

**THE CATHOLIC JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION AND
CONFLICTS MANAGEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY.1960-
2015**

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

To my parents, the late Mr. Philip Ogoti and Magdaline Sarange, without whom I would not have been who I am, and my Congregation (Sisters of Mary of Kakamega) who have had to sacrifice time and pleasure to allow me to study.

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts can result from the clash of two fundamentally different sets of expectations of behaviour. Conflicts in Turkana County have existed since 1960 and they have had adverse effects on residents of the region. The Turkana people are pastoralists and largely depend on livestock for their livelihood. These conflicts are the major causes of social, economic and political stagnation in the region. Various stakeholders have tried to manage and resolve these conflicts. This study investigated the role of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts management in Turkana County. The study was guided by three objectives; To examine the role of the CJPC in conflicts management in Turkana County, to investigate the approaches of the CJPC in conflicts management in Turkana County and to analyse the economic, social and political effects of the interventions by the Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties, 1960-2015. The study employed protracted social conflict (PSC) theory by Edward Azar (1990) to analyse the CJPC in conflict management, the approaches used and the economic, social and political effects of the interventions by the Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties. This study was limited to the locations of Turkana East, and Todonyany in Turkana North sub-counties, because these are the areas whose development has lagged as result of lack of peace due to internal and external raids. The study utilized a descriptive research design. The study employed both primary and secondary sources in data collection. The main sources of data accessed were the archives, library and field work. From these, source, data was collected through mainly qualitative techniques. Purposive sampling was used to identify the respondents for the interview. The targeted population was 400 participants. The research instruments used in data collection were the questionnaires and interview guides. Data analysis was done mainly through qualitative methods by first arranging the data thematically and periodically before being presented in a narrative form. The period covered by the study starts from 1960 and ends in 2015. Local actors such as elders, women, Karacuna, Ngimurok, Religious leaders, peace committee members and activities by some NGOs, CBOs and FBOs sustained this conflict. Interventions by the Government and other bodies failed in mitigation efforts due to poor conflict management strategies. CJPC stepped in through a different approach to effectively address the problem of conflicts in the region. The government of Kenya together with other bodies expanded educational facilities in these two regions and sensitized the two communities on the effects of conflicts. It was recommended that the two communities should come up with traditional strategies that conform to their belief systems and practices that can be used to mitigate the prevailing conflicts. Therefore, the Pokot and Turkana communities needed to revive their practices of intermarrying, hold traditional ceremonies together and borrow customs from each other to strengthen their relations.

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ABREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AVRP	: Armed Violence Reduction and Prevention
CAPE	: Community based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology
CBO	: Community Based Organization
CEWARN	: Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism Unit
CJPC	: Catholic Peace and Justice Commission
CSO	: Civil Society Organization
DC	: District Commissioner
DENIVA	: Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Association
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo.
DFID	: Department for International Development
D O	: District Officer
FBO	: Faith Based Organization
FGD	: Focus group discussion
GOU	: Government of Uganda
HIV/AIDS	: Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome.
IGAD	: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KCPE	: Kenya Certificate of Primary education
KCSE	: Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
KDA	: Karamoja Development Agency
KEC	: Kenya Episcopal Conference
KPIU	: Karamoja Project Implementation Unit
K.I.I	:Key informant Interviews
KISP	: Karamoja Initiative for Sustainable Peace

KNBS	: Kenya National Bureau of Standards
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NRM	: National Resistance Movement
O .I	: Oral Interviews
PSC	: Protracted social conflict
SALW	: Small Arms and Light Weapons
SNV	: Netherlands Development Organization
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UPDF	: Uganda People's Defence Forces
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
UN	: United Nations
UNICEF	: United Nations Children Fund

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Conflict: Refers to a serious disagreement or argument which is prolonged and sometimes Involving armed struggles between two neighbouring communities,

Devolution: Refers to transferring or sharing of power ‘

Livestock: Refers to all types of domestic animals kept by pastoralists for their livelihood such as cattle, goats, camel, donkeys and sheep.

Protracted violent ethnic conflicts: Refers to a conflict situation characterized by prolonged and often dangerous struggle by communal groups in search of basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation.

Management: Refers to the act of maintaining and controlling the occurrences of conflicts between two neighbouring communities.

Security: Refers, to a relative freedom from war, coupled with a relative high expectation that defeat will not be a consequence of any war that should occur.

Violent ethnic conflicts: Refers to fighting expressly motivated by hatred and tribal conflict. It is commonly related to political disagreement and most often the terms are interchangeable.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to study

This chapter provides a general background to the study. It concludes by examining the reality of conflicts as experienced from four levels; global, regional, sub-regional and local perspectives. These levels of conflicts transformed in nature and frequency throughout this period due to emerging issues in the world social system. Conflict is a manifest action of structural inequity and unequal distribution of power and resources (Nathan1998). It is a situation where at least two identifiable groups in conscious opposition to each other, as they pursue incompatible goals.

Conflicts are common phenomena in many regions of Africa, especially in dry lands, areas with scarce natural resources. Global environmental change coupled with population increase has led to unprecedented demand for resources (Dyson and Dyson, 1980). The Turkana, Pokot and Malire communities are pastoralists inhabiting the extreme North Rift region. They have frequently engaged in conflicts and clashes over animals, pasture, water and protracted violent ethnic oriented conflicts (McCabe 2004). According to Mwaniki et al (2007) this area is characterized by high poverty levels and illiteracy, with life expectancy of 57 years among the Turkana and 66years among the Pokot respectively. In addition, Goldsmith, Ahmed and Babiker (2007), Greiner, (2013) argue that cattle rustling bears a histo-cultural face among these communities, pointing out that since 1992, the activity became commercialized.

According to Okrah(2003)traditional societies resolved conflicts through internal and

external controls. Osei-Hwedie and Rankolopo (2012) opine that traditional conflict resolution processes are part of a well-structured, time proven social system geared towards reconciliation, maintenance and improvement of social relationships. Boege (2011) identifies three main features of traditional approaches to conflict transformation. Its aim, which is the restoration of order and relationships, its methods, which are holistic and consensus-based and the context in which they can be pursued, which is generally restricted to local communal conflicts, cultural approaches to resolution and managing disputes play a vital role in promoting peace and social order in communities (Murithi2006). Individual and faith- based organizations from a variety of religious traditions are increasingly active to end conflicts and to foster post-conflict reconciliation between warring parties in various parts of the world (Bouta et al 2005, Smock,2006). Haynes (2009) indicates that religious, individual and faith- based organization as carries of religious ideas, can play important roles beside acting as tools for conflict resolution and peace building, priding early warnings of conflict, good offices once conflict has erupted and contributing to advocacy mediation and reconciliation. Brief case studies (Harsch2003; Appleby2006, Bauta et al 2005) of religious peacemakers from Mozambique, Nigeria, and Cambodia demonstrate attempts, characteristically partially successful, to reconcile previously warring communities, thereby helping to achieve greater social cohesion and providing a crucial foundation for progress in enhancing human development.

Conflicts among pastoral communities are largely caused by competition over control of, and access to, natural resources particularly water and pasture. Other causes of conflicts include historical rivalry, deep-seated cultural values, land issues, political incitements, lack of guidance amongst youths and, more recently, proliferation of illicit arms (USAID 2005).

However, Mathew et al. (2009) observed that exploitation of natural resources and other related environmental stresses are crucial in all phases of the conflicts, from outbreak and perpetuation of violence to undermining prospects for peace. They note that at least 40% of the intra administrative agencies conflicts in the last sixty years are associated with natural resources. In some parts of Sudan, for instance, conflicts have intensified due to dwindling natural resources caused by severe droughts (United Nations Development Program me Sudan, 2010).

The conflicts in Turkana North and Turkana South Sub-Counties (see map on page 51) have a long history. A lot of efforts have been made to resolve these conflicts by the Catholic Church and other stakeholders within and without the region, although we must acknowledge that conflicts cannot be eliminated from the society but will rather, be reduced or mitigated. Being pastoralists, they highly value livestock such as cattle, goats, camels, and sheep. For the Turkana's survival, water and pasture are very important. The pursuit of these two explains why the Turkana people constantly moved around. It is important to note that often the herdsmen also migrated to other territories with permission of the Turkana hosts concerned. Age was a key factor in the organizational structure of Turkana society, and commonly there was a generational structure of leadership, with elders mediating disputes and directing trade activities.

Authority was generally decentralized, and while there are clan leaders, small communities generally decided collectively on actions to take. For defence purposes, enforcement was generally granted to village warriors and their age-mates (Mathew and Boyd 2014). It was important to note that although there has been -historically a warrior sect of Turkana society, increasingly this role became voluntary for purposes of raiding and was generally a large-

scale community effort. From the foregoing discussions, it was clear that the conflicts management has not been achieved yet hence it was an interesting field for both theoretical and empirical analyses. It was therefore important for this study to look at how different factors; religious groupings, cultural traditions, civil society and the role CJPC played in the management of conflicts in Turkana County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Various studies have taken different approaches in the study of the pastoral conflicts between the Turkana-Pokot communities. Some focus on the ecology (Dyson and Dyson,1980:15-61; Touliman, 1994:95-115; Scheffran, Brzoska,Kominek, Link and Schilling, 2012:869-71), commercialization (Hendrickson, Armon and Mearns, 1998:185-99; Fleisher, 2002:131-49; Kratli and Swift,2003:38), ethnography (Gray, 2000:404; Gray et al., 2003:185-99; Greiner,2013:219); peace building (Eaton, 2008:245), Small arms (McCabe, 2004:90; 8 Mkutu, 2008), and raiding (Schilling et al., 2012:7). None of these studies however pinpoint the real nerve centre that sustain the conflict and what should be done to stop it. This is what generated the interest in this study.

Different organs such as the Kenyan government, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based organizations (CBOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) and independent peace representatives have made several efforts to bring peace in the region (Eaton, 2008:243-244). Despite disarmament and rearming communities through the Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) (Mkutu and Wandera, 2013:11), peace building meetings, prosecuting perpetrators, declaring illicit firearms surrender amnesties and establishing peace committees, insecurity and violent conflicts in the region continued to prevail (Mkutu, 2010:87-105). This study set out to explore the role of the CJPC in conflict management among the Turkana and

the Pokot communities. The focus was on Turkana North and Turkana East between 1960 to 2015.

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions.

- (i) What are the roles of the Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in conflict management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties ,1960-2015?
- (ii) What are the approaches adopted by the Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in conflict management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties, 1960-2015?
- (iii)What are the economic, social and political effects of the interventions by the Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties, 1960-2015?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- (I) To examine the roles of the catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflict management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties.
- (ii)To investigate the approaches adopted by the CJPC in conflict management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties.
- (iii)To analyse the economic, social and political effects of the interventions by the CJPC in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties?

1.5 Research Premises

This study was based on the following premises:

- i. The Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) enhances conflicts mitigation and sustainable peace in all the areas experiencing conflicts in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties.
- ii. The Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) has come up with various approaches in conducting peace and justice talks and providing security to areas experiencing conflicts in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties.
- iii. Remarkable improvement in economic, political and social status has been realized in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties due to sustainable peace and justice. s

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The statistics indicate that approximately 740,000 children, women, youth and men die globally each year because of armed violence, most of them in low- and medium-income settings (Krause, Muggah, Wenmann, and 2008:2). Most of these deaths occur in situations other than war, though armed conflicts continue to generate a high incidence of casualties. Approaches to prevent and reduce these deaths and related suffering are becoming increasingly important on the international agenda. The UN General Assembly (2008) and the United Nations (UN) Secretary General (2009) highlighted the relationships between armed violence and under-development and various high-level diplomatic processes are drawing more attention to promising solutions. Despite the global preoccupation with the costs and consequences of armed violence, comparatively little evidence exists about how to stem its risks and effects.

Apart from the important contribution of the new data to existing literature, this study addressed subject that was clearly important in Africa and Kenya in particular. The study realized that conflicts in Turkana County have been attributed to boundary and resource tussle in the area. Raiding gradually changed and warriors from Pokot were involved alongside warriors from other pastoral groups, in attacks on other pastoral groups. This frequency and nature of conflicts justified the study to find out what happened to the Turkana communities and other pastoralist communities like the Pokot and the Marire of Ethiopia from the period of 1960 to 2015 that made them experience a recurrence of conflicts. Previous attempts have all fallen short in their efforts to instil sustainable peace-making efforts. The study found out that the failed attempts are because they focused on symptoms of negative reciprocity instead of the interruption of the conflicts spiral.

The findings of the study could be beneficial to the entire Turkana County government, the national government and to future studies. The complex analysis aims to put together all relevant factors of conflicts in one coherent text and present it as much comprehensive and correct picture of the causes of conflicts in Turkana County and the ways in which the authorities should address the root causes. The stakeholders involved in community development have been enabled to find appropriate ways of managing the pastoral conflicts in Turkana County by suggesting a model of conflicts resolution and thus initiate programmes that have enhanced peace in the region.

The findings of this study are valuable basis for a deeper examination of each aspect of the conflicts. Concentration on different scenarios are beneficial for understanding the dynamics of the conflicts and, especially, for awareness of possible impact of this conflict on people's livelihoods. The findings of the study could help the residents living in Turkana County to

detect areas crucial to the conflict resolution. In the scholarly world, the findings of this study could contribute to the field of peace management because it was intending to introduce the theory of conflict studies which was not widely spread in the Kenyan context with the advent of new constitution dispensation. The study hoped to give a profound understanding of the conflicts among the pastoral communities in Kenya with specific reference to the pastoral conflicts in Turkana County.

The study also explained why the conflict management is necessary to socio-economic development, political development and environmental development. The findings of this study would help policy makers to address insecurity in this region by suggesting an alternative model for sustainable peace for the inhabitants of the region. And lastly, the findings of this study have been important to other future studies in conflict management. In scholarship this study aimed to contribute to the historiography of Northern Kenya regarding conflicts. The study proved convenient to limit its time frame between 1960 and 2015 for the study. The historical events mark Kenya during the period of 1960 onwards as a new nation that gradually gained its independent elements for the people of Kenya.

After 1964, the Pokot and Turkana communities like other communities of Kenya strived to gain a resource space for their communities after the white settlers moved out from the initial colonial lands at the verge of Africanization. It also extends to the year 2015 since the conflicts in Turkana and Pokot communities have been on and the progress within this span gave the study a clear scope to evaluate and answer the problems. The study focused on CJPC because of its commitment to peace building in northern Kenya. Since 1988, CJPC has been involved in peace building in the region for over two decades and has made progress towards conflict transformation.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The theme of the study is the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties, 1960-2015. The study limited the study to Kapedo in Turkana East and Todonyang, areas bordering Ethiopia, considering the frequent raids and attacks which have led to retardation of development in the area. Napeitom, Kapedo and Todonyang in Turkana East and Turkana North are found along the hotly contested border between the Pokot and Turkana communities. Most of the residents of Kapedo, Napeitom Wards, and Todonyang , especially the aged, who are unable to flee in case of raids, have been displaced and have settled in Lokori and Lokwii villages in Lokori location as they hope that one day they would be resettled in a peaceful environment.

During the research, there are some limitations that the study encountered. These shortcomings include, the fear of one-sided views from interviewees (meaning the Turkana interviewees will see the Pokot as their problem and vice versa), thus making it the study's job to seek the main cause of conflicts from analysis of data collection; The study also faced language problems in communication, but this was overcome by use of research assistants. The study also faced the problem of infrastructural limitations due to lack of easily accessible roads and the distance between communities' residence and study's residence; since the involved parties are pastoralists and are deemed to move from one place to another, the study had anticipated a possible extended travel expense. Turkana East in the areas like Kerio valley, Kapedo, Silale and Napeitom was difficult terrain with very steep hills and valleys, places like Kapedo being hard to access due to poor roads.

