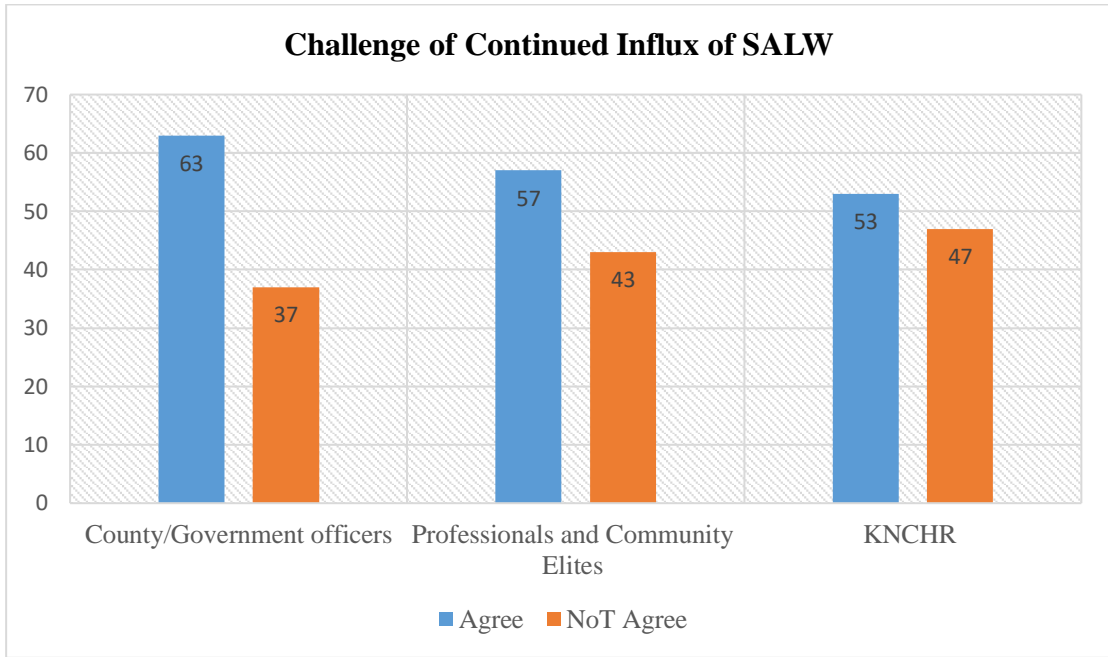
Figure 4.13 Challenges posed by Continued Influx of SALW
Source: Field data, 2021

From Figure 4.11 above, this study noted as a consequent of threat of continued influx of small arms and light weapons in the Turkwel River Belt, 70% of the first category of the respondents, the county and sub-county commission officials agreed that the increasing number of small arms and light weapons is the main challenge to the disarmament approaches. Approximately 30% of the respondents failed to agree the influx of SALW is not the key threats to insecurity in the region.

The second category of respondents, professional and community elites indicated that influx of SAWL has been fronted due to the large number of school-drop-out and the youth unemployment and 63% of the respondents to this aspect. 47% fail to agree with the argument that school drop outs and unemployment is that reason for the increasing conflict between the Pokot and Turkana along the Turkwell River Belt. The higher rate

for the agreement on drop outs and unemployment causing conflict note that to a moderate level, these are the causes of the influx in SALW.

Availability of trade of SALW has also been fronted as a major concern for the conflict between the violent communities. Approximately 57% of the KNCHR respondents note that an extent of the trade of SALW within the border has increased the level of conflict which is a hindrance to the disarmament process. Close to 33% of the participants note a moderate extent to the trade of SALW within the neighboring countries as the main cause for the increasing conflict. About 10% find no relationship between the trade in SALW within Turkwel and neighboring communities to be the cause of conflict and the need for disarmament.

A further question during interviews was asked on the relevance of disarmament process and if the government and other stakeholders should continue indicated positive feedback. The community said that government, community leaders, and professional groups have taken measures to enhance the disarmament process and contain the influx of SAWL and the level of insecurity in the region. The measure has borne fruits based on the feedback drawn from the respondents, a significant respondent base of 7 residents indicated that the government has done much to enhance the disarmament. Only 3 noted little extent to the effectiveness of the government initiatives. Disarmament measures have therefore been fronted to bear fruits in the recent past due to the measures enhanced by the government.

4.6.2 Cattle Rustling

The field research results indicated that a cattle rustling was the major contributing factor of insecurity in the Turkwel River Belt. This accounted for 42.2% of all

insecurity incidences. The number of cattle raids that had taken place in the region in recent past evidenced this. An interview with a chief in Turkana and Pokot Counties indicated that in one month, bandits from neighboring communities either from Turkana County or Pokot County steal approximately 300 herds of cattle from each other. This cycle continues year in year out. The informants informed the study that some of these animals are recovered.

There are a number of factors escalating cattle rustling. It is argued that the Pokot and Turkana communities value cattle so much. This also applies to the Karamoja of Uganda. According to Nganga (2012), these communities base their discernment of wealth on cattle. Moreover, all their culture and out-of-date rites are positioned on cattle. For this reason, every cohort is educated to remark a cow as an imperative treasure that the public cannot do without. Subsequently, this primes to despairing pursuits for livestock, by all means available. For example, after a circumcision rite there is continuous need for cattle to pay dowry during marriage. One respondent said that one needs about 25 cattle to pay bride price. This informs the unhealthy practice of cattle rustling that the community still practices to date.

Cattle rustling was also attributed to the fact that SALW have found their way into the region. West Pokot County from neighboring countries. According to one chief in Pokot Central Sub County, some of the guns in West Pokot County came from Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia to Turkana County then to West Pokot County. The researcher however found out that SALW have an international dimension. According to the Human Rights Watch report (2012), SALW are trafficked through some channels

used for legal arms shipment with Mombasa port being one of the entry points used by smugglers.

Border disputes came second with 23.4 %. This was because boundary disputes have increasingly become a significant characteristic of relations between residents of West Pokot County and Turkana County. In the recent past, there has been a series of meetings between leaders, security agents and community elders in the two counties over a dispute of a road that was being constructed at the border of Turkana County and the Pokot County. The respondents claim that the West Pokot boundary should be in Lokichar but the Turkana claim the border should be in Kainuk where Turkwell gorge is located.

Apart from the above-mentioned causes, the key informants interviewed mentioned lack of infrastructure in the region, which affects the response rate by security agents whenever there is an attack or banditry. Some key informants blamed the high illiteracy levels in the region as factors contributing to insecurity. Since a high number of the citizens are illiterate, they are not aware of the conflict resolution strategies apart from revenge attacks. Lack of alternative livelihoods was a contributing factor to the persistent problem of insecurity in the region. The Pokot community relies heavily on livestock for food, income and payment of dowry.
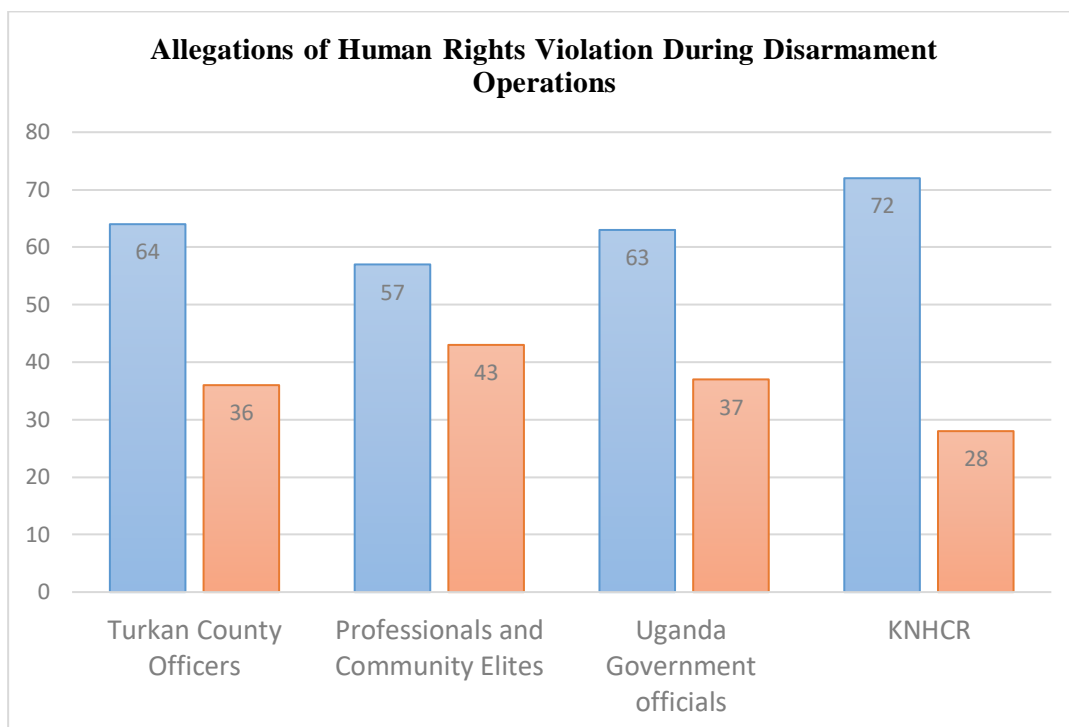
4.6.3 Allegation of Human Rights Violation

There are varied perceptions regarding internal security operations. They are supported and discredit on equal measure. Many of the residents in the area of operation usually perceive internal operation as necessary evil. They credit the military for reinstating peace and security but also criticise it for violating human rights. This is because,

iinternal security operation to disarm communities utilize various strategies. Some strategies have high potential for violence. Hence communities fear whenever an impending operation is in the offing. They fear that guiltless people, including men, women and children, could be beleaguered and sometimes slayed in such manoeuvres. They also fear that the residents are brutalised in the hands of uniformed men. The civil societies often find internal security operations at odd with human rights.

The study sought to establish whether the resentment to internal disarmament security operation by community is due to human rights allegations committed during the operation. Based on the situation in different sub-counties of Turkana Country, the feedback received indicates a strategic view on the current developments due to the disarmament process along the boundary on whether there has been increased human rights violation in the implementation of the disarmament process by the governments of Kenya and Uganda. The study established as follows.

Feedback from the county and sub-county commission indicates little extent of human rights violation in the disarmament process with 64% of the respondents approving the feedback. 36% indicated no extent of human rights violation in the sub-counties they represent.

Ugandan officials indicated, there have been increased allegations of increased violation of human rights in the disarmament process, the respondents indicate a significantly low level of human rights violation at little extent. 63% of the government officials relate a significantly little extent in the violation of employee rights with the 37% indicating no extent of the violation of human rights in handling the process of disarmament along the Turkwel River Belt.