The fear of being attacked on the way hindered the study from collecting enough data. The respondents displayed suspicion and hostility. These challenges were overcome by use of

research assistants who used local languages to translate the research questions and explained the purpose of the research.

The distance from Nairobi to Lokor and Todonyang through Kaikol along Lake Turkana was in a sorry state. This was overcome by hiring a four-wheel drive vehicle to access these areas. Time and financial constraints also impeded travelling to all the intended areas; hence the data collected might not be all representative. This was solved by collecting as much data as possible in a short time and using the available resources.

The study faced challenges like; the participants could not be open and sincere in responding to the questionnaires. And lastly, the participants' interaction was hindered by other factors such as culture and fear of being victimized. The study ensured that there were enough funds from donors to facilitate the research where extra expenses were required. There was a tour guide to translate the language. And, the study carried enough food and water to provide energy where necessary. The study identified reliable people to give appropriate information without fear.

1.8 Review of the Related Literature

1.8.1 Global perspective

In the global perspective conservative estimates indicate that at least 740,000 men, women, youth and children die globally each year as a result of armed violence, most of them in low- and medium-income settings (Krause, Muggah, Wenmann, 2008:2). Most of these deaths occur in situations other than war, though armed conflicts continued to generate a high incidence of casualties. Approaches to prevent and reduce these deaths and related suffering became increasingly important on the international agenda. The UN General Assembly (2008) and the United Nations (UN) Secretary General (2009) highlighted the relationships between armed violence and under-development and various high-level diplomatic processes are drawing more attention to promising solutions. Despite the global preoccupation with the costs and consequences of armed violence, comparatively little evidence exists about how to stem its risks and effects. Virtually by 1960s no information was available on armed violence reduction and prevention (AVRP) interventions, much less their effectiveness (OECD 2011).

In 1970s the role of the church in peace making and reconciliation strengthened by the fact that the social and political crisis in the society questions radically the message of the gospel. According to Thomas Aquinas (1946), peace was the tranquillity that flowed from right order. When we put right order into the structures of our society, the tranquillity that results were peace. Many people, however, perceived peace as the absence of war or violence. In this model, peace was seen as the transformation of contextual and destructive interactions into more co-operative and constructive existence.

The Church's charisma and likewise her unique nature vis-à-vis reconciliation, at whatever level it needed to be achieved, lied in the fact that she always went back to that

reconciliation at the source. For by reason of her essential mission, the Church felt an obligation to go to the roots of the conflicts, that brought healing and to re-established, so to speak, an equally original reconciliation which will be the effective principle of all true reconciliation. Therefore, by 1980s the Church had the mission of proclaiming this reconciliation (Paul II, 1984).

In the context of the change taking place on the continent, the church had a role to play in reducing or eliminating all together the root causes of simmering or open conflicts that effect true peace. One way of effecting true peace was by becoming agents of peace building and reconciliation (Magesa, 2003:90). Marvin C. Ott enumerates the characteristics and skills of a successful mediator in conflict situations, in our case, the church. Indeed, the church had impartiality regarding issues of dispute; it commanded respect of and was acceptable to all protagonists; it had the knowledge and skill to deal out with challenging issues of conflicts. These characteristics informed this study in its pursuit of structuring the complementary approach.

Conflict was not localized to a particular social set up, but the notion had its global, international, national and regional perspectives. According to Nye (2011:) there had been global conflicts since the beginning of the twentieth century to this twenty-first century arising from global trade and finances, global governance and the information revolution. For this reason, global actors have also resolved to end global conflicts through global cooperation by establishing world order, globalization and international relations.

Magesa (1996) equates peace with conflict transformation and resolution. He maintains that peace was achieved only when the root causes of the differences of conflicting relationships were explored and resolved. He defined reconciliation as “the act by which people who have been apart and split off from one another begin to stroll or match together again” (Ibid). He

equates reconciliation with conflict resolution, but in his view, reconciliation has dimensions and more profound implications, because it made an individual to transcend the conflicts affiliation and embrace the sense of love, which unites all people.

Observing this tendency of human beings committing themselves to kill others, Joseph Montville (2001) argues that religious values had a very significant role to play in highlighting and reversing this destructive groups' process. This was the parabolic role of any church in society: to be a source of influence, in organic and pervasive ways as a free corporate decision-maker in the society. However, the pervasiveness of churches will become a reality if all religious faiths realize that the God reflected in the Scriptures was beyond the Church doctrines as the living deity of the universe. Though Montville's argument was based on inter-religious faith, it would apply to Christian Churches in Kenya. According to Magesa, there were four core values that promoted healing in a conflict situation from a religious worldview. The first value he noted was the fact that all human beings had "human dignity" or rather all human beings were created in the image of God (Magesa 1987).

Second, human beings lived in God's world. Therefore, as creatures, they needed to accommodate one another. Third, religion or rather churches should have helped humanity to cross the boundary of negative conflicted that characterizes our society (Magesa, 1987:71-86). Churches emphasized commonality of Kenyans particularly the essential characteristic of humanity, shunning the accidental characteristics such as political party affiliation, negative conflicted and the geographical divides. Fourth, churches should preach the Gospel. They emphasized that justice was required for human prosperity and peace. Therefore, church leaders, as shepherds who tended congregations comprising

diverse political, socio-economic, cultural and ethno-linguistic backgrounds needed to be impartial on various standpoints as heads of churches. This limited divisions within congregations, hence harmony and unity (Kobia, 2005).

1.8.2 Regional perspective

Africa

During 1960s and 1970s civil wars raged in several countries in Africa namely: Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Somalia and Liberia, to name some of the prominent ones (Mulu, 2008:6). Although these wars are usually portrayed in the western media as caused by tribalism, this was often a simplification of complex realities. Africa was home to a large percentage of the world's conflicts. In contrast to the late 1960s and 1970s, when most war related civilian casualties occurred in Asia, most war-related deaths worldwide now occur in Africa (UNICEF, 1990:194).

The nature of these conflicts reveals several characteristics. First, many African conflicts are intrastate rather than interstate. In the last forty years, Africa has seen many inter- and intra-ethnic conflicts, which have resulted in loss of lives and property, internal displacement of people, movement of millions of refugees, and general destabilization. In more recent years especially the last decade of the 20th and 1st decade of the 21st century, Africa has witnessed several violent intrastate conflicts that have resulted in the diversion of a significant portion of resources. This includes official development assistance, away from development to emergency and has been a major impediment to development. The more recent examples

include Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Uganda and Angola (Mulu, 2008:6).

An increasing number of scholars dealing with conflicts and practitioners wrote about indigenous methods of peace building and reconciliation which fell under symbolic approaches to conflicts, lending legitimacy to its inclusion in conflicts theory and giving the field new language to use in its analysis of conflicts (Lederech 1997; Volkan 1990). Symbolic approaches to conflicts grew out of an understanding that humans needed to symbolically understand who they are and how they relate to their environment; world views are shaped by personal experiences, the cultural groups to which an individual belonged (Schirch, 2001)

Prior to the advent of western colonial rule, traditional African societies had their own institutions, customary practices and rituals that guaranteed social harmony between the various components of society. However, the Colonial rule, various post-independence governments and churches suppressed or distorted the African institution, customary laws and rituals, (Mbennah, 2001)

Ntabona (2001) contended that African communities had several ways of resolving conflicts by using traditional institution, which embodied moral authority. He gave an example of Bashingantahe institution in Burundi, which consisted of people, empowered to be responsible for truth justice and peace in their environment and wherever they were. Kagabo (2001) further gives credit to Bashingantahe due to its role in seeking peace during crisis, and partly, because of the potential it continued to contribute to the peace process in

Burundi.

Farmer- Pastoralist Conflict in West Africa: The Fulani

The West African Region had been a theatre of resource conflicts involving farmers and mobile pastoralists. Due to environmental degradation, resource scarcity, demographic change and political instability, the region perhaps demonstrates elements of the coming anarchy (Kaplan, 1994: Quam, 1996: Gray, 2000: 408.FAO, 2004 :). Farmer-pastoralist conflicts was one of the key manifestations of this anarchy and this was deeply rooted in the history, ecology and political economy of the region. Livestock was the primary means of livelihood for 12million people in West Africa (Nura, 1996: FAO, 2004). Over 70 million people in the same region also depend on livestock and livestock-related enterprises for their livelihood (Nura, 1982, 1983, McDowell and De Haan, 1986: Nua, 1996).

The pastoralists in this region operated within an expansive geography, oscillating between their major base in the semi-arid North during the rainy season, and the wetter South during the dry season. Throughout West and Central Africa, the nomads and semi-nomadic pastoralists move within and across countries principally in search of pasture and water for their herds, and in the process, contact with settled crop farmers was inevitable.

Pastoralists moved across and grazed on farmlands that belonged to crop farmers (USAID, FEWS NET 2005:24, Knighton 2005b:20f). Thus, Pastoralists and crop farmers were intertwined, sharing land, water, fodder and other resources. As a result, there were several problems bordering on the relationship between farmers and pastoralists, foremost of which

was the perennial conflict over resource use. It had been a recurring social problem for many decades but 'in recent years, the activities of pastoralists who moved with arms usually in large groups and who committed intentional crop damage added another dimension to the conflicts (USAID FEWS NET, 2005:27ff).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in West Africa, there were two historical periods characterized by the contest for power, conflict and open warfare between various nationalities and groups, particularly between the pastoral Fulbe and other sedentary groups of the sub-region (Webb, 1995: Hussein, 1998). The relationship between herders and farmers were occasionally strained, particularly because of the early southward movement of herders into sedentary zones before the harvests were completed. Some of the factors that had been advanced to explain the preponderance of the conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in West Africa included growing pressure on natural resources, caused by human population increase, the growth in population of herds, and the extension of cultivated areas (UNDP,2009: Markakis, 2004:9f).

According IGAD CEWARN (2004:5) and Frerk (2007) farmer- herder conflicts were likely the most acute in the semi-arid zone (500-750mm average rainfall per year). This zone fell between the arid lands where only livestock-based production systems were possible and the more humid zones that can support crop-livestock production systems. The semi-arid region of Africa lies between the Sahara and the Sudanese zone, encompassing most parts of West Africa. The zone favoured contact between crop farmers and herders as it was favourable for both finding new pastures and expanded crop cultivation.

In the mid 1980s conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Mali's Niger River delta started to occur when the Delta became drier and local farmers begun cultivating deeper parts of the delta including stock routes leading to the flood plains. Consequently, pastoralists took to crop damaging measures that initiated conflict out of the frustration that farmers were overtaking their grazing areas (Stites et al, 2007a:22: Binomugisha et al, 2007). Furthermore, the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s not only led to an increase in competition over natural resources between farmers and pastoralists due to what they called a saturation of space, but it also resulted in a breakdown in the balance between the two groups.

Other environmental factors that contributed to resources used conflicts in West African sub-region was the fact that grazing resources including pasture and water were found in different places at different times of the year. Therefore, there was need for constant mobility among pastoralists for opportunistic resource used, brought them into contact with the landed settled farmers and produced competition and conflicts. It was realized that the environment and its associated factors such as environmental degradation, resource scarcity and climate change often did or may have played an important role in the causation and continuation of conflicts. They were seldom, the only and the most important factors (Frerks, 2007: In most cases conflicts were caused by a multiplicity of factors acting together in particular, political and socio-economic factors that were often mobilized by conflicts entrepreneurs through identity-politics that served to arouse feelings of mutual distrust and hate (Knighton,2002:25: 2005b:21: Frerk,2007: Eaton,2008:).

Oxfam (2004:20-23); Stites et al (2007a:6) and Mukutu and Wandera, 2013: elaborated that ecological borders were in most cases, also ethnic and cultural borders. The ecological borders became ethnic and cultural lines of demarcation, where people met to cooperate or fight. For example, in West Africa, an ethnic dimension played in the conflicts, which often appeared to oppose two broad ethnic groups, Fulani pastoralists versus a population group of sedentary farmers, who were made up of a variety of ethnic groups.

Hussein et al (1999), asserted that conflicts of interest were viewed as part a of fundamental relationship between different resource users; and once there were conflicts of interest, a stage was set for competition that led to violent conflicts. Though there was no automatic cause- effect relationship between conflicts of interest, competition and conflict, the likelihood was increased with scarcity of resources on which the groups depended on. In 1990s the asymmetrical way the effects of scarcity were distributed between farmers and pastoralists. A clear case of the linkages between conflict of interest, competition and violent or non-violent conflicts can be illustrated with Toulmin (1983); Scoones (1994:95-115); Scheffran, Brzoska, Komenike, Link and Schilling et al (2012:869-71). Toulmin (1983) argued that in semi-arid Africa, there are three interlocking resource users who were engaged in a competitive demand for the resources on which pastoralists depended. These resource users were the sedentary cultivators, other pastoralists groups and new livestock owners.

Toulmin(1983:) noted that the rising level of competition between farmers and herders developed out of several factors including but not limited to agricultural encroachment and the political powerlessness of herders in the post-colonial state. The problem of pastoralist's

powerlessness has been clearly articulated by Marty (1992: Bollig, 1993:176-84: Hussein 1998: Bollig and Osterle, 2008:301-22) who noted in North Cameroon herders felt threatened by agricultural colonization.

The displacement went on unabated because the farmers were perceived by pastoralists to be in close alliance with the state, thereby rendering the pastoralists powerless. He also argued that when conflicts occurred between farmers and pastoralists the state arbitration structures only listened to farmers, thus leaving the pastoralists as helpless and defenceless victims.

Dafinger and Pelican (2002); DFID (2002); Bevan (2008:26); Stites & Akabwai (2009:17) and UN OCHA (2010a) noted that in examining the question of land rights, the farmers were considered as the landed group, that was, those who claimed ownership over the land and exerted political control over it. On the other hand, the pastoralists or herders were regarded as the landless group, those who did not own the land, used and settled on. Thus, within the context of the contemporary political economy of land use, pastoralists in West Africa dry lands have little legally recognized tenure security over their traditional grazing lands. In many countries, pastoralism was not legally recognized as a productive use of land and therefore, pastoral lands have been subjected to exploration by the state and marginalized in favour of agricultural use (Leonard and Longbottom, 2003: Knighton,2005:20f: UN OCHA,2008:3)

When land was scarce, or its access highly contested, the pastoralists, who constituted the landless and powerless group, were greatly disadvantaged (Baba, 1986: Kisamba-Mugerwa,

2001:15: USAID FEWS NET, 2005:27ff). In the case of Nigeria, land use conflicts between arable farming and pastoralism was basically a systematic one arising from differences in the perception of land resources, the institutional tools for utilizing the land resource base, and the very process of land utilization between the two systems of production.

De Haan (1998: UNDP, 2007:8:2009): Markakis, 2004:9f) argued that conflicts developed between farmers and pastoralists because of changing demographic and environmental conditions. Borno in North Benin, according to him a meeting point between peasant farmers and pastoralists and that environmental problem had already become a serious problem in the region due to population growth, increased commercialization and the immigration of pastoralists from the Sahel.

De Haan suggested that other reasons for the development of farmer-pastoralist conflict in the region included the expansion of agricultural cultivation into grazing areas and watering points. The pastoralists needed to pass through the passages on their way to river Niger especially in the dry season but irrigated market gardening and cultivation on the banks of the river blocked such passages. Local authorities intervened especially when valuable crops like cotton were damaged. Occasionally, violence and even deaths occurred.