Figure 4.14 Allegations of Human Rights Violation During Disarmament Operations
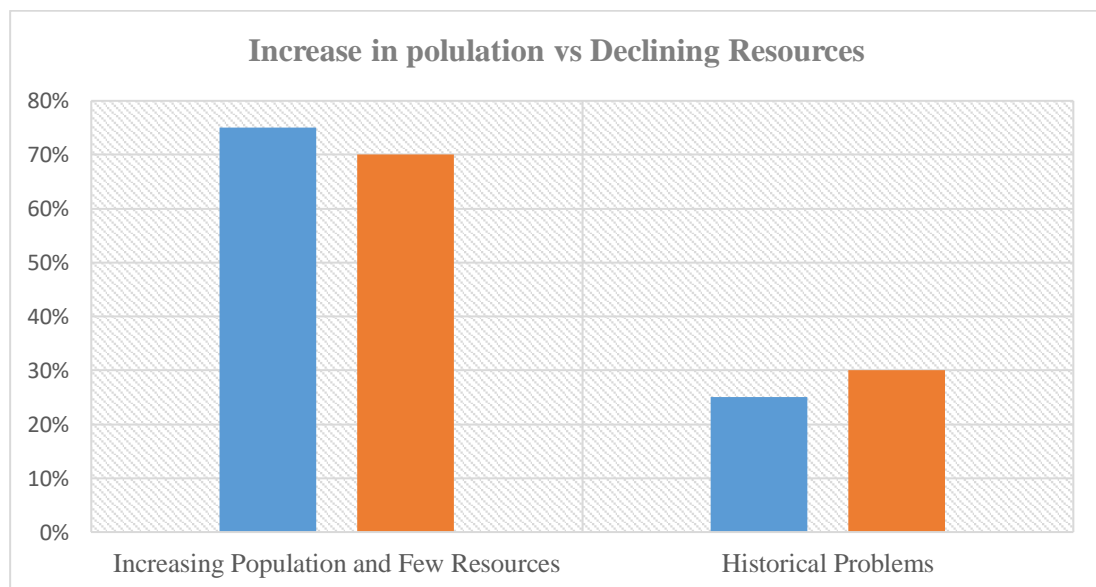
Source: Field data 2021

The questionnaire was also directed to the professionals and community elites such as teachers, scholars, and clergy who responded to the questions in different ways. First, 57% of the respondents noted a little or moderate violation of human rights in the implementation of the disarmament process among the violent groups. 43% noted no violation of human rights indicating some incidences of human rights violation but within the given measures of community disarmament.

Based on the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights (KNCHR), questionnaire feedback, there was an extreme violation of the human rights during the disarmament process along the Turkwell River Belt. In a sample of 22 respondents, 72% of the respondents extremely note that the implementation of the disarmament program was

undertaken in absolute violation of the human rights. 28% of the respondents agree that there is no violation of human rights in the implementation of the disarmament process.

4.6.4 Population increase Vs Resource Decline

Emerging studies have pointed out that converse increase in population amid declining resources is a cause of conflict. Increasing population puts mounting pressure on water and land resources that have remained stagnant or decline due to climate change. While there is global trend pf demographic growth, resources have remained scarce or are getting depleted due to unsustainable utilization. This study noted that pressure on water and land resources as result of increase ion population in the Turkwel Rive Belt is emerging as cause of insecurity and instability in the region. This has rippling effect on disarmament efforts. Figure 4.12 blew show community perception on the increase of population as source of violent conflict as compared to historical injustices.

Figure 4.15: Increase in Population Vs Decline in Resources as cause of insecuirity.
Source; Field data, 2021

In figure 4.15 above professional and community elites represented by series one indicated that increase in population as compared to declining resources is a challenge to disarmament in the region by approximately 75% as compared to historical problems accounting to about 25%. The county commission officers represented by series two indicated that increasing in population accounted for 70% of the challenge.

Further, in an interview with border based Ugandan residents to understand reasons for the increasing conflict between the Pokot and Turkana, it was evident that 7 out of the 10 interviewed noted the increasing population and declining resources was the cause of insecurity. The study noted that there is an increase in population while resources are conversely declining. Consequently, citizens in many parts of the Turkwel Rive Belt have resorted to arming themselves through the acquisition of SALW to protect themselves and their property. (Kamenju & Wairagu, 2003). Only 3 of the residents interviewed could relate this to the historical problems along the Turkwell River Belt. The significant population increase and the scarce resources was said to be among the major grounds of war amongst the communities along the River Belt. The level of percentages significantly notes a huge correlation among the level of resources and the reason for the conflict from along the border of Pokot and Turkana.

In an interview with 8 community elites and professionals in Turkana County, it emerged that conflict has been escalating due to the increasing level of population and the scarce resources to be the cause for rustling leading to conflict in the area. 6 respondents in the interview indicated a strong association between the level of conflict and the scarcity of resources with an increasing population. On the other hand, 2 of the respondents showed that the increasing level of conflict is as a result of the historical problems that have existed between the Pokot and Turkana. A majority of the

respondents note that the scarce resources and increasing population has played a major role in increasing the level of conflict along the border point.

According to Pkalya and Masinde (2013), scarcity of resources, ethnic animosity and political incitement have also contributed to the problem of insecurity. There has been a persistence of the problem of insecurity despite efforts by the government to curb it. West Pokot County is one of the least developed counties in Kenya as exhibited by low household incomes, high poverty levels, high dependency rates and high unemployment rates. (Pkalya & Masinde, 2013)

Bevan (2000, in his work; Armed Violence among Pastoralist Communities, surveys the problem of armed violence among pastoralists in Africa. He argues that armed violence is caused by the struggle for scarce resources and raiding which is a cultural practice among pastoralists. In addition, the little police presence and the limited infrastructure make the government unable to monitor and police these areas (Bevan, 2007). He cites scarcity of natural resources such as water and grazing lands as a cause of conflict among pastoralist communities. The climatic conditions cause herders to come into conflict with each other. Some of the effects include loss and injury of people and supply of SALW. This study conclude that scarcity of resources, pasture and water has thrust the communities into competition for the control of the scarce resources. This increases the impetus to stockpile arms that eventual lead to conflict. Resource scarcity is thus an underlying factors of cross border insecurity.