The Consequences of the conflicts were; the effects of food security in a region known for its often-devastating episodes of drought and famine, such as the Sahelian famine of 1970s. During the conflicts of Fadama areas of Nigeria's northern state of Borno, both farmers and pastoralists asserted that conflicts between the two resource users were real and increasingly

assuming an alarming proportion (Shettima, 2008). This caused serious implications for agricultural productivity. Because of conflicts, Fadama farmers were forced to abandon cultivating some particular crops.

Secondly, the implications of the conflicts to national, regional and even international security in the past two decades witnessed growing recognition of environmental factors for national and international security (Gizewski (1997). In 1987, the UN Commission on Environment and Development pointed to environmental stress as a possible cause as well because of conflicts. In 1992, the UN Security Council also warned that sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian, and ecological fields included military and political threats to peace and stability.

Thirdly, the local resource use conflicts have been linked to some of the wider conflicts in the West African sub-region such as the serious tensions between the Tuaregs and the state in both Mali and Niger as well as the civil war in Chad. Nomadic pastoralists were often not encumbered by national borders. For example, within the larger regional frame of Chad Basin, pastoralists moved across and met representatives of different states, and thus events across the border impacted directly on the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists (Moritz, 2005:).

The complex regional ecology of the Chad Basin also directly impinged on the issue of resource-use conflicts. Several instances abound to buttress this point. The 1983 war between Nigeria and Chad was originally started by conflicts between fishermen of the two countries. In the Diffa Department in Niger, which was located at the borders of Lake Chad and close to

Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad, conflicts between Tubu, Arab and Fulbe herders over wells articulated with civil wars in Niger and Chad (Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001:). In 2002, some 20,000 Fulbe cattle herders fled Nigeria and sought refuge in Cameroon to escape clashes with farming communities on the Mambila plateau in Taraba state (IRIN, 2005:). Similarly, in Senegal valley, conflicts over natural resources between herders, farmers and fisher people articulated with other conflicts and escalated into border conflicts between Senegal and Mauritania (Homer-Dixon and Schmitz, 1999:)

In 1960s before the people of Karamoja region acquired small arms, they used spears, bows, arrows, self-produced arms, and single shot rifles for hunting and raiding (Mirzeler & Young, 2000:411; Oxfam, 2004:36; Mkutu, 2007a:48). The traders of Arab and Ethiopian origin bartered guns for ivory during the pre-colonial period. When the colonialists arrived, their governments responded ruthlessly to the trade in guns and created animosity between the state and the Karamojong. Most post-colonial governments have not been different in their handling of the guns in the region. According to GoU and international donors, the proliferation of small arms were the source of increased lethal violence (Gray, 2000: 407). Small arms and ammunition continuously flew in from Southern Sudan and Northern Kenya (Mirzeler & Young 2000:422; Bevan 2008:47).

During the 1960s and 1970s the Karamojong who had surrendered a few guns to the colonial government started fabricating guns because they were dissatisfied with the way colonial government was protecting them from the better armed Turkana and Toposa pastoralists of Kenya and Sudan respectively.

Following the Collapse of Iddi Amin's regime in 1979, the national army abandoned the military barracks in Moroto town (Bevan, 2008:48ff: Mirzeler&Young, 2000:424: Mkutu, 2007a:47). The Karamojong broke into the barracks armoury and looted all the guns and ammunitions (Quam, 1996: Gray, 2000:408: Mkutu, 2007a:51). This ushered in a new social, economic and political landscape in Karamoja and cattle raiding would never be the same again as groups turned against each other and the neighbouring regions (Gray et al,2003: S14). Since then, arms race in the region has been on the rise. Most of the arms and ammunition today come through the porous Uganda-Sudan border in Kabong district. The current estimates of guns in the region are put at between 30,000 and 40,000.

In the mid 1980s, major political changes, the growing trade of small arms and ammunition, periods of repeated and prolonged droughts, and the spread of livestock diseases led to intensified raids of pastoral groups from Karamoja into the neighbouring regions of Iteso, Lango and Acholi (Stites & Akabwai 2009:417). As a consequence, numbers of cattle in the neighboring areas had diminished. Whereas movements into the neighboring districts offered opportunity for the herders to survive the dry season, the neighboring districts often tried to bar the pastoralists from coming into their territories (ITDG-EA&AU-IBAR,2003:1). But caught between a rock and hard place the pastoralists have always forced their way into these districts. In appreciation of their situation, the government has allowed the pastoralists to move into the neighboring districts on condition that they did not use arms (Mkutu, 2007a:57-61). Yet they were often accused of violating this policy by carrying and using guns. They had also been accused of intimidation, armed assault, and even committing murders in the neighboring areas (Ochieng, 2000: Akelem, 2000).

1.8.3 Local perspective

Kenya

In 1990s in the North Rift region of Kenya, a rapid advance in the commoditization of the rangeland significantly weakened the economic power of majorities, while strengthening that of minority (Fratkin Roth et al.1999. This process had seen large acreage of pasture land fall under the plough, especially in the better-watered areas, thereby denying herders some of their valued grazing areas (Baxter and Hogg, 1990; Galaty, 1994). This had highly polarized the affected regions: socially, politically, and economically. Yet as the communities became the wretched of the earth through warfare, poverty was seen alongside comparative prosperity (Van de Waal, 1989; Hutchinson, 1996).

Kituyi (1990); Spear and Waaler (1993);Fratkin,et al. (1994) and Makoloo (2005) argued that to explore the conflicts in the North Rift discovered something about the self-perceptions and community consciousness of pastoralists' societies in the region. It revealed the way in which pastoralist's identity had been made in opposition to, and as distinct from other modes of production. In Kenya, grazing lands were so important that several persons grouped themselves together, to protect their fields and almost established some form of government to guard the fields against invasion.

From early 1990s up to 2015, Northern Kenya had become an arena of excessively violent interactions between various local groups and external power groups such as army units and police patrols (Bollig and Osterle, 2007:23). The character of these conflicts was fairly uniform: usually violent interactions began with livestock raids by one side, followed by

counterraids led by the other side. Due to the escalation of raiding the government was frequently forced to step in with the police and or army units.

In contrast to the 1970s and 1990s Livestock raiding among northern Kenya's pastoralists had changed profoundly in the last decades. They fought with modern weaponry and often extreme violence, raiding was increasingly enmeshed in politicized claims over administrative boundaries, struggles for exclusive access to land, and attempts to establish or safeguard an ethnically homogenous electoral base. These conflicts were part of Kenya's troubled politics of decentralization and as such they must be viewed in the context of wider political developments in the country (Greiner, 2013:216).

Turkana County

Mwaniki et al (2007:17) argued that the main sources of conflicts especially in the North Rift region included resource scarcity at 29.8%, inadequacy of socio-economic investment in the region at 29%, political incitement at 19.9%, and gun-culture at 11.8%, ethnic animosity and others at 6.9%. However, they do not show how these sources sustain and prolong the conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot. The study sought to find out the role of local actors in sustaining the conflicts, factors which sustained it and why government and other peace organs had failed in mitigation effort towards this conflict's management in Turkana and Pokoti Counties.

Eaton (2008:89-110) and Moru (2010) explained that the Turkana and the Pokot pastoralist communities used raids and violence to restock herds, expanded grazing lands, gain access to water and pasture resources and increased social status for more than 9000 years. Nevertheless, in recent years(1990s), due to the proliferation of modern small arms,

commercialization of livestock raiding, disputed over land tenure rights, banditry and perdition, the cultural practice had become a widespread, sophisticated, more violent, and destructive activity among pastoral communities in northern Kenya Mkutu (2006:47-70); Kumssa, Jones and Williams (2009:1008-1020) ; Leff (2009:188-203) ; Omolo (2010:81-102) ; Mahmoud (2011:146-168) ; Njiru (2012:513-627).

All these writers gave various reasons to explain conflicts between the the Pokot and Turkana communities, but none of them critically examined why these conflicts were prolonged and sustained for decades. It is this gap that the study sought to fill. Culturally, livestock raiding often-involved small-scale manageable violence and theft of the best livestock or replacement of animals lost during periods of droughts and diseases (Mkutu, 2007a:48). Loss of human lives was rare, and when this occurred in Turkana and Pokoti, compensation in the form of livestock was paid to the victims or their families in case of death (Bollig and Osterle, 2007:25; Schilling et al 2007:2). Gray, Sundal, Wiebusch, Little and Leslie, (2003:S3-30); McCabe (2004: 89); Schilling et al (2012:1) portrayed raiding as a maladaptive cultural institution in which the value of cattle was placed above that of human beings and in attempting to preserve their cultural identity, pastoralists that of human beings and in attempting to preserve their cultural identity, pastoralists undermined their biological survival.

Inter-group relations changed profoundly due to escalation of violence and young men usually the owners of the automatic weapons or at least the people with the skills to deal with them, acted independently and out of control of elders (Tornay, 1976:97-117; CEWARN, 2004:6; Jabs, 2007:149f; Stites and Akabwai, 2007a:4f; Mkutu, 2007a: 62; Bollig and Swift,

2007:45). The study agreed with other scholars who hold that raiding had become more arbitrary and deadlier since the 1950s as supported by the findings from this study.

Since the year 2000, the proliferation of modern automatic weapons was well documented as having had a negative effect on the scale and impact of armed violence in pastoral communities (Mirzeler & Young, 2000:411; Gray, 2000: 408; Gray et al., 2003: S3-S30; Mkutu, 2006:47-70; Mkutu, 2007a:51; Eaton, 2008a:103ff). These publications showed how local concepts and beliefs were affected and transformed by the current abundance of modern arms and the escalation of violence in many pastoral settings in East Africa. The proliferation of small arms was the source of increased lethal violence and crimes (Gray, 2000:407). Small arms and ammunition continued to flow from South Sudan into Northern Kenya (Mkutu, 2007a:57-61; Bevan, 2008:48ff).

The ownership of small arms had eroded customary, methods of dealing with matters of justice or deputed resolution mechanisms by empowering young men who no longer respected the elders in the two communities (Mirzeler & Young, 2000:424; IGAD-CEWARN, 2004:6; Bevan, 2008:47). As much as these scholars indicated the abundance of small arms as increasing violence in Turkana and Pokot, they never argued for arms resulting in the prolonged and protracted conflicts between the two communities. This justified the study's interest in conflicts management, in order to find out how small arms led to the frequency and protracted nature of the conflicts.

From early 1990s up till now(2013), commercialized livestock raided, in which wealthy businessmen, politicians, traders and local people pursued economic objectives interfered with pastoral livelihoods and contributed to conflicts among pastoral communities (Kratli and Swift, 1999:17; Gray et al., 2003: S21f; Mkutu, 2007b:35; Akabwai and Ateyo, 2007:25ff; Eaton, 2010:106-122; Mkutu, 2010:87-105; Kaimba, Njehia and Guliye, 2011:1-18). Local business persons and even politicians reportedly funded raids in order to sell cattle to the black market to places as far away as South Africa and Saudi Arabia (Mkutu, 2003:45-49). Stolen cattle were also used to supply large towns, which have grown in population through rural to urban migration.

Other than analyzing the changed nature of cattle raids from the traditional to contemporary forms where commercialization fuels violent conflicts, these scholars did not show how commercialization has led to this conflict being protracted and sustained for decades. The scholars also had not held the business persons responsible for sustaining cattle raiding and prolonging the conflicts. The study attempted to establish whether business persons who bought stolen cattle were the real actors who sustained the conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana.

Resource scarcity was one of the leading causes of conflicts among pastoralists manifested in the competition for limited natural resources such as pasture, water and land, and that they struggled for temporary access to these resources leads to conflicts (Mwaniki et al., 2007:36; Goldsmith, Ahmed and Babiker, 2007:37; Greiner, 2013:219). The patterns of raiding in northern Kenya have been enmeshed in politicized claims over administrative boundaries, struggles for exclusive access to land, and even attempts to establish or safeguard an ethnically homogenous electoral basis. Various writers have given reasons for conflicts in

pastoral communities, but none of them linked violence in pastoralist areas intimately to recent political developments in Kenya at large, the current political and administrative restructuring as well as ongoing land reforms which have created windows of opportunity for violent renegotiation of territorial claims in the pastoralist areas in Kenya's arid north (Markakis, 2004:9f; UNDP, :2007:8; Greiner, 2013:218).

In the past, colonial governments marginalized the Turkana, weak governance and the absence of security compounded the poor security picture (Knighton, 2002:25; Mkutu and Wandera, 2013:25). Turkana was a challenge to administrators due to its remoteness and poor infrastructure, which curtail external investments and was ranked as the poorest county with 94.3% of people living in poverty during a recent government survey (Omari, 2011). Pastoralist issues were not adequately articulated in national strategy and no policy on conflicts management put in place, although strong customary governance institutions exist (Mirzeler & Young, 2000: 427; IGAD-CEWARN, 2004:5; UN OCHA, 2008:3; WHO 2009:2; Iyodu, 2009:15; Kenya, 2010b). In Kacheliba in Pokot North, forceful disarmament was carried out in September 2008, and despite this exercise, insecurity was still rampant in the region, with road ambushes and cattle raids persisted (Hulme and Fukudu, 2009:67).

Government intervention on pastoral conflicts in the past and presently, had taken a very heavy-handed approach, characterized by military operations with security personnel brutally punishing the whole community as culprits (CEWARN, 2007). As a result, the two communities seemed to have found ways to evade and elude government interventions that tried to improve security in these two regions. The study therefore sought to find out

whether the above arguments led to this conflict being sustained and prolonged for decades. The residents of these two communities carried out this research work to ascertain the above arguments.

The result had been resentment and mistrust on the part of the innocent people against the government (Gray, 2000:412; Knighton, 2002:21f; Makoloo, 2005; Mkutu, 2007a:67; HRW, 2007:36ff; Akabwai & Ateyo, 2007:30ff; Bevan 2008:55-63; Bevan, 2008:58f; Stites and Akabwai 2009:13f). These explanations conformed to Azar's (1990:7-8) theory: pre-condition of deprivation of needs, that stated; all individuals aim at fulfilling their needs through their collective identity group.

Needs deprivation therefore, leads to increased grievances, which individuals expressed collectively and distinguished between different forms of needs such as political access needs, security needs and acceptance needs. Political access needs concerned the effective participation of individuals in political, economic, and decision-making institutions, while security needs referred to the material needs for physical security, nutrition and housing, and acceptance needs pointed to the need for "distinctive identity" and its social recognition. These arguments only supported what caused violence between communities, but no study explained how these causes sustained the conflicts. The study aimed to confirm whether perceived community deprivation of needs had led to prolonged frequent and constant conflicts between the two communities.

This scenario provided a double-edged impact, firstly, the affected communities got stock and progressed with their economic life and in most cases, they invaded their neighbours or

enemies became the best alternative to solve the emerging economic dilemma. Secondly, large groups were left idle after losing their herds, providing time and space for war or revenge plan. Lack of economic activity provided an opportunity for raids, which with time became an economic activity of certain entities (Mwaniki et al., 2007:35). This literature did not link prolonged adverse climatic changes to prolonged raids and violent conflicts between these two communities. This study aimed at finding out whether worsening ecological/climatic conditions were responsible for the prolonged violent conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot.

Political disorders in neighbouring counties had encouraged the formation of alliances that mounted attacks on weakened communities (Goldsmith et al., 2007:40). The Greater Horn of Africa was characterized by several violent conflicts that destabilized pastoral communities and contributed to the escalation of conflicts. A flourishing trade in small arms and ammunition was prevalent in the whole region (Mirzeler & Young 2000:422; ITDG-EA, &AU-IBAR 2003:1; Bevan 2008:47). The fall of governments in Uganda in late 1970s and early 1980s for example led to excessive armament of the Karimojong against the Turkana who were initially better armed. The tendency was that, communities seek to test the newly acquired strength through raids against their neighbours (Kipury 2008:45).