4.6.5 Ethnic Mobilization

Even though fierce ethnic fights habitually appear like exceedingly unorganized and impulsive upsurges of common fury, in certainty they continually comprise a certain

degree of preparation, administrative effort and tactical negotiation. An ethnic fight only happens when a serious number of individuals have completed the designed choice to follow their goals with fierce means (Wolff 2007: 6). Such a choice is part of a lengthier antiquity of political shaping along ethnic positions. This elongated procedure can be called 'ethnic mobilization'; leaders choose to express for 'their' ethnic group, thus creating the abstract impression of traditional fitting a slightly more concrete authenticity, and involve the members of this group into political accomplishment.

Pkalya, Adan and Masinde, discusses conflict in Northern Kenya. They argue that political leaders create conflicts by instigating politics that disenfranchise „enemy‟ community voters during electioneering period (Pkalya & Masinde, 2013). They also cite proliferation of SALW, which has made traditional raiding more severe, frequent deadly and a commercial venture. While their work discusses insecurity in depth and the social impacts of insecurity in Northern Kenya, this study found that ethnic mobilization is one other causes of insecurity that poses a challenge to the disarmament programs.

4.6.6 School Drop Outs

Many studies have pointed to the relationship between youth and armed violence. In pastoral communities' children youth are not only bystanders but part and parcel of the armed violence. Children and youth drop out to go and protect their families' livestock while others engage in raiding despite open access to both primary and junior secondary school in Kenya.

Commnity Perception of School Drop as Cause of Cross border insecurity
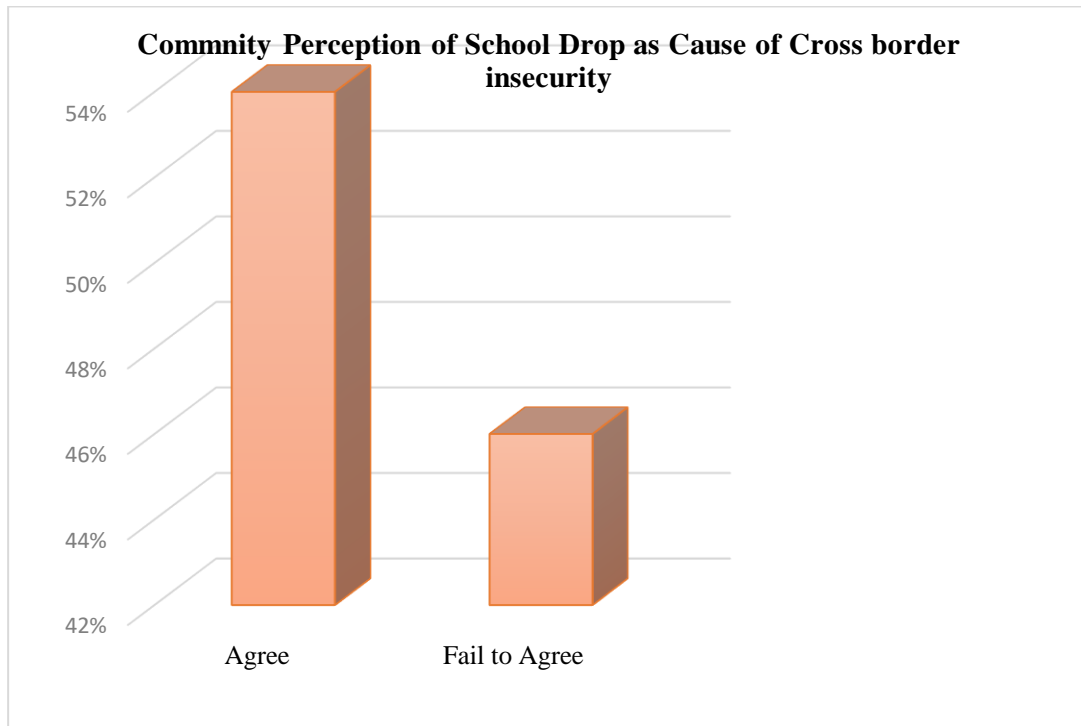
Figure 4.16 County and Government Officials Feedback on School Dropout as reason for the Influx of SALW
Source Field data, 2021

From Figure, Turkana Communities and the Ugandan government officials consent that the influx of the SALW is on the rise due to children and youth dropping out of school to tend to and protect their families' livestock. A significant number at 54% agree that increasing unemployment and population pressure along the border with fewer resources for the pastoralists increasing the conflict level. 46% of the respondents in the sample size fail to agree to the context of increasing population and the declining levels of peaceful coexistence. Based on the outcome, unemployment and influx of SALW are some of the factors promoting the increasing conflict along the border.

4.6.7 Terrorism and Radicalization

Terrorism is increasingly becoming major security threat in the world. In Africa, the threat of terrorism is spreading and destabilizing many regions. This study sought to investigate whether the challenges of terrorism and violent extremism in Africa is impacting on disarmament operations in the Turkwel River Belt. The study observed that the political instability continuously being experienced in the Turkwel River Belt has permeated terrorism and radicalization in the region and security problems emerging from intra-state conflict, influx of SALW is now augmented by al-Shabaab terrorism.