Sudden and localized access to arms changed the balance of power across borders or even between different groups and resulted in escalation of raids (Swift and Kratli, 1999:17; Mkutu, 2000:42; Chesos, 2001:34; Kenya 2007:89). These arguments were shared by Azar (1990:11), who pointed out that through “political- economic relations of economic

dependency within the international economic system, and the network of political- military linkages constituting regional and global patterns of clientele and cross-border interests. Modern states, particularly weaker ones, like those often involved in protracted social conflict, tended to be more influenced by outside connections both economically and politically within the wider global community.

The formation of domestic social and political institutions and their impact on the role of the state greatly influenced by the pattern of linkage within the international system (Azar, 1990: 11). For instance, many states dependent on an external supply of armaments. Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) theory suggests that several of the current conflicts around the world and especially in underdeveloped parts of the world were characterized by a blurred demarcation between internal and external sources and actors.

Violent conflicts often contributed to a concentration of power in the hands of political leaders (World, Bank, 2003:82). Some politicians economically benefited from raids and thefts and utilize their improved material status to gain more political influence. In general, conflicts often used as a moral justification for political repression and forcible state interventions (Mkutu, 2007b:53).

The political marginalization of the region was also conveyed in weak or absent government institutions and the disregard of customary structures of authority and justice. This explanation did not show how politics had led to the concentration of power in the hands of the individuals. It didn't also show how politicians were involved in cattle rustling. This study

aimed to establish whether politicians played a role in influencing prolonged and sustained cattle raids and conflicts between the two communities.

This review of the studies had been carried out on the interrogation of how the Catholic justice and peace commission in conflicts management in Turkana County. The reviewed literature was mainly from past studies appearing in reference books, theses, reports, journals, internet sources, primary sources, secondary sources; education policy documents, articles, among others. Historically, conflicts management studies (Blake and Mouton 1967, Follet 1926, Pruitt 1983) collectively argued the generative processes involved in producing observable conflicts management behaviour centre on two temporal poles of influence: the concern for self and for others.

Dennis Hoover (2004) postulated that the old fault lines between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, Christianity and Islam would play out in violent conflict as the 1990s unfurled with the violent breakup of the former Yugoslavia into Slovenian, Croatian, Bosnia-Herzegovinian, Serbian-Montenegrin, and Macedonian components based substantially on religious identity. The Chechen Wars (1994–96, 1999–2009) and Kosovo (1999) along with ongoing conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Nigeria and Sudan, Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians in India and Buddhists and Hindus in Sri Lanka seemed to point to religions capacity to antagonize and led to conflicts.

Dennis Hoover (2004) was among the increased number of faith-based scholars who encouraged the involvement of religious actors in the delivery of foreign policy, development, diplomacy and conflicts management. Religious conflicts management began to emerge in the 1990s with an increasing awareness that, if religious tradition and teaching

could encourage violence and conflicts, so the same traditions could be applied to bring about the resolution of conflict. After all, religious traditions have scriptures, teaching and a historical memory of peace building, peacemaking, peacekeeping and conflicts management. In the real sense religious actors – as individuals, movements or organizations have always been involved in resolving conflicts (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana, 2009).

Appleby (2000) described religious ambivalence to violence but nonetheless argued persuasively that religious actors were essential to peace processes and deserved greater international support. Religious actors exacerbated conflicts in Northern Ireland, with prominent Protestant clergy equating nationalist aspirations with a Papist plot; in South Africa the Dutch Reformed Church underpinned the apartheid system and in the former Yugoslavia the Serbian Orthodox church provided legitimating for the quest for a greater Serbia, and yet in all three instances a relatively peaceful management to conflicts was brought about through the active involvement of religious actors in peace making and reconciliation. Such examples paved the way for a more serious engagement with religion's capacity to heal rather than divide.

Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson (1994) argued that traditional measures of dealing with conflicts became increasingly obsolete in an uncertain world where identity played a central role: Such disputes tended to occur at the fault lines between rival nationalities or in situations where societies were suffering from the strains of economic competition and rising expectations. These were the most intractable sources of conflicts, and they were the sources with which conventional diplomacy least suited to deal (Johnston and Sampson, 1994). Those who, like Johnston and Sampson, urged a religious dimension to diplomacy and conflict

management needed government to take religion seriously and to use religious actors in bringing about peace and reconciliation.

Individuals and faith-based organizations from a variety of religious traditions were increasingly active in attempts to end conflicts and to foster post-conflict reconciliation between warring parties in various parts of the world (Bouta et al., 2005; Smock, 2006). This was a phenomenon gaining increased attention, although it was not a new one. Religious individuals, often as representatives of faith-based organizations, had for decades carried out mediation, striving to help resolve conflicts. Examples included: mediation undertaken by the Quakers and financed by the Ford foundation in the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–70; the work of the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches in mediating a cessation to the Sudan conflicts in 1972; efforts made by John Paul Lederach (Professor of International Peace-building at the University of Notre Dame) in Nicaragua in the 1980s; and the recent work of the Imam of Timbuktu in mediating various West African conflicts (Haynes, 2005c).

This suggests that to focus single-mindedly on conflicts within and between religions not only oversimplifies causal interconnections between religion and conflicts, by disregarding important alternative variables, but also leads to under estimation of attempts emerging from various religious traditions to help resolve conflicts and build peace. The point was that, when successful, religion's role in helping to resolve conflicts and build peace was crucial component in helping to achieve human development more generally. Religious peace-makers" are religious individuals or representatives of faith-based organizations that attempt to help resolve inter-group conflicts and build peace (Appleby, 2000, 2006; Gopin, 2000, 2005; Ellis & ter Haar, 2005).

The world religions share a broadly similar set of theological and spiritual values and views and this potentially underpins their ability to provide positive contributions to conflict management and peace-building. Practical effects in this regard have increased in recent years, with growing numbers and types of religious peacemakers working to try to build peaceful coexistence in multi-faith societies, while advocating reconciliation and fairness in a world that often seems characterized by social and political strife and economic disparity (Bartoli, 2005).

Another step towards managing ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria was that, the government at all levels encouraged, in their domains, effective and functional platforms for ethno-religious leaders so that through them, it would be possible to establish a network for conflicts prevention and management (Ikelegbe, 2001). This study was necessary because in Nigeria, various political, religious, traditional and ethnic leaders in most areas of conflicts hardly sat together to discuss the causes of ethno-religious violence and how to prevent future conflicts (Imobighe, 2001). What this meant was that in Nigeria, with a bad history of ethno-religious conflicts, leaders hardly met to build bridges of understanding that could lead to the establishment of mutual confidence that could sustain a multi-ethnic society. Thus, rather than being part or initiators of the solution, they (leaders) often became part of the conflicts, which they resolved.

The paramount goal of resolving conflict was not to eliminate it; rather the goal was to accentuate its profitable dynamics (Klenke 2003). To achieve this end, the Catholic Church therefore designed strategies to promote open communication and understanding (Rahim 2000). The Catholic Church, as a community of faith, was different from other social

organizations. It is relationship based. Therefore, the Catholic Church was more susceptible to solve conflicts most especially interpersonal conflicts than other social organizations (Allen 2005 pg. 62). Complicating this matter were church leaders who viewed conflict as a destructive experience and grossly lack adequate training to manage conflicts within groups (Grabill 2005, Lippitt 1982) Christians therefore commonly responded to solve this conflicts by either avoiding or accommodating it (Sorrenson 1999).

The conflicts in Turkana County have been there for a long time (before 1960s) and have not been able to profoundly address the causes of these conflicts so as to get a permanent solution. Definition of the term “conflict” has presented a challenge to scholars because there can be no single way of defining this term following the different situations it has manifested. The factors that cause the conflicts in Turkana County are complex making it hard to tackle them. The involvement of politicians in these conflicts, and commercialization show how complex these conflicts are. The fact that there is high civilian militarism and marginalization leading to the conflicts in Turkana County led the researcher to review on governance and ways to bring an end to the pastoral conflicts in Turkana County.

Therefore, the researcher will analyse the role of the church organizations in conflict resolution in Turkana County. The researcher’s will also examine the role of the Catholic justice and peace commission in conflict management in Turkana County, examine the various approaches to conflict management by various organizations and non-governmental organizations and analyse the impact of the interventions by the CJPC.

According to Azarya (1996), pastoralism refers to an economy that is based on raising livestock; this could be undertaken by sedentary or nomadic groups. Pastoralists include those who earn part of their living from livestock and livestock products. They include those who are still connected to pastoralist culture, even if livestock does not provide their main source of income (Humanitarian policy group 2009:2). Pastoralism in all its forms is more than just a mode of production. It involves a certain mode of social organization and cultural patterns and practices (Markakis, 2004:4). Nomadic on the other hand refers to the extent of spatial movement of pastoralists; therefore, pastoral production is conceptually different from the extent of residential mobility.

Livestock possession plays multiple social, economic and religious roles since pastoral livelihoods, such as providing a regular source of food in form of milk, meat and blood for household members, cash income to pay for cereals, education, health care and other services. In pastoral communities, livestock is also essential for payment of dowry, compensation of injured parties during raids, symbol of prosperity and prestige, store of wealth and security against drought, disease and other calamities. Livestock is therefore a fundamental form of pastoral capital, besides functioning as a means of production, storage, transport and transfer of food and wealth (Behnke, 2008).

As pastoralists revolve around livestock, the conflicts are predominantly about livestock and related productive assets namely; water, land and pasture. These resources closely tie conflicts to the violent and theft of livestock, referred to as raiding, which are both a contributing factor and an articulation of conflicts. Mwangi (2006) argues that raiding leads to distrust between communities which is a pre-requisite for conflicts, and Schilling et al,

(2012) seems to support this argument by explaining that communities use raiding to articulate their hostility toward enemy communities.

Eaton (2008) and Schilling *et al*, (2012) note the complexity and frequency of the pastoral conflicts in Turkana County. The frequency has changed from the competition over scarce resources, ethnic or communal animosity, inadequately met human needs, colonial policies of divide and rule, to conflicts entrepreneurs who profit from wars, and poor governance (Kratli and Swift, 2003); Mwaniki, Leleruk, Mbuchi and Mwei, 2007); Eaton, 2008; Greiner, 2013). The raids have turned from a cultural aspect of activity to a more commercial activity where the raided animals are sold for financial gains and some are used as dowry. In Kenya, semi-arid and arid Lands (ASALS) constitute 439,000km² of land mass which is equivalent to 80% of Kenya's total land mass. Gray (2000), points out that there is a direct link between globally changing conditions, natural resources, livelihoods, insecurity, and conflicts in Karamoja. It gets down to Turkana County since with the global change of climate and economy for the worst, the community act for survival while leaders take opportunity of the condition to benefit themselves.

Erratic weather patterns and recurrent droughts have negatively impacted the availability of resources. Frequent crop failure has led to food insecurity in the region and according to a report by IGAD CEWARN (2004) this has resulted in increased incidents of raids, and increased competition over water and pasture. Droughts have also led to the loss of animals, encouraging raids and counter raids. This argument is supported by Schilling *et al* (2012) who confirmed that the Turkana people raid because of hunger and drought while the Pokot raid to pay bride price and accumulation of wealth. This study benefited from the above

observation since it seeks to examine the relationship between conflicts and some livelihood.

Pastoral conflicts have negatively impacted on the livelihood of residents in the region in various direct and indirect ways. Some of the impacts of these pastoral conflicts include: The loss of human lives, the most direct effect of raiding on human well-being is the loss of lives and injuries caused during the raids (Mary N. Getui and HazelAyanga, 2002). For example, the governmental institution CEWARN reports a number of conflict-related deaths of 640 in 2009 alone (CEWARN 2010) among the Turkana and Pokot. However, not only raiders fall victim to the conflicts because government officials are also not spared in the killings. Government Security officers and local chiefs within Turkana East have died because of raids.

Trauma is another impact. Apart from the physical impacts of the conflicts on humans, Pike et al. (2010) has pointed out that the people who survive after the raids suffer from trauma as they see their loved ones die. Pastoral conflicts have led to a loss of livestock among the people of Turkana East Sub-county. This is the case with their neighbours, the Pokot. CEWARN (2010), reports that both the Turkana and Pokot lost more than 90,000 animals due to raids between 2006 and 2009. Apart from livestock, raiders also loot the villages they raid and take away other belongings of the victims. Consequently, the raided community is rendered poor because they have lost their wealth.

As a result of raids, many people in Turkana East Sub-county have abandoned their settlement though this is not a common phenomenon. The pastoral conflicts are resource-based and so when a community is raided, it then means that they consequently lose their resources, namely water point and grazing areas (Eriksen and Lind). In some instances, the

raiders also steal the crops grown or at times they burn the farms of the victim community. There are occasions whereby the beehives of the people of Turkana East Sub-county have been destroyed by the Pokots.

In both pastoral communities (Turkana and Pokot), there is an omnipresent perception of pronounced insecurity. In Turkana East Sub-county, the people interviewed felt insecure. According to Morton (2001) many parts within Turkana East Sub-county have become more inaccessible due to enduring inter-community ethnic tensions. The effects of insecurity on pastoral livelihoods go beyond a reduction of food resources. The lack of secure markets limits the ability of the pastoralists to sell livestock prior to or during dry periods and hence contributes to food insecurity. Insecurity interrupts education and it also poses an obstacle for development. Today, Turkana is the poorest and most marginalized County in relatively rich Kenya due to pastoral conflicts raids.

The pastoral conflicts in Turkana East Sub-county have resulted in the abandonment of large areas of economically viable land along the Lomelo corridor (Paul Goldsmith, 2007). The people of Lomelo and Kapedo, for example, can no longer practice farming as they did in the past because of fear of being attacked while in the farms. Even small businesses cannot run in certain parts of the region such as Napeitom, Lochakula and Kamuge among others and this impact a lot on the economic development of the residents in this region. There are large swatches of fertile land left unutilized as a result of insecurity in the region. Education has been badly affected as many schools have been abandoned in most parts of the Sub-county.

During the year 2000 to 2015, a number of residents in Turkana East Sub-county were displaced from their homes as a result of insecurity (Paul Goldsmith, 2007). Areas like Kidewa, Lochakula and Kamuge have been deserted and the inhabitants of these regions have instead come to live in Lokori town, the headquarters of Turkana East Sub-county. In fact, the people of Lomelo only went back to Lomelo in 2011 having stayed in Lokori for a number of years as internally displaced persons.

Insecurity in Turkana East Sub-county has created a perception among business investors that it is undeserving unproductive inhabitation. Due to this negative mentality, even government officials are not motivated to work in certain parts of the region and even the entire region as well. In fact, some government officers are posted to the Sub-county and finally do not report for duty for fear of being insecure. Therefore, the residents of this region fail to receive adequate services as other citizens of Kenya. Pastoral conflicts in Turkana County have left women as widows and many children orphaned. In fact, cattle rustling take the place of HIV/AIDS in this region. Women also suffer rape due to the raids and as such are exposed to being infected even with HIV/AIDS

Though Esther Lokwei (2013) has researched on more the same communities, the areas of concerns are different, and the causes may be slightly different. There are more additional causes of conflicts like the conflicts over the oil and water that were recently discovered in Turkana County. This has made these conflicts escalate resulting candidates not seating for their Kenya national examination like K.C.P.E and K.C.S.E examinations. It also caused the people to migrate from the region. The research focused on the villages of

Kapedo, Nakwamoru, Juluk, Kaptil and others while this research will focus on Lomelo, Lokor, Kapedo and Napeitom.