In Interview with 6 sub-chiefs along the Turkwell River Belt on the sources of arms for the conflict, they all said that the presence of the Somali based Al-shabaab has increased the potential presence of arms along the Turkwell River Belt. They said that the importation of illicit arms has led to a difficult in combating violence and reducing the effort of disarmament. The chiefs further noted that cartels have also financed the neighboring countries between Kenya and Uganda thus increasing the level of conflict. County and sub county officers have also supported the argument that significantly indicates a strategic correlation with the increasing conflict.

In an interview with local administrators from Uganda along the Turkwell River Belt, indicated that most youths along the region are radicalized by Somali based Al Shabaab who further sell them weapons used in waging conflict against others. They also blame it on the cartels who have been fronted as the possible cause for the increasing SALW through financing from neighboring countries. The administrators the high cartel financing and the supply of the SALW is the greatest impediment to disarmament process thus increasing the level of conflict in the region. The comments coincide with

what the Kenyan chiefs noted about the increasing conflict and support from Al-Shabaab and Cartels to increasing the conflict levels.
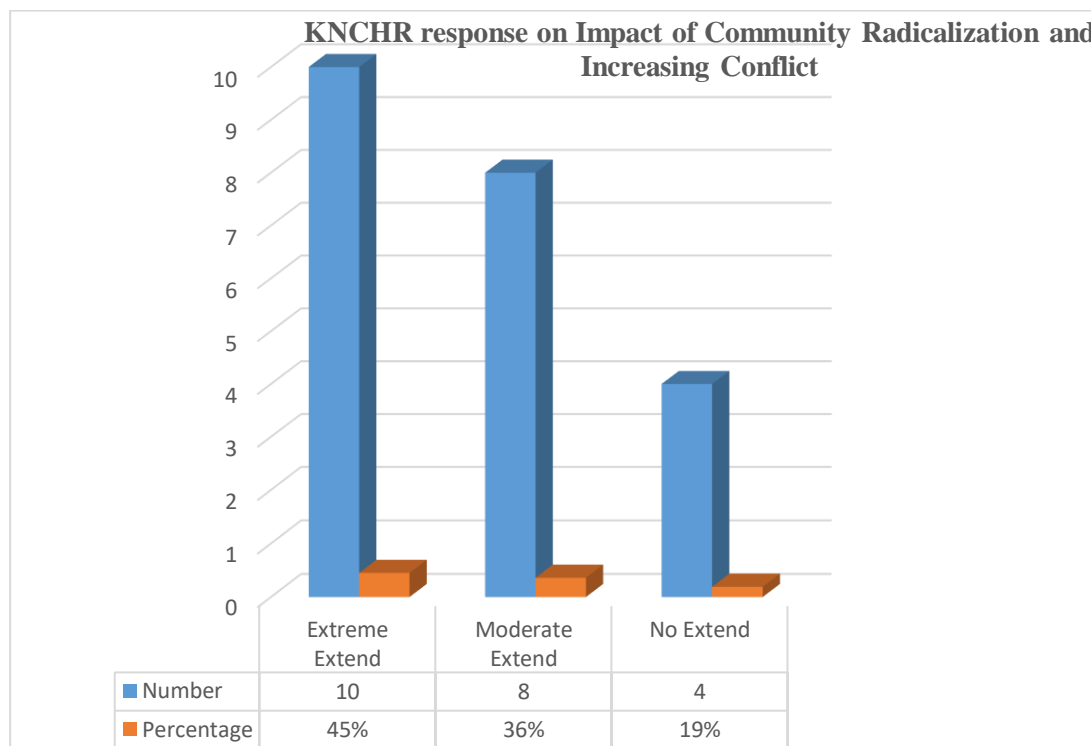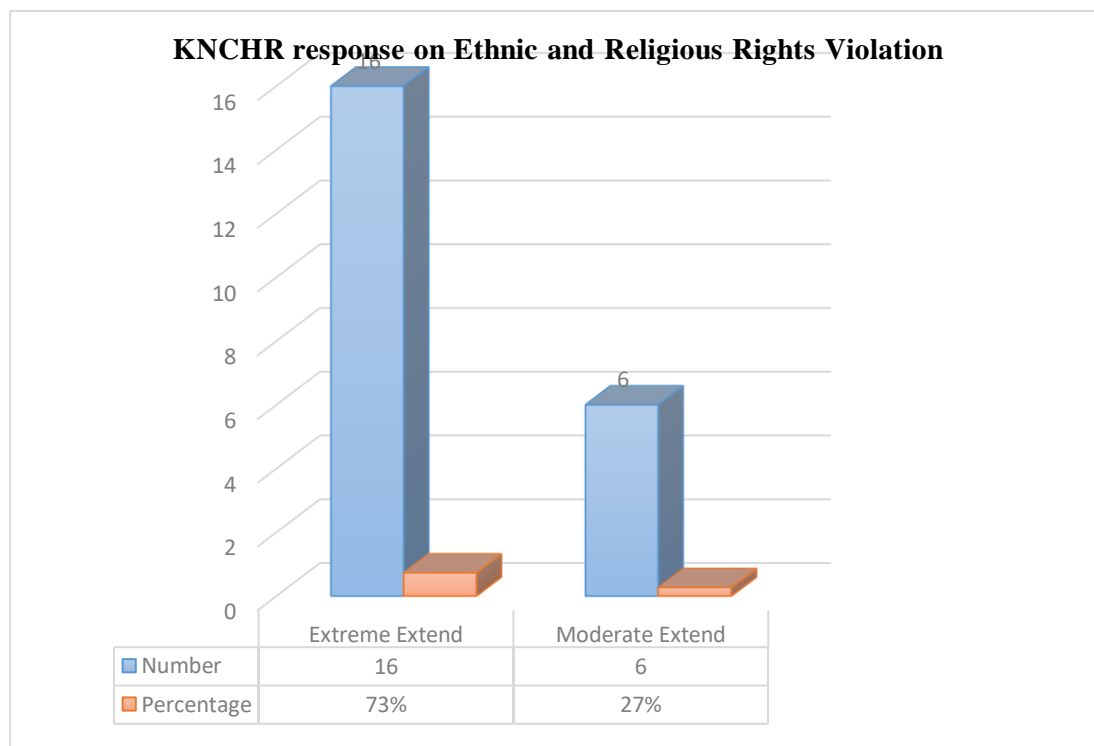