The Ugandan National Resistance Movement (NRM) government has always made disarming the Karamoja a key policy strategy since 1986 (Knighton, 2002:3; HRW, 2007:25ff; Mkutu, 2007a:55). The government came up with the Karamoja Development Agency (KDA) by Statute 4 of 1987, to help bring state-led development programmes. But KDA is seen to have failed, marred with allegations of poor leadership and financial mismanagement (Karamoja Forum, May 17-20, 1995).

Goldsmith et al (2007), stated that the desired peace and development still eluded the region. They argued that in 1998, the Karamoja Projects Implementation Unit (KPIU) was established with an objective of fostering development of the region. Today the gun is the problem, and the disarmament policy, through which government seeks to remove illegal guns from the warriors, was fronted as the solution. This was because of the argument that there would not be development without peace and security therefore the establishment of peace was mandatory. They also argued that the Ugandan government had expressed interest and commitment to bringing about peace and development to Karamoja. Despite establishing various bodies to bring change, the desired change was still elusive because of challenges to implement the well-intentioned policies.

In 2001 the government launched a disarmament programme and a total of 3,500 guns were handed in. Another one followed in 2004, where 3481 guns were collected. However, shortly

after the launch some disarmed communities questioned the ability of the government both from within the country and from across. The people of Moroto district complained of relentless raids by the Turkana, a group that they had until then assumed were their allies. Tepeth of Moroto district also complained of persistent raids by the Kenya Pokot (Gray, 2000:409; Knighton, 2002:21; Eaton, 2008a:103). As a result, the people rearmed themselves (Knighton, 2002:22; Akabwai&Ateyo, 2007:20ff; Bevan, 2008:55) or moved to Kenya in order to retaliate from there (Knighton, 2002:23).

1.9 Theoretical Framework

Several explanations have been provided as to what causes conflicts at different levels. However, there exists a theory that explains contemporary conflicts and assists to situate it in the social and international context. The choice of E. Azar's theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) as explained by Ramsbotham, (2005: 14) in this study will be appropriate since it will situate the study in the right context. This theory seeks to explain the discontentment of communal groups due to deprivation of human needs, communal content as seen in the two groups trying to protect their identity, property and lives by revenging against the rival community. E. Azar's theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) will address the 'preconditions' for conflicts visible between the communities in Turkana County. It will analyse the 'proximate causes', focusing particularly on the relationships and dynamics of the various actors, their perceptions of each other and the nature of the conflicts itself.

Edward Azar offered one of the first analytical attempts to comprehensively analyse and explain the protracted nature of intra-state conflicts (Ramsbotham, 2005:15). Influenced by the persistent conflicts in his native Lebanon and countries like Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Northern Ireland, Israel, Ethiopia, Sudan and Nigeria. Azar developed a framework for the

analysis of such conflicts which he called Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) and defined it as: “the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation (Azar, 1990:12).

Azar argued that the denial of basic human needs to a large portion of the population-initiated instances of protracted social violence. There are four pre-conditions that are isolated by Azar as predominant sources of PSC. These are: communal content, deprivation of human needs, governance and the state’s role, and international linkages (Azar 1990:12). Communal content according to Azar (1990) in PSC situations is communal identity based on race, religion, and ethnic group or cultural ties which is very important because these identities are then used to solicit basic needs. In many multi-ethnic societies, states emerge which are dominated by a single communal group. This communal group or coalition of groups ignores the needs of other communal groups, thereby straining the social fabric and eventually breeding fragmentation and protracted social conflict (Azar, 1990:7).

He also cited the, “disarticulation between the state and society as a whole”, as a source of violence within society. This pre-condition also involves the reliance that many people have on their social groups, because of government in areas that experience PSC are often unable, incapable or unwilling to provide basic human necessities to the population, individuals turn to social groups for stability. The resultant disconnection of society and the state can be linked to the colonial legacy, which “artificially imposed European ideas of territorial statehood” onto a multitude of community groups. This results in the domination of certain identity groups over others. The dominant group isolates itself from the needs of other groups, leading to an even bigger separation between groups even within an ethnicity (Azar

1990: 7-8).

Deprivation of needs as a second pre-condition contends that all individuals aim at fulfilling their needs through their collective identity group. Needs deprivation therefore, leads to increased grievances, which individuals express collectively. Azar distinguishes between different forms of needs such as political access needs; security needs and acceptance needs. Political access needs have to do with the effective participation of individuals in political, economic, and decision- making institutions, while security needs refer to the material needs for physical security, nutrition and housing, and acceptance needs point to the need for “distinctive identity” and its social recognition.

Azar’s concept of human needs denotes the idea of inequalities, which means that the dominant social group “satisfies” its political access, security and acceptance needs at the expense of the needs of social (excluded) groups. As a result, the social groups that are dissatisfied are frustrated and feel (more and more) marginalized and excluded from the social, economic and political participation (Azar 1990:7-8). Governance and state’ role is a third argument where Azar states; “With governments being “endowed with the authority to govern and use force where necessary to regulate society, to protect citizens, and to provide collective goods,” (Ramsbotham, 2005:84-87), Azar cited governance and the state’s role as the critical factor in the satisfaction or frustrations of individual and identity groups.

Azar (1990:11) states that most states which experience protracted social conflict tend to be characterized by incompetent, parochial, fragile, and authoritarian governments that fail to satisfy basic human needs. It is said that governments, expected to be unbiased and impartial, tend to be dominated by the leading identity groups or those that have been able to

monopolize power within a country or territorial entity. Azar argues that: whereas in Western liberal theory, the state is an aggregate of individuals entrusted to govern effectively and to act as an impartial arbiter of conflicts among the constituent parts; treating all members of the political community as legally equal citizens, this is not empirically what happens in most parts of the world, particularly in never and less stable states where political authority tend to be monopolized by the dominant identity group or a coalition of hegemonic groups which use the state to maximize their interests at the expense of others.

The monopolizing of power by dominant individuals and groups and the limiting of access to other groups precipitates a “crisis of legitimacy” so that “regime type and the level of legitimacy” come to be seen as “important linkage” variables between needs and PSC (Azar 1990:11-12). Azar notes how PSCs tends to be concentrated in developing countries “which are typically characterized by rapid population growth and limited resource base” and also have restricted “political capacity” often linked to a colonial legacy of weak participatory institutions, a hierarchical tradition of imposed bureaucratic rule from metropolitan centres, and inherited instruments of political repression: “In most protracted social conflict-laden countries, political capacity is limited by a rigid or fragile authority structure which prevents the state from responding to and meeting the needs of various constituents.” This creates a “crisis of legitimacy” in the governance of these countries.

The last argument put forward by Azar is the international linkages which involves, “political- economic relations of economic dependency within the international economic system, and the network of political- military linkages constituting regional and global patterns of clientele and cross-border interests. Modern states, particularly weaker ones, like those often involved in protracted social conflict, tend to be more influenced by outside

connections both economically and politically within the wider global community.

The formation of domestic social and political institutions and their impact on the role of the state are greatly influenced by the pattern of linkage within the international system (Azar, 1990: 11). For instance, many states are dependent on an external supply of armaments. PSC theory suggests that several of the current conflicts around the world and especially in underdeveloped parts of the world are characterized by a blurred demarcation between internal and external sources and actors. Moreover, there are multiple causal factors and dynamics, reflected in changing goals, actors and targets. Finally, these conflicts do not show a clear starting and terminating points (Azar, 1990:6).

The fact that the pastoral conflicts of Turkana and Pokot exhibits this kind of conflicts, Azar's PSC theory is relevant here. The PSC is different from Kenneth Waltz (1959) theory which gives the differences between system, state and the individual. Azar's PSC theory was relevant to this study since the related literature reviewed shows that the Turkana and Pokot suffer from changes in ecological conditions that exacerbate raids, livelihoods, cultural nature of raids to commercialization, the intensity and frequency of conflicts due to raiding, impact of small arms on the conflicts, the failure of peace building modalities to curb the menace, poor governance and the impact of politics on the conflicts which has ended up prolonging and sustaining it.

The other theorists have given explanations of what causes conflicts other than the Azar's four pre-conditions to conflicts. Some agree with Azar's theory of contemporary conflicts while others have a contrary view to PSC. Kelman (1997:194) supports Azar's PSC and points out to the non-fulfilment or threats to the fulfilment of basic needs as causes of

conflicts. Agreeing with Azar's pre-condition of deprivation of needs as a cause of universal conflicts, Kelman states psychological needs such as identity, security, recognition, autonomy, self-esteem, and a sense of justice, as centrally important for the behaviour of individuals and characteristic for the individual's identity groups. Just like Azar, he explains these as ethnic group, national group, and state group among others, which articulate these powerful driving forces of psychological and material needs.

The study also agrees with Kelman's arguments as was revealed by the Turkana and Pokot communities. The two ethnic groups congregated themselves around the ethnic group and used this to provide protection and self-defence. The warriors in both communities provide security and the psychological safety needed by the respective community. Therefore, the two communities used the communal content as explained by Azar and Kelman to fulfil their security, identity and political needs. Kelman (1997:195) argues that identity, security and other important collective needs and the fears about survival connected with them, are viewed as critical causal factors or intergroup and inter-communal conflicts. But Kriesberg disagreed with Azar and argued that conflicts are pervasive in all social situations and he defined social conflicts as existing when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives. Kriesberg implies that conflicts are conscious, different from competitions, and perceived as such by the parties (persons or groups) themselves.

Kriesberg allows for objective, latent, underlying or potential conflicts in case the parties are unaware of the conflict's situation. He also points to the fact that social conflicts vary in the issues in contention, characteristics of the adversaries, the relations between the adversaries, the social context of the conflicts, and modes used in the struggle (Kriesberg, 1997:26). He

lists internationally, perceptions and other subjective phenomena to illustrate how the people engaged in conflicts view their struggle in the real social and physical world. This condition has a direct impact on the way the conflicts will evolve. Thus, Kriesberg shows a complex interplay between conditions that shape the perceptions and perceptions that become conditions.

Moreover, Kriesberg stresses the multiplicity of important values other than peace, which motivate people and communities. These are; freedom, justice, equality or wish for recognition of special distinction or even superiority. Those norms must not be jeopardized in the pursuit of peace (Kriesberg, 1992:1). He points out those international conflicts are characterized by numerous actors, the diversity of the issues at stake, and the availability of non-coercive inducements as well as coercive methods. Since parties are represented by groups of people, all persons have multiple loyalties and identities, including religion, language, ethnicity, ideologies, occupations and their respective country.

The study agrees with Kriesberg's argument because during the study it emerged that the raiders from the two communities were loyal to their respective groups and felt obliged to provide for the lacking security needs, identity and recognition needs to them. They used the ethnic identity to identify themselves as the Turkana or the Pokot community. Lederach (1997:) departing from Kriesberg and Azar's arguments states that internal, rather than international conflicts build around identity groups living near. They often erupt as expressions of accumulated pain with marked emotional and psychological patterns of institutionalized hatred and division. The direct experience of violent trauma associated with perceived enemies is tied to a history of grievance and enmity accumulated over generations.

The conflicts are characterized by deep-rooted intense animosity, fear, and severe stereotyping.

According to Lederach, conflicts cause division among groups based on fear for survival, victimization, divisive political rhetoric and myths of differences and boundaries. An “us” versus “them” dichotomy develops along ethnic lines. These dynamics, driven by real-life experiences and subjective perspectives and emotions, render national and mechanical processes and solutions aimed at conflict transformation not only ineffective, but also irrelevant and offensive. These arguments by Lederach fit in the explanation given by the Turkana and the Pokot to explain why they have been fighting for decades. The two communities use the ethnic community identity to group themselves to fight for survival, but when the government intervenes by using disarmament, they complain of victimization. Political incitement from politicians of both communities have sustained and prolonged this conflict causing divisive political rhetoric. This conflict has caused a psychological boundary between the Turkana and the Pokot, making each community use an “us” versus “them” in the process of trying to outdo each by use of raids and counter-raids.

King (1997:13) combined all the arguments and agreed with the above writers and argued that all international conflicts contain elements such as; first their protracted and often vicious nature can be attributed to the belligerent’s irrational motives. Secondly, ancient hatreds, religious fervour or loyalty to kith and kin may explain why some internal conflicts drag on even past the stage when it would seem to be in the best interests of the belligerents to cease. Thirdly, incompatible identities and values at the base of most internal conflicts make

compromise extremely difficult. This means the belligerents are so committed to the ends for which they originally took up arms to defend the home land, creation of an ethnically pure state, dominance of political institutions by their own communal group, but the space for negotiations is necessarily limited. Fourthly, there are structural elements of war such as fighting in internal conflicts, the array of incentives to continue violence and disincentives for compromise that inhibit negotiations and settlements (King: 1997:13).

Criticisms of Azar's PSC

Other writers who do not agree with Azar's explanation of protracted social conflict using the four pre-conditions are Reinman (2000:36-37) who used a gender analysis approach to critique Azar's PSC theory. She used the three-fold understanding of gender analysis as; Social construction, Social change and Historical variability to critique Azar's theory. Reiman states that in terms of Social construction, Azar has a rather static & fixed idea of identity and human needs. Azar's notion of identity remains unable to theorize the social construction of identity including shifting and multiple identities like masculinities and femininities and their connection with violence in most PSC.

Also, Azar's idea of a historical and universal understanding of human needs makes it difficult to discuss historical variability and social change. Moreover, in line with Azar's overall gender- neutral if not gender-blind discourse, all the four clusters must take the public-private split for granted and as natural and given. Azar's four clusters neglect the underlying gender-specific if not gender clusters of PSCs such as increasing domestic violence, gender-specific needs, grievances and gender related interests, the changing division of labour and the changing and multiple notions of femininity and masculinity during a PSC. Reiman explains that these four features make Azar's model of PSC rather un-

conducive to theorize about gender (2000:37). But Reiman while critiquing Azar's PSC picked some positive aspects of the theory and argues for it. For example, she notes that the gender analysis showed how Azar's work offers some promising gender-sensitive entry-point to conflict analysis and conflicts resolution. She also argued that Azar puts Centre stage the very multiplicity of conflicts sources, actors and issues to explain the very complexity of agents and sources of PSCs. This is like using gender as an analytical category. Azar aims at unpacking and opening given social structures by opening analytical space to discuss social change and historical variability.

Azar also puts Centre-stage open and hidden power inequalities and power asymmetries and explicitly addresses the link of needs dissatisfaction and hierarchical power structures. This makes Azar's four clusters rather conducive to theorize about gender as hierarchical, hidden power structure. Azar prioritized the underlying concerns of the conflict parties involved such as needs, grievances, fears and identity. Azar did this by unpacking state-centric and state-based approaches to conflicts management. Azar also stresses throughout his work the necessity of a historical approach in any conflicts analysis to understand and explain the conflict's multiple factors, agents and process.

Given the fact that the cross border of Turkana and Pokot exhibits the kind of Azar's PSC conflict, this theory is relevant to this study. This relevance is evident in the related literature reviewed which showed how the Turkana and Pokot suffer from changes in ecological conditions that exacerbate raids, changes in livelihoods, change in cultural nature of raids to commercialization, change in the intensity and frequency of conflicts due to raiding patterns, impact of proliferation of small arms on the conflict, the failure of peace building modalities

to curb the menace, governance issues and the impact of the changes in politics on the conflicts which has ended up prolonging and sustaining it.

The data collected in the field also showed the relationship between the theory (PSC), the causes and consequences of the conflicts under study throughout time. Azar (1990:12) explains that the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation led to agitation by the affected groups. This explanation resonates with why the Turkana and the Pokot fight each other as was reported by respondents on both sides.

The finding showed the communal content where the Turkana and the Pokot communities relied on their warriors for protection and identity of their communities from external aggression, to meet their security needs. The two communities recognized their warriors as championing their rights, fighting for their recognition, thereby filling the vacuum left by the government. The two communities also recognized that exacerbating violence as brave and ready to defend the community. Such individuals were held high in the community and sometimes elected during the general elections to represent the electorate in the Parliament. Thus, fulfilling their political recognition needs. The PSC therefore was relevant to this study. This was noted by Greiner (2013:224), when he argued that not only the Pokot, but the Samburu also have understood that there is a way to tell the government “to tell the current land owners to evacuate and surrender the farms to the locals”. This corresponds to the first pre-condition of Azar, the communal content. The PSC therefore is relevant to this study as was discussed in the results of the study.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

1.11 Research Design

The study used the descriptive research design, with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Descriptive survey design is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering questionnaires to a sample of individuals hence suitable for extensive research. It is an excellent way for the measurement of characteristics of large population (Orodho, 2003). It maintains a high level of confidentiality, it is convenient and enables data to be collected faster, enables questions to be asked personally in an interview or impersonal through a questionnaire about things which cannot be observed easily. It also gives the study an opportunity to get accurate view of response to issues, as well as test theories on social relationship at both the individual and group level (Kothari, 2003).

Descriptive design is appropriate for the study because it enabled the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. On quantitative approach, the study will use the closed-ended sections of the questionnaire to collect on the role of CJPC on conflicts management in Turkana County, the approaches used and impact of the intervention by CJPC. On the qualitative side, the study employed interviews and the open-ended sections of the questionnaire to collect data on the approaches to the conflict resolution that can be used to appropriately address the pastoral conflicts.

1.11.1 Categories of Analysis

The study organized data by categorizing and labelling it in groups of questionnaires for Peace committee members, Chiefs, herdsman, Religious Leaders, County administrators and interview guides for politicians, youth leaders, women and men leaders, businessmen,

Ngimurok (seers) and focus group discussions for clusters of men, women and the youth. The labelled and grouped data was coded with answers for specific questions. The data was analysed using descriptive narratives and illustrations presented in form of tables.

1.11.2 Site of the Study: The Turkana People

The site of the study is in Turkana North at the areas of Todonyang and the Sub-location of Turkana East Sub-County, which are predominantly arid and semi-arid areas. Turkana usually receive very low and variable rainfall that varies from 150mm to 200mm in the central areas to over 400mm in the south.

Turkana County occupies most of the north-western part of Kenya. The topography consists of low-lying central plains which are 600m on average that are close to hills and mountains of 1800 to 3100m high (Goldsmith et al, 2007:34) There are numerous ephemeral streams but Turkwell and Kerio are the two main rivers (Edmund, 1991:25). Goldsmith et al. (2007:35). Turkana community largely occupies the area, which is the biggest in Kenya (refer to figure 2 below). It covers approximately 77,000 sq.km, the County is named after the predominantly Turkana ethnic group and bordered by the countries of South Sudan and Ethiopia to the north, Uganda to the West and to the south by West Pokot and Baringo Counties of Kenya (Goldsmith et al,2007:35).

There are approximately 445,069 males and 410,330 females, and the total population is 855,399 according to the 2009 Population and Housing Census (KNBS, 2010). Turkana County is a hardship area within the larger pastoral region of northern Kenya. Most of the conflicts are related to the inability to access livestock, pasture and water (Mkutu, 2011:46). The search for these resources necessitates movements, which brings the different

communities into contact with each other. Such encounters could turn into conflicts as each group guards its territory and seeks supremacy over others (Schilling et al 2012:2) (refer to figure 2).

The pastoral areas of South Sudan, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya are characterized by conflicts such as pastoral conflicts, cattle rustling, banditry and ethnic rivalry. The porous and inadequately policed borders facilitate pastoral conflicts. Most of the conflicts are related to the inability to access livestock, pasture and water (Mkutu, 2011:46). The search for these resources necessitates movements, which brings the different communities into contact with each other. Such encounters could turn into conflicts as each group guards its territory and seeks supremacy over others (Schilling et al 2012:2) (refer to figure 2).

1.12 Study Population

The study area was Turkana East within the nine locations and in Todonyang, in Turkana North, but comparative studies were also done in other areas like Lokitang and Lokichogio. This is because, this is a hot spot where the Turkana and Pokot live close to each other and a corridor where the conflicts between the two communities is most intense with respect to the level of perceived insecurity and several reported raiding incidences and attacked homesteads (Schelling et al., 2012:11). A total number of respondents targeted in Turkana East, Turkana North and few from Turkana Central were 67 interviewees.

This number was broken down as follows; a minimum of 20 respondents were drawn from the Local- residents of the locations of Turkana East and from Todonyang, (Chiefs/County Administrators) (10) NGOs (10), Herdsmen (10), Religious leaders (10) Peace committee members (7). The study also targeted the stakeholders living and working within this region

and, the research targeted County administrators (Sub-County Commissioner and local Chiefs), NGOs, religious leaders, Herdsmen and Kraal leaders within Kapedo/Napeitom wards and Todonyang in Turkana County.

The finding from the field indicates that most of the respondents were males who had high percentage of above 70% while the females had a low percentage of less than 30%. Averagely the age of Herdsmen was between 18-55yrs, Local residents between 35-40yrs, chiefs between 41-50yrs and the remaining religious leaders, NGOs and Peace members were averagely between 35-40years old. The Dada also reveals that most of the respondents were graduates and diploma while few herdsmen were either primary school dropout or no school at all.

1.13 Sampling techniques and sample size

Sampling is a unit that provides a practical and efficient means to collect data since it serves as a model of the population under study. According to Kothari (2004) sampling provides a valid alternative to a whole population because surveying an entire population may lead to budget constraints, time constraints and delay result analysis.

The study used the purposive sampling technique. In the purposive sampling, the study selected participants for the study who had the information. Stratified sampling technique was also used, to gather as much as possible and diverse data. The study used cluster sampling to gather as much information from groups of targeted men, and women of the locations, districts, by use of focus group discussion (FGD). The study also used stratified sampling to collect information from selected youth, women, ward representatives, and traders, and herdsmen through interview guides. He used purposive sampling to collect information from Religious leaders, Chiefs, NGOs, CBOs, residents, herdsmen and Ngimurok (seers) by use of questionnaires. Ngimurok play the role of the local medicine men (Knighton, 2002:25:

Mkutu, 2007b:41) who supervise rituals and sacrificial ceremonies of their community. Ngimurok are consulted before and after a raid and work closely with Kraal leaders and hold a key role in affairs related to raiding (Jabs, 2008:1513). They are also viewed as potential mobilizers of the Karacuna to engage in commercial raiding (USAID FEWS NET, 2005).

1.13.1 Research Instruments

The study collected Data using questionnaires and structured interview guides designed for Focus Group Discussions and questionnaires (refer to appendix Section ii) Section (I) of the questionnaire dealt with Demographic information, section II collected information on the role of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflict management and peace building in Turkana East and Turkana North Sub-Counties. Section III- The approaches of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts resolution in Turkana East and Turkana North sub-Counties, section IV- The impacts of the interventions by Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) to conflict management in Turkana East and Turkana North sub-Counties.

The interview guides (see appendix 1 and 2) and Focus Group Discussion (see appendix 3) questions were used to collect data on possible solutions to pastoral conflicts in these communities and to determine the perception of respondents towards suggested conflicts resolution models. Secondary data was collected from scholarly work such as published books, unpublished theses, periodicals, seminar papers and dissertations and were mainly sourced from Kenyatta university library, University of Nairobi library, the Catholic

university library, the Kenya National Archives, police station and medical reports from the two districts dating from 1995 to 2015.

Questionnaires

The study used questionnaires because they enabled individual participants (Provincial Administrators/Chiefs, NGOs, Religious Leaders, Local-Residents, Peace committee members, and Herdsmen to respond freely in providing their own answers to the questions asked (refer to Appendix III). This instrument was useful because the individual participants had adequate time to think and come up with well thought out answers. Questionnaires facilitated collection of large data samples which was expected to be dependable and reliable in providing answers to the three research questions.

Interview guide schedules

The study used the interview guides to gather data from the targeted population which has the responsibility; experience and authority of security mandate in the respective districts (refer to appendix III). The study used this instrument in face to face dialogue with the participants, to gather more information through exploratory skills, understanding, feelings and emotions of opinion leaders, politicians, religious leaders, women and different locality. The results gave evidence of the instruments being reliable as this helped to adjust any questionnaires and interview guides that were unclear and not completed by the respondents.

1.13.2 Data collection procedures

The study used qualitative method of data collection by employing two research assistants in each research area. Before proceeding for data collection, the study obtained a letter of

introduction from Kenyatta University then proceeded to the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST) to process a research permit and moved to the field armed with a self-introductory for data collection (refer to appendix I and V). While in the field the two research assistants helped in administering questionnaires in the two research areas, translating the questions into the local languages that the respondents could understand. They administered questionnaires to the stratified group of selected respondents and recorded down all answers. They also administered structured interview questions to respondents and recorded the answers provided.

The two research assistants also helped in identification of respondents which formed focus discussion group. This was done through the help of the local chiefs, kraal leaders, youth, women and men leaders who were conversant with these respondents. Together with the study, they engaged the participants of the focus group discussion in already designed questions. The interactions, feelings, experiences and emotions expressed the participants of focus group discussion were recorded by writing down in narrative form.

1.13.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

The study used qualitative data analysis technique to analyse data by organizing, categorizing and labelling it in groups of questionnaires, interview guides and answers from focus group discussions. The narratives given by the old men and women who could not remember the years, but could relate events chronologically, were also recorded in written form. 52 questionnaires were considered duly filled and interview guides and focus group discussion schedules were done as described in target population above. About 15 questionnaires, 5 interview guides and 4 focus group discussion documents were considered spoilt because the answers given were incomprehensible. Therefore, they were not used in data analysis of this

study. The labelled and grouped data was coded with answers for specific questions. The study answered the three objectives of this data using descriptive data, while supporting the narratives by use of, tables data presentation for illustrations.

1.14 Data management and ethical consideration

The study ensured the privacy of the participants in data collection, presentation and reporting by ensuring confidentiality, and no names are mentioned in the final report. All the respondents in this study were given an incentive to cover for the period they were engaged in answering questions. They were also allowed to leave, if they felt so. The researcher was present throughout the interviews and prepared the interviewees psychologically and made them feel at ease in the process of the interviews by explaining the purpose of the study, that everybody's opinion mattered and that all answers were treated with respect and confidentiality. Participants gave answers, but none was compelled to explain further a situation if they felt uncomfortable. Answers obtained were all voluntary and treated with respect. The different opinions expressed by different participants were treated with respect. All participants were requested to speak, one at a time, when chosen and to respect each other's opinion. The participants were also assured by the researcher that their names will not be mentioned in the final report for confidential reasons.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 CJPC AND CONFLICTS MANAGEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY

2.2 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the CJPC has managed the pastoral conflicts in Turkana County. The objective of the study in this section was to state the roles of CJPC in conflicts management in Turkana county. The study focused on CJPC because of its commitment to peace building in Turkana County. CJPC has been involved in peace building in the region for over two decades and has made Progress towards conflicts management. This chapter gives a historical background of CJPC in Kenya and its involvement in peace building in Turkana County. This chapter discusses activities undertaken by CJPC in Turkana County to promote change in attitude and Perceptions that is responsible for sustaining violent conflicts.

The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) in Kenya were established in 1988 as an executive organ of the Kenyan Episcopal Conference (KEC). Kenya Episcopal conference is a faith-based organization founded in 1976. It is an assembly of catholic Bishops of Kenya. Its' main mandate is to co-ordinate and implement pastoral programmes which express the mission of the Church. KEC accomplishes this through various commissions, including the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission. Since its inception, CJPC has worked in promoting justice in Kenya through challenging of oppressive socio-economic and political structures. To this end, CJPC has been involved in various activities geared toward sensitization of communities on their rights. The organization has also been involved in mobilization of communities towards working for peace. CJPC is arguably an independent organ of the church and is free from external influences like the government. To accomplish this mission, CJPC has five major programmes. These are; Transformative civic education and

constitutional reform programmes, Peace building and conflicts resolution programmes, Governance and Democracy programmes and Lenten Campaign. This study sought to find out how the CJPC accomplishes its role through the forgiving initiatives and conflicts management. The findings are as below:

2.3 Transformative Civic Education and Constitutional Reform Programme

According to Dennis H (2004) many religious actors are to work on foreign policy, development and diplomacy and conflicts resolution. Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana, (2009) agreed with the study that religious actors as individuals, movements or organizations have always been involved in resolving conflicts. Appleby (2000) described religious ambivalence to violence but nonetheless argued persuasively that CJPC has been essential to peace processes and deserved greater international support in Turkana County.

CJPC has played a role of Transformative Civic Education and Constitutional Reform Programme in Turkana East Sub-County where there are frequent attacks. CJPC initiated the programme of constitution review process. This was done through use of dialogue and civic education. Their main objective was to educate Turkana and Pokot people about the constitution and their rights. After the promulgation of the Kenyan constitution, the Programme started focusing on the implementation process. The main objective of the Programme was to build capacity of Turkana and Pokot communities to effectively engage in the implementation process. This is aimed at reaching a common understanding of the new Constitution.

2.4 Peace Building and Conflict Resolution Programme

CJPC has also focused on Peace building programme on promotion of peaceful co-existence among bordering Communities. The programme has been active mainly in Turkana East sub-county, areas like Kapedo, Napeitom, Silale, Nadome. Turkana South and lastly in Todonyang in Turkana North, where conflicts are frequent among the Malirre communities. Turkana East sub-county covers about nine locations; Turkana North covers a large area to the borders of South Sudan and Ethiopia. The programme also served to restore peaceful co-existence among communities after the 2007 post-election violence. The programme aims at building capacity for communities to handle conflicts, therefore breaking the cycle of violent conflicts. Some of the project activities include organizing social cultural events, organizing inter-religious meetings, holding peace building trainings and carrying out research on mapping the root causes of conflicts.

Table 1: CJPC involvement with church leadership in reconciliation and peace building

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	7.4	A
Local -Residents	6	22.2	A
County Administrators	3	11.1	A
Chiefs	5	18.6	A
Religious Leaders	6	22.2	A
NGOs	2	7.4	A/O
Peace Members	3	11.1	O
Total	27	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY: A-always O-occasionally N- Never S-sometimes R-rarely.

In (Table 1) the sampled respondents from herdsmen, Local Residence, County Administrators, Chiefs, and Religious Leaders agreed with the study that Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) involved the church leaders through forums of guidance and counselling, reconciliation and peace building in Turkana County. The percentage of those who responded as always is about 80%, while less than 20% of respondents reported that it's occasionally. The findings show that 80% of the respondents recorded 'Always' while less 20% recorded Occasionally. Therefore, a larger frequency of the sampled respondents agreed that Catholic Justice and Peace Commission always engaged the church's leadership through pastors' forums in healing; reconciliation and peace building in Turkana County. The respondents too recorded that CJPC has actively participated in peace building in Turkana County.