Figure 4.17 KNCHR response on Impact of Community Radicalization and Increasing Conflict

The KNCHR notes a significant level of radicalization from the coastal and North-Eastern regions promoting violent conflicts among the youths in the affected areas. 47% of the respondents note an extreme influence from the violent groups, 39% note a moderate extent, while 14% agree that at no extent is radicalization leading to violent conflict among the communities along the Turkwel River Belt.

Finally, a majority of the 22 KNCHR respondents said that trade of SALW in and out of Turkwel River Belt is fronted by cartels and to an extreme extent, 63% of the respondents agree to this concept. 27% of the respondents to a little extent have reservation to the trade of SALW trade along the neighboring countries and the Turkwel

River Belt. 10% of the respondents agree that no extent to the trade of SALW among the cartels has led to increasing chances of conflict among the neighboring communities along the Turkwel River Belt.

Each respondent in the study explained the level of inter-governmental policies within the cross-border disarmament based on the different conception of the idea. However, the general sample size noted that the government policies had a moderate success in enhancing cross-border disarmament along the Turkwel River Belt. The inter-governmental policies between Kenya and Uganda have recently managed to disarm the violent groups and set alternative economic activities. Based on the outcome of the study, there is a significant inter-governmental engagement enhancing the disarmament activities.

KNCHR response on Ethnic and Religious Rights Violation

	Extreme Extend	Moderate Extend
Number	16	6
Percentage	73%	27%

Figure 4.17 KNCHR response on Ethnic and Religious Rights Violation

Based on the questionnaire response from the human rights commission notes significant discrimination and violation of religion and ethnicity rights in the process of disarming the conflicting communities. 72% agree that even though there is discrimination to restore peace, there was an extreme violation of the ethnic and religious rights for the communities along the border. 28% agree that to a moderate extent discrimination has been leveled against the violation of the human rights and the denial of the basic right to religion and ethnicity.

4.8 Conclusion

Understanding the drivers of a conflict in depth allows one to comprehend motivations and consider possible settlement procedures. Culture, availability to illicit fire guns, poverty, and food security are four characteristics that have been examined in this study to explain the Pokot and Turkana conflict. As previously stated, culture was a major predictor of the disagreement, which can be addressed by incorporating traditional conflict resolution procedures into existing mechanisms.

Insecurity in Pokot and Turkana can be ascribed to easy availability to illegal firearms, which has resulted in the loss of life and animals due to indiscriminate attacks. The flow of arms can be reduced by addressing the mechanisms through which arms enter the country and reach communities. Despite the government's disarmament efforts, the conflict endures, necessitating a better understanding of how peace might be reached through various approaches to disarmament and partnership with neighboring countries to limit the flow of weaponry.

Insecurity has hampered access to basic services needed to improve one's life in Pokot and Turkana counties. The resolution of insecurity in the two counties will allow access

to education, which will affect employability and the addition of skills, as well as access

to water sources and grazing land, which will help to alleviate poverty and food security

in the counties, as well as access to health centers.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

International relations and diplomacy are all about creating peaceful coexistence and relations between countries.

5.1 Summary

The research focused on the joint disarmament programs and the cross-border security along the Turkwel River Belt. The study was objectively supported by a background view of the research topic, literature review, research methodology, and research findings. The background view addressed an overview of the conflict that exist along the Turkwel River Belt, the cross-border mission undertaken along the border, disarmament programs instituted, and the role of the local community, professionals, and elites. At this level, the significance of the study is addressed that paves way to a review of related literature of studies undertaken in this field. Literature review has generally contributed to the study and opened way to studying the research topic based on the objectives set. Adequate data is collected giving way for a research methodology that has addressed interviews, questionnaire, and focus interviews as the major sources of information for the concerned study objectives. The application of research methodology established that Turkwel River Belt is exposed intercommunal conflict among the Turkana and Pokot communities that has been established along the existing minimal resources. Despite the government and other stakeholders' diplomacy efforts to disarm the communities and create a peaceful coexistence, there has been difficulty achieving the major objective of the plan. The study ends up noting different tasks the stakeholders are undertaking to minimize conflict and create alternative sources of

livelihood to livestock farming. The study has further recommended relevant diplomacy measures different stakeholders can undertake to minimize conflict along the Turkwel River Belt.

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the focus of this study, it was evident that cross border security and the disarmament between the Turkana of Kenya and Pokot of Uganda along the Turkwel River Belt has been met with futility. Each of the stakeholders in the security team have played a critical role in the disarmament process right from Karamoja to Turkana with each personnel significantly indicating a number of challenges getting the small and light weapons from the conflicting communities. In a further focus group interview with the residences, there has been hesitance to submit weapons due to fear of retaliatory attacks from other communities which is hampering the general process of disarmament along the border. The main cause for the conflict has been related to the high levels of poverty and the conflict over the declining quantity of the pasture for their livestock.