Data from the field revealed that 50% of respondents in Kapedo, Nadome, and Napeitom felt that peace building was just a business like any other for the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs working in Turkana County. A woman elder, Jane Ewoi in Kapedo reported that each year, new groups for peace building were created while others disappeared due to corruption and mismanagement in Turkana County. Despite an absence of tangible results, millions of dollars continued to flow into the bank accounts of these peace groups. These groups would then organize some meetings and call people from the affected areas to attend. After that they disappeared, and raiding would take place between the Turkana and the Pokot immediately. The community really wondered why the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs bothered to hold peace meetings.

2.4 Governance and Democracy Programme

In this program of Governance and Democracy, CJPC has played a role in empowering communities to promote and protect human rights. It also focuses at empowering the communities to demand for good governance. The program is organized into six elements; voter- education and elections observation, paralegal awareness and training, civic education, transitional justice, socio-economic justice and parliamentary liaison desk. Bouta et al., (2005); Smock, (2006), supports that individuals and faith-based organizations from a variety of religious traditions are increasingly active in attempts to end conflicts and to foster post-conflict reconciliation between warring parties in various parts of the world.

Table 2: CJPC and the implementation of conflict management

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	5.6	O
Local Residents	10	27.7	A
County Administrators	2	5.6	A/S
Chiefs	9	25	A
Religious Leaders	8	22.2	A
NGOs	2	5.6	A
Peace Members	3	8.3	A
Total	36	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always O-occasionally N- never S-sometimes R-rarely

In (Table 2) the sampled respondents from Local residents, County Administrators, chiefs, Religious leaders, NGOS and Peace members recorded that CJPC always monitors the human rights violation with focus on implementation of conflicts management in Turkana County. The Local residents recorded 27.7%, County Administrators recorded 5.6% either always or sometimes, Chiefs 25%, Religious Leaders 22.2%, NGO 5.6% and Peace members 8.3%. The data collected also showed that most respondents reported that indeed the CJPC monitors the cases of human rights in Turkana County. The respondents from the Herdsman recorded differently that Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) monitored human rights violation with a focus on implementation of conflict management in Turkana County.

2.5 Lenten Campaign

In Lenten campaigns, the CJPC is very active in facilitating the programme. The broad objective of the Lenten campaign programme is to sensitize Christians and Kenyans in general on contemporary issues affecting them and how these issues relate to the social teachings of the church. These range from peace and cohesion issues to governance issues. Through this programme, it is expected that Kenyans will strive towards a better Kenya.

2.6 Catholic Justice and Peace commission intervention at Personal and Relational Levels

CJPC has played a role in the process of intervention at personal and relational levels. The process of managing conflicts started with the transformation of individuals. Transformed people have the capacity to handle conflicts without resorting to violence. Bush and Folger (1996) argue that a transformed person is also able to analyse situations and make rational decisions while considering the perspective of others in situations of conflicts. The ability to understand and to frame the issues in the conflicts (ability to define their own challenges) is also the mark of transformation at the personal level. Transformed individuals were more willing to search for durable peace.

At the personal level, peace actors targeted change in attitudes and perceptions of people. These attitudes are manifested in beliefs and values. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) argue that conflicts shape people's attitudes towards life. This affects how they view themselves and how they relate with others in the society. Identifiable transformational effects are brought

about by a process which can strengthen people's capacity to analyse situations and change attitudes formed because of violent conflicts. Attitudes such as distrust and stereotyping are the targets of transformation at the personal and relational levels.

Those people (Malire) do not know God, and that's why they are killing all our husbands and leaving us widows. We shall revenge but we are set to work in mission farms and get money to educate and feed our children. (A middle-aged Woman," O.I, 24/4/2017)

Transformation aimed at maximizing the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. The individuals are expected to be empowered enough to value themselves as having the strength to deal with challenges. Transforming conflicts also involved deliberate efforts to change strained relationships between conflicting parties. Strained relationships could be as a result of unbalanced peace relationships and exclusion of groups in the society. And therefore, CJPC has ensured peaceful relationships in the communities that are characterized by meaningful interaction (opening of previously closed communication channels) and collaboration in daily activities (like trade). At various stages of conflicts, communication channels were strained and even completely closed. At the confrontation and crisis stages of conflicts, relationships of actors become very strained and communication ceases. Peace actors (CJPC) therefore, got involved in activities that were aimed at encouraging contact between groups through improving communication that has previously been interfered due to violent conflicts. The question to address at this stage is therefore, what activities has CJPC undertaken to change attitudes and perceptions that enhanced strained relationships in the community?'

2.8 Activities at the Personal Level

Table 3: CJPC strengthens the ministry of reconciliation through capacity building

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	8.7	R
Local Residents	7	30.5	A
County Administrators	2	8.7	O/S
Chiefs	3	13	S
Religious Leaders	6	26.1	A
NGOs	1	4.3	R/S/O/A
Peace Members	2	8.7	O
Total	23	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely.

Data from the field reflects the mixed feelings of the respondents. 8.7% of the herdsmen felt that CJPC rarely strengthened the ministry of reconciliation through the capacity building in Turkana County, while 30.5% of the Local residents, 26.1% of Religious leaders recorded always. 4.3% of the NGOs, 8.7% of the Peace Members, the Chiefs and the County Administrators recorded that CJPC either always, occasionally, rarely or sometime strengthened the ministry of reconciliation through the capacity building in Turkana County. At the personal level, CJPC activities are aimed at maximizing the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. This in turn leads to gradual change of attitudes, perceptions and behaviour of the individuals. At this level, the study found out that CJPC had been involved in peace training, exposure tours, psychosocial support and paralegal training.

2.8.1. Peace Training Workshop

The workshops were planned and facilitated by CJPC staff with the objective of providing extensive knowledge to the community members on conflicts, its resolution, its transformation and its prevention. The people who attended the workshops were selected from the various categories (age, gender, ethnic community), including members from Turkana East and Todonyang in Turkana North. This selection was aimed at having representatives from each category. To enhance transparency and participation, each category selected their own representatives. The workshops were held within Turkana East and Turkana North sub-county.

The workshop enabled participation in familiar surroundings and to gain the communities trust. One facilitator noted that;

In the past such meetings were held outside Turkana County. The workshops were mainly held in hotels in Eldoret town. With time the community nicknamed those who went to the workshops “rice eating tourists”. This nickname symbolized removal of the participants from the realities in Turkana County. (O.I 27/5/2017)

In the training workshops, participants were divided into workgroups. They then proceeded to discuss the causes of conflicts, the effects and the ways in which conflicts could be prevented. At the end of the discussions, a group member from each group presented what they discussed. This was followed by an analysis of each presentation by the participants and the facilitators. This approach to training was found to be trainee oriented thus standing better chances of knowledge acquisition as opposed to facilitator-oriented approach. It also encouraged change in attitude as the learners acquired knowledge on conflicts prevention and benefits accruing to the community in peaceful situations. A key informant (k.I.I 27/4/2017) further explained that:

Workshops made use of the peoples’ wisdom to ensure that solutions identified were home-grown hence sustainable.

2.8.2 Exposure Tours

In 1990s, the Catholic, Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) was involved in the facilitation of various exposure tours for the rival communities. These tours were divided into inter- and intra-divisional. Intra-divisional exposure tours were carried out in Turkana North and Turkana East sub-counties while inter-divisional exposure tours were carried out in

border divisions' like Todonyang. These tours stretched to other towns like Eldoret in Uasin-gishu and Baringo Counties. Later, in, the tours began to include women groups, church groups, farmers groups and various youth groups. CJPC organized and planned for the tours. The organization provided transport and sometimes selected the location of the tour. An initial tour involved reformed Morans from both Turkana and Pokot communities.

Table 4: The role of CJPC in exposure tours in control of conflicts

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	7.1	A
Local- Residents	8	28.6	A
County Administrators	3	10.7	A
Chiefs	3	10.7	O
Religious Leaders	8	28.6	A
NG Os	1	3.6	R/S/O/A
Peace Members	3	10.7	A
Total	28	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

In (Table 4) 7.1% respondents from the herdsmen, 28.6% from the local -residents, 10.7% from the County Administrators, and 28.6% from Peace members reported that CJPC organized exposure tours in conflicts management. The Chiefs and NGOs reported that this happened occasionally or sometimes. From the above table, it indicates that, CJPC involved the youth, women, men and pastors in several social activities like tours in conflicts

management in Turkana County. Some of these people were the reformed Morans, they were selected by village elders since they were well known to them. The tour aimed to expose the Morans to more developed regions so that they could see what could be achieved in peaceful regions. One reformed Moran reflected:

It was my first time to go to Eldoret and we were all excited when we arrived...and we had many new experiences there. I remember thinking of how these people in town were living very well, how they did not struggle to get water or food. Later I even found out that they belonged to different communities. (Reformed Moran O.I 2/5/2017).

In the above narration, the reformed Moran admired the progress made in the town and compared it to his village. For the Moran, Peace seemed to have contributed to such progress, which included people from different communities coexisting harmoniously.

At the end of the tour, the reformed Morans from both sides discussed what they had seen and what they had learnt from the tour. These discussions gave them an opportunity to dream together about the prospects of development in their own region. Exposure tours also challenged the communities to work towards peace. They also served to widen the scope of their thinking, and to think about development initiatives that they could undertake in their area. One Moran had this to say:

during one of the tours I realized that there were many things that we could do as a community aside from herding. I was thinking of how we could plant fruit trees. The place we went to was so cool and had a lot of fruit trees. The farmers there were telling us about the benefits of having a variety of crops... I was also encouraged to see that the farmers had small pieces of land but could produce many food- crops out of them. They practiced irrigation and had built large water storage tanks...I thought at that time that we too could start irrigation farming in our village. (O.I, 3/6/2017)

Respondents in focus group discussion 1 recalled the first tour they made to Pokot. They were welcomed and shown around. They stayed with their hosts for three days. For them, the tour served to dispel stereotypes and distrust. One respondent noted that:

Ever since we were young, we were brought up to know that the Pokot were our punyiik (mortal enemies). We avoided meeting them at all costs. When we went for the tour, we were warmly welcomed by the village that was hosting us. We got to experience their day to day life. I was surprised to find out that we had similar challenges. They did not have water and at that time there was food shortage. Despite these, we shared meals and even had time for evening dances. Their stories were similar to ours. In fact, we realized our traditions were similar. What reason did we have to fight our brothers and clansmen (O.I 7/7/2017)

From Focus group discussion (FGD), another member narrated:

It was relieving when we were welcomed with songs and dances, but the most significant thing is that we all ate in the same room from the same pot. This gesture signified that we were welcome and that we were trusted...we never eat from the same pot with people we don't trust in our culture...we decided to put our enmity behind us. (O.I, 20/7/2017).

The elders, exposure tours served and helped them to preach peace. The Pokot and Turkana elders still held a powerful decision-making position in the community. In matters relating to conflicts, elders had for a long time been responsible for blessing the Morans. The exposure tours had provided an avenue for elders to cement relationships between the rival groups. The initiation of exposure tours by CJPC played a big role in changing people's relations and in enabling them to acquire a different view of the people they once considered enemies.

2.6 Catholic Justice and Peace commission (CJPC) in Turkana County

Since 1989, CJPC has been involved in peace building in Turkana County. For many years, Turkana County has witnessed numerous conflicts with other neighbouring communities, notably the Pokot and Malire of Ethiopia and has had a long history of violent conflicts. Turkana shares a boundary with the Pokot and the Malire from Ethiopia. Historically, conflicts between Turkana and neighbours have been the result of cattle raids and boundary issues. These conflicts often involved little or no fatalities. Introduction of guns in the early 1970s, however, saw emergence of mass killings of civilians from either Pokot or Turkana communities.

Commercialization of cattle raids played a major role in shifting the once tolerable cattle raids into an act that posed a security threat to these communities. Scholars Kratli and Swift, (2003); Mwaniki, Leleruk, Mbuchi and Mwei, (2007); Eaton, 2008; Greiner, (2013), agreed with the study that, the frequency has changed from the competition over scarce resources, ethnic or communal animosity, inadequately met human needs, colonial policies of divide and rule, to conflicts entrepreneurs who profit from wars, and poor governance. This situation led to NGOs in the region seeking approaches that would achieve durable peace.

Table 5: The Interventions introduced by church organization (CJPC) in conflict control.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	4	8.9	Yes
Local Residents	14	31.1	Yes
County Administrators	2	4.4	Yes

Chiefs	8	17.8	Yes
Religious Leaders	11	24.4	Yes
NGOs	3	6.7	Not sure
Peace Members	3	6.7	Yes
Total	45	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always O-occasionally N- never S-sometimes R-rarely

The respondents from all the categories noted that CJPC has come up with many projects' activities in control of the conflicts in Turkana County. 8.9% respondents from the Herdsmen, 31.1% from the Local residents, 4.4% from the County Administrators 17.8% from the Chiefs, 24.4% from the Religious Leaders, and 6.7% respondents from the Peace Members agreed that the interventions introduced by (CJPC) has controlled the conflicts in Turkana County. The many projects in the County aimed at breaking the cycle of conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot. The main activities in Turkana County included construction and rehabilitation of classrooms, construction of cattle dips, sinking of boreholes and construction of water pans, carrying out peace training, paralegal training, and organization of peace festivals, organization of exposure trips, peace marathons and many other connector projects.

There has also been extensive transformation of attitudes among former cattle raiders. This has led to emergence of reformed Moran's. These are Moran's who resolved to down their weapons and became ambassadors of peace in their communities. Most reformed Moran's have sought out alternative means of income generation and have had a change of mind as

regards value attached to cattle raids. These activities are aimed at building sustainable peace through facilitation of equal access to basic needs between the two communities. Peace and development projects are mainly concentrated at the border areas although a few are found in shopping Centres in the interior.

2.8.4 Psychosocial Support by the CJPC

There is no doubt that violent conflicts have devastating effects on survivors. Witnessing mass killings, rape, loss of property, abduction and torture are some of the atrocities that the survivors go through. Smith (2008), notes that these atrocities leads to feelings of helplessness, anger, guilt, revenge, stress, anxiety and depression. These atrocities have the power to destroy previous relationships and enhance distrust among members of the community.

The people of Kapedo, Napeitom, Silale, Lomelo and other locations in Turkana East have had a long history of violent conflicts with neighbouring areas. These conflicts had a traumatizing effect to the survivors. Survivors witnessed killings, loss of property and some were maimed. One survivor narrated:

I was still a young boy when neighbours attacked us. They took everything we had and burnt down our house. We were lucky to escape but I lived with anger towards them for, so long. Revenge was the only thing left for us; we had to take back what was ours (0.1, 12/7/2017)

From the above narration, the victim witnessed an atrocity carried out by a once trusted neighbour. Feelings of betrayal and distrust consumed him and shaped his behaviour towards the Pokot community. People from the rival group left remedied, these feelings become

disabling for the victims and perpetrators of war. These feelings reduce people's potential to live productive lives. As in the case above, the survivors' sole motivation for living was revenge. Until this revenge was carried out, the survivor would be restless and unproductive. Beyond the physical impacts of the conflicts on humans, Pike et al. (2010) has pointed out that the people who survive after the raids suffer from trauma as they see their loved ones die.

Table 6: CJPC involvement with church leadership in reconciliation in peace building.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	7.4	A
Local Residents	6	22.2	A
County Administrators	3	11.1	A
Chiefs	5	18.6	A
Religious Leaders	6	22.2	A
NGOs	2	7.4	A
Peace Members	3	11.1	O
Total	27	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY:

A-always O-occasionally N- never S-sometimes, R-rarely.