Despite the difficulties experienced in the disarmament process and achievement of security, there are efforts to empower the communities by different stakeholders to achieve a progressive and sustainable peaceful coexistence among the civilians. Based on the study, each of the stakeholders has played a critical role in managing peaceful coexistence and security that has culminated into surrendering of weapons to the relevant authorities. The study notes that the county government and the United Nations regional network have played a strategic role in managing a successful engagement that has empowered part of the community in agricultural irrigation farming and fish farming. The national government in Kenya and Uganda have also put-up schools and employed teachers for community civilization and peaceful coexistence between

communities in both countries. The study has also found that the catholic church through the clergy have evangelized on the need for salvation that has seen some community members submit their SALW and surrender their lives to Christ. Despite the recurring cross-border challenges, these measures have helped to empower and civilize the communities on the relevance of peaceful coexistence thus reducing the levels of conflict. Even though there are still challenges in achieving full security and peace among the communities much has been done towards disarming the communities and enhancing security.

7.3 Recommendations

The community should be considered and involved when setting and implementing measures to disarm the community and creating cross-border security. This can be done through putting in more effort to reach the entire community through civilization and changing the community through education and training to sensitize on importance of peace. Peace is a long-term process that will be achieved with much resilience.

The cross-border disarmament campaign should focus on encouraging Turkana and Pokot communities to undertake alternative economic activities to supplement pastoralism due to the declining resources and pasture for cattle. They should engage in other activities such as agricultural farming, fish farming, and above all get educated to take up leadership positions in the county and national governments.

Intergovernmental cross-border security policies should focus on peace-building initiatives to address the problems affecting the communities along Turkwel River Belt such as poverty and alternative livelihood for the pastoralist communities. Much focus should be on developing programs that are aimed at influencing the socio-economic

outlook of the region to enhance coexistence among the communities and overall growth prospects.

The government should increase the administrative units within the region to increase cross-border security surveillance for any individuals raiding other people's cattle and boost the disarmament process in the region. It will also control smuggling of arms along the border and contribute to the reduction in entry of arms through the porous points along the border.

5.5 Recommendation for Future Studies

The role of women in the Pokot and Turkana conflict has to be studied in future research. As the primary breadwinners of the family, women play a crucial role in conflict. It is necessary to investigate the role of women in conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I Questionnaire

The purpose of this study is to examine Cross-Border Disarmament and Intercommunal Security along the Turkwel River Belt on the Kenya-Uganda Common Border.

Part A: Demographic Data

• Kindly indicate your institution?

………………………………………………………………….

• Kindly indicate your gender?

Female   [   ]

Male   [   ]

• Respondent's Age?

1	18 to 25 years	[ ]
2	26 to 33 years	[ ]
3	34 to 41 years	[ ]
4	Above 50 years	[ ]

• Duration of time serving in the institution??

1 to 5 years   [   ]

5 to 10 years   [   ]

10 to 15 years   [   ]

Above 15 years   [   ]

PART B

Cross-border disarmament programs
How has international cooperation contributed to disarmament and security?
What is the relevance of national action plans on peaceful existence of Turkana and Pokot Communities?
What is the value of community empowerment to minimizing insecurity along Turkwel River Belt?
What is the impact of multi stakeholder approach in disarmament and security achievement between Turkana and Pokot?

PART C

Inter-governmental Policy Measures
Do you think the communities along the Turkwel R. Belt are aware of the provisions of the Firearms Act?

What strategies is the government undertaking to ensure the firearms Act is observed in the region?

What is the role of UN-regional Network in the disarmament process and peaceful coexistence?

What is the impact of more administrative units in the disarmament process?

What role has deactivation and demilitarization played in the disarmament process?

Has Operation Dumisha Amani been applied as it has been used, and what was the outcome?

PART D

What are some of the roles played by ambassadors in the disarmament and security advocacy process and what has been the impact.

What are the cross-border projects that are undertaken along Turkana and Pokot boundary and what is their impact?

What is the role of aid and civic education in disarming and security advocacy along Turkwel River Belt?

What is the role of third-party intervention in security management?

What is the role of third party intervention in disarmament and security advocacy?

PART E

•   To what extent do you agree with how the government has handled the cross-

border disarmament campaigns in Karamoja cluster?

1	Very Extreme extent	[ ]
2	Extreme extent	[ ]
3	Moderate extent	[ ]
4	Little extent	[ ]
5	No extent	[ ]

•   To what level do you approve with the following statements on the Cross-

Border Disarmament programs along the Turkwel River Cluster on the Kenya-Uganda

Common Border?

	Very extreme extent	Extreme extent	Moderate extent	Little extent	No extent
There has been increased human rights violation during the implementation of the disarmament programs along the Turkwel River Belt by both the Kenyan and Ugandan authorities					
There has been little success on security attainment along Turkwel River Belt after several disarmament programs.					
The influx of SALW in and out of Turkwel Belt is on a rise as a result of large number of school dropouts and lack of employment for the youth in Belt.					

The increase in population and scarce resources such as water, greener pasture and fertile soils has been the recent cause of cattle rustling in the Turkwel River Belt.					
The right against discrimination based on religion or ethnicity has been the most violated human right in Turkwel River Belt by the security personnel.					
The steps taken by both governments, community leaders, professionals/elite groups to contain the influx of SALW and insecurity in the region has borne more fruits in the recent past.					
Radicalization influence of the Kenyan youth at the Coastal and North Eastern regions by the Somali-Based Al Shabaab has also promoted the presence of illicit arms and violent conflicts in Turkwel River Belt.					
Availability of the trade of SALW in and out of Turkwel River Belt is being financed and run by cartels from neighbouring countries in the Turkwel belt.					

Q. What is the level of success of inter-governmental policies in cross-border disarmament Turkwel River Belt? (Please Explain)

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix II: Study Area

(Map showing the Turkwel River Belt and the disputed water resource.)

Turkwel River Belt Map: Source: Google, 2019
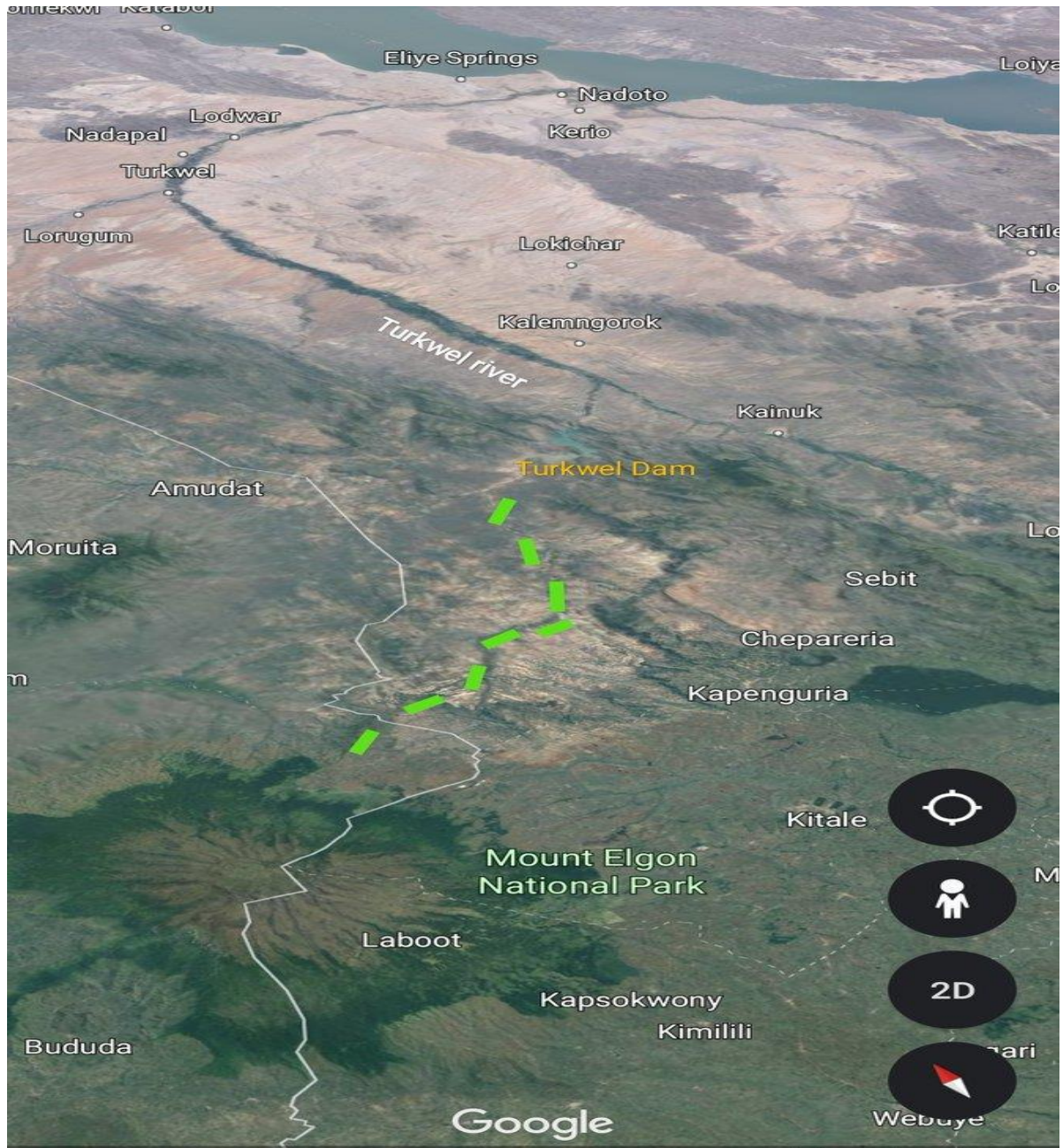
Appendix III: Research Authorization Letter

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 810901 Ext. 4150

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 8th February, 2021

TO: Bethuel Kaino Jackson
C/o Inter. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies Dept

REF: S205/CTY/PT/26931/2018

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROJECT PROPOSAL

This is to inform you that Graduate School Board at its meeting of 27th January, 2021 approved your Research Project Proposal for the M.A Degree Entitled, "Cross-Border Disarmament and Intercommunal Security: A Case of Turkwel River Belt".

You may now proceed with your Data Collection, Subject to Clearance with Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking and Progress Report Forms per semester. The Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

HARRIET ISABOKE
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c.   Chairman, Inter. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies Department

Supervisors:

1.   Dr. Xavier Francis Ichani
Department of Int. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies
Kenyatta University

HI/Inn

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Appendix IV: Nacosti License

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 895469

Date of Issue: 08/April/2021

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Mr.. Bethuel Jackson Kaino of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Elgeyo-Marakwet on the topic: Cross-Border Disarmament and Intercommunal Security: A Case of Turkwel Belt for the period ending : 08/April/2022.

License No: NACOSTI/P/21/9843

895469
Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION

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