The data from the field shows that, most of the respondents from all the categories agreed that CJPC has worked on psychological support to those who experience various types of conflicts in Turkana County. Above 85% respondents agreed that, CJPC has engaged the church leadership through Pastor's forum in healing, reconciliation and peace building in Turkana County. Respondents from peace members reported that due to lack of funds, they

occasionally. Therefore, CJPC has played a very important role in providing psychosocial support to the survivors through trauma counselling. Counselling was usually carried out in groups. However, these groups did not comprise people having similar problems. One officer pointed out that:

when we select groups, we don't aim at particular people with the same problem. We have learnt that putting people with same problem in a group could easily lead to their stigmatization in we invite categories of people for example women groups, youth groups. This way we address a range of issues that have possibly traumatized these groups.”
(0.1 4/7/2017)

2.8.5 Paralegal Community Training

CJPC has also played a role on Paralegal Community training. Paralegal is a community-based person who provides advice and assistance to persons in the community on matters of law and human rights affecting their lives. Paralegals are trained in basic law and human rights. The organization regularly held paralegal training workshops under its governance and democracy programmes. These workshops were attended by community activists, teachers, religious leaders and youth representatives from the Turkana North and Turkana East sub-counties. Whatever the mix of trainees, the facilitators ensured that they were representative of different groups of people in the community. Dudouet and Schmelzel(2010), point out that fundamental human rights are infringed upon during periods of extended violent conflicts. Moreover, most communities ravaged by protracted conflicts have limited access to justice or have limited knowledge on their rights. The gap created by limited access to justice and limited knowledge of rights, together with the fact that legal representation in most rural communities is wanting, calls for the training of paralegals. This is the reason behind the

paralegal workshops held by CJPC. Paralegal training falls under the governance and democracy programme of the organization.

The study found out that training manuals for the workshops were developed by facilitators with consideration of specific legal needs identified by the community leaders and local authorities in the County. Legal needs could also be identified during community peace meetings when members of the rival communities presented their grievances. The identified needs formed the focus of training. Since the legal needs were dynamic, paralegal trainers were always on alert to incorporate upcoming needs. Some of the issues that paralegal training in Turkana County communities had covered included inheritance, early marriages, female genital mutilation and boundary issues.

CJPC's training of paralegals took one to two weeks depending on the training needs. Training was aimed at changing attitudes, perceptions, values, beliefs and practices. Therefore, CJPC paralegal training facilitators encouraged reflection and in-depth analysis of content by trainees. Trainees were expected to make a critical analysis of their own circumstances and come up with workable solutions.

One facilitator said that...

In Turkana East and neighbouring communities, we found that cattle raids were traditionally tolerated. This was because people believed that wealth should be equally distributed in communities... this was done through raids. Other issues like early marriage and FGM also have their traditional rationale...values that are deeply entrenched in the community. Bringing in human rights issues to the community requires that there is change of attitude towards cattle raids... the

solutions, therefore, lie in the ability of the trainee paralegals to reflect on these (cattle raids) and come up with alternative solutions (0.1,7/8/2017).

At the end of the workshops, paralegal trainees were expected to be familiar with human rights and law, and ways of ensuring vindication of the rights. Once trained, paralegals provided alternative dispute settlement for community members. During moments of disagreement in the community, paralegals played the role of mediators and conciliators. This ensured that matters were solved swiftly hence preventing outbreak of violence in the division. Paralegals had also been instrumental in sensitizing the community on human rights and the law. Community members were trained by the paralegals on how to identify violations of human rights and the breaking of the law. In the event of court hearings, paralegals in the division drafted simple documents that were required by community members in court. Moreover, the paralegals assisted community members in drafting other important documents like wills, agreements and petitions. They also networked with existing organizations, groups and individuals in the division to mobilize support to solve problems in the community.

2.8.6 CJPC Intervention at Personal and Relational Levels

Unless one is transformed, the person cannot transform the conflicts. Transformed people have the capacity to handle conflicts without resorting to violence. Bush and Folger (1996) argue that a transformed person is also able to analyse situations and make rational decisions while considering the perspective of others in situations of conflicts. The ability to understand and to frame the issues in the conflicts (ability to define their own challenges) is also the mark of transformation at the personal level. Transformed individuals are more willing to search for durable peace.

At the personal level, peace actors target changes in attitude and perceptions of people. These attitudes are manifested in beliefs and values. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) argue that conflicts shape people's attitude towards life. This affects how they view themselves and how they relate with others in society. Identifiable transformational effects are brought about by a process which can strengthen people's capacity to analyse situations and change attitudes formed because of violent conflicts. Attitudes such as distrust and stereotyping are the targets of transformation at the personal and relational levels.

Transformation aims at maximizing the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels. The individuals are expected to be empowered enough to value themselves as having the strength to deal with challenges. Transforming conflicts also involves deliberate efforts to change strained relationships between conflicting parties. Strained relationships could be as a result of unbalanced peace relationships and exclusion of groups in the society. Peaceful relationships in the community are characterized by meaningful interaction (opening of previously closed communication channels) and collaboration in daily activities (like trade). At various stages of conflicts, communication channels are strained and even completely closed. At the confrontation and crisis stages of conflicts, relationships of actors become very strained and communication ceases. Peace actors, therefore, get involved in activities that are aimed at encouraging contact between groups through improving communication that has previously been interfered due to violent conflicts. The question to address at this stage, therefore, is 'what activities has CJPC undertaken to change attitudes and perceptions that enhance strained relationships in the community?'

CJPC facilitated activities at relational level. In the activities at this level, the CJPC aims at enhancing communication among groups and enhancing understanding of the 'other'. Lederach (1997) argues that relationships form the basis of conflicts and its solution too. Transforming relationships from adversarial to peaceful ones is therefore important in attainment of durable peace. Activities at this level aim at initiating collaboration between rival groups. To this end, the study found out that CJPC was involved Peace Meetings.

2.9 Peace meetings

In the year between 2000 up to 2010, Peace, meetings were held as an early initiative before, during or after violent conflicts. The CJPC held several such meetings. The first step in organizing these meetings was identification of factions willing to talk things out in pursuit of peace. The study found out that initial peace meetings were held in hotels at Eldoret diocese away from Turkana County. With time, it was found that these meetings were attended by the same people all the time. Furthermore, these meetings were far removed from the reality on the ground. This called for a change in approach by the organization. CJPC resolved to hold meetings at the villages to reach the actual victims and perpetrators of these conflicts. This shift enabled the inclusion of the community members in peace meetings.

Table 7: CJPC in action of holding peace meeting regarding the conflict's resolution.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	5.3	Yes/no
Local- Residents	12	31.5	Yes
County Administrators	5	13.2	Yes
Chiefs	8	21	Yes
Religious Leaders	5	13.2	Yes

NGOs	3	7.9	Yes
Peace Members	3	7.9	Yes
Total	38	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never, **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely.

Data from the field shows that, all the respondents agreed that CJPC has acted on holding peace meetings in the conflict's management. 5.3% of herdsmen were either, Yes or NO, while all others agreed with the statement. Over 90% of respondents agreed that several peace meetings have been held. The findings from the field reveals that CJPC has played a big role in Peace building as a strategy to mitigate conflicts between the Turkana and the Pokot. 45% of the people interviewed in Turkana East saw peace meetings as a big and booming business along the Kenya-Uganda border. From the findings it seemed more respondents in kapedo Location (78%) felt that peace building was just a business like any other for the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs working in Turkana County. The respondents also reported that peace meetings were held in towns far away from the conflict zones. Further the people called for those meetings hardly had a clue of what happens in conflict areas.

The participants only enjoyed good food and accommodation in the good hotels where meetings were held, and the fat allowances given to them. After that they disappeared to their homes. The respondent posed a question to this study that, why those who call for meetings didn't bring them to where conflicts occurs and call the warriors, the Ngimurok, the kraal leaders and the raiding youths to such meetings. That would drive the message to the real

players and may be those who carry out raids could learn something and feel guilty of the act.”

At Napeitom, Turkana East an interview with a peace committee member, Mary Lokidor revealed that those security meetings held in faraway towns like Eldoret made her benefit a lot as an individual. During those conferences and workshops, she enjoyed the good hotels and the allowances. She educated her children using that money, she even built a semi-permanent house for family and she generally liked those meetings. She explained that they never passed what they learnt in the seminars or conferences to the real warriors because they felt that was not their work. This interview revealed how peace work was being used to enrich certain individuals but not for the purpose it was intended for. The conflicts continued while peace meetings also continued to be held. Hence the protracted ethnic conflicts between the two communities.

The findings further showed that 50% respondents in Turkana North felt that the interest of the NGOs, CBOs and FBOs catalysed the conflicts instead of mitigating it, while 60% of the respondents in Turkana East attributed conflicts to NGOs, CBOs and FBOs carrying out peace building activities as tailored to conform with the proposals they wrote to the donors to raise money. A, FGD in Napeitom explained to this study that peace meetings were often only held, so that NGOs could display an engagement with the conflicts, despite the dangers created by such events.

They explained that in 2007, a peace meeting almost turned tragic at the border of Turkana North (Todonyang) and the Malire from Ethiopia where the Turkana shoot the Malire man.

This meeting almost turned tragic when the Turkana turned against the Malire and wanted to hurt them. The explanation given was that there had been a raid by the Malire some days, before on the same village and the Turkana women had lost their husbands and sons. This raid was still fresh in their minds. The NGOs involved (World Vision(K)) just wanted to appear to hold a peace meeting irrespective of the mood of the participants.

But an interview with a manager of World vision (K) in Kapedo, Peterson Erus, revealed that the NGOs do a lot in conflict mitigation between the two communities. World Vision (K) has been carrying out peace work and development in Turkana County since 1980s, particularly in Kainuk, Nakwamoru, Juluk and recently Todonyang. The organization has been building schools, buying books and equipment for schools, paying fees for the children who proceeded to high school and engaging in improving livelihoods for the community through irrigation schemes in Morulem and Katilia. The organization was also involved in drought mitigation in Turkana East by providing relief food items, and re-stocking when weather conditions became favourable. World Vision was also involved in the organization of peace meetings in Turkana East and peace activities like the Lorupe Peace Run which brings the two communities together to share a platform through sports.

2.9.0 Cattle Dips for Peace

Even though people in Turkana North were slowly embracing fishing, cattle were still a valued means of livelihood. Historically, cattle raids were carried out to replenish stock that had been lost to disease or that had been stolen from them. Through training that the community received from CJPC on animal husbandry, the communities decided to construct several cattle dips within the communities. One of the cattle dips that emerged as a peace connector project was Karelachketat cattle dip. The cattle dip was in Lokichogio border. The

Turkana and Malire cooperated in sourcing for stones and sand for the construction. The two communities further contributed money and labour towards the construction of the dip.

Table 8: CJPC and the Cattle dips for peace introduction in conflict control.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	4	8.9	Yes
Local Residents	14	31.1	Yes
County Administrators	2	4.4	Yes
Chiefs	8	17.8	Yes
Religious Leaders	11	24.4	Yes
NGOs	3	6.7	Not sure
Peace Members	3	6.7	Yes
Total	45	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always O-occasionally N- never S-sometimes R-rarely.

In table 8, the Data from the field indicates that more than 90% of respondents agreed that CJPC introduced and constructed Cattle dips for peace in control of conflicts in Turkana County. While the respondents from the NGOs reported that they are not sure. 8.9% of respondents from the Herdsmen, 31.1% from the Local residence, 4.4% from the County Administrators 17.8% from the Chiefs 24.4% from the Religious Leaders and 6.7% from the Peace Members agreed that cattle dips along the boarders' communities have been constructed for peace. The purpose of peace connector cattle dips was three pronged; firstly, the dips served the purpose of controlling tick borne diseases hence ensuring the animals did not die. The cattle dips also acted as a crucial point for inoculation of livestock by veterinary officers in case of disease outbreak.

This reduced the need to raid for the purposes of replacing livestock lost to disease. Secondly, the dips provided an opportunity for people from the two communities to meet. During these meetings, they discussed, among other things, issues affecting their livestock. Information regarding cattle rearing was also shared. Thirdly, the cattle dips offered an opportunity for identification of stolen cattle by the community members. Several cattle in the location had been recovered at the dips after cattle raids. One elder who lived in the Lokichogio border reflected:

We take all our cattle to Karelachketat dip on Friday. In the process we meet friends from Todonyang ...if one of us lost any animals, the dip is the place to look...when somebody leaves other cattle at home during dip days, then we know they are stolen. (0.1, 21/7/2017).

Once the stolen animals were identified, they were given back to the owner. This was followed by an apology by the offender. The offender was either let go with a stern warning or fined for the theft. The dip served the purpose of building trust between the two communities. One elder explained this:

We used to defend those among us who had stolen livestock...but we now flush out the thieves among us... we are sure that our Todonyang location elders on the other side also will flush out those who have stolen from us... they identify stolen animals for us and we do the same for them. (0.1,18/9/2017).

The above narration demonstrated how the connector dips had played a role in building trust among neighbours. The act of identifying the thieves for the rival group was reciprocated. The two communities worked together towards discouraging activities that could cause conflicts.

2.9.1 Schools for Peace

With the funding from donors, CJPC has been able to co-ordinate the construction of schools. These schools are used as peace connector projects. They have played a major role in unifying the conflict communities. Once the peace meetings, participants from both communities felt that sending children to school gave the communities a chance at a better future. The return of education to the society was seen to be desirable. A Chief commended:

Our children cannot rely on livestock any longer to get by...” we are faced with challenges like poor pasture quality, unreliable rainfall patterns ...and the size of grazing lands are decreasing fast...at one time, I lost all my livestock to drought... it’s not reliable, but if they go to school they stand a better chance.

(O.I, 16/8/2017)

Officials from CJPC found that frequent pastoral conflicts had led to the closing of schools in Turkana East and Turkana North (especially those at Kapedo, Napeitom, and Todonyany region in Turkana North. After one serious attack in the year 2000, Todonyang primary was closed and moved to about 20km away. Once the schools were shut down, most of them were looted and some of the buildings were even destroyed. CJPC decided to aid, that is, rehabilitation and construction of schools in the affected areas. Objectives of the school building and rehabilitation project were to enrol more children in the schools, increase participation of parents in school development and strengthen Turkana-Pokot, and Turkana-Malire cooperation. Examples of schools that benefited from the project include Kapkanyar Primary School, Chorwai Primary School, Quine of peace Todonyang Primary School, Kamelei Primary School. In each of these schools, CJPC contributed part of the funds required while the community members contributed stones, sand, timber and labour. In each of these projects, community members from Turkana-Pokot worked side by side. This experience served to promote cooperation towards a greater goal. One respondent reflected:

The rehabilitation of schools was among the first major projects that the two communities got involved in. It was surprising how each community readily contributed what they had towards this project. We were determined to see the projects complete, so we worked tirelessly daily and for sure one had something to do. We put our differences aside and worked... I think it was the sight of a completed school that brought joys to all of us. Schools were symbolic of the desire for a peaceful coexistence between the two communities. (O.I, 20/7/2017)

The members were clear on the common vision they had for the future. One respondent noted: focus group discussion, elders, women, Key informant, and CJPC Key informant at “Kapedo and Napeitom location said:

Other parts of the country are much advanced in terms of education. Even when we visited our neighbours we noticed they had many schools.” referring to an exposure tour to Eldoret...” I never had the chance to go to school but I believe my children will lead better lives if they went to school... they stand a chance to be employed in town or start a small business here... they don’t have to depend so much on pastoralist like we do. (K.I.I, 23/8/2017).

Being a socializing agent, the schools had played a major role in contributing towards harmonious coexistence between communities in Turkana County. CJPC introduced scout clubs in the rehabilitated schools. A total of 12 primary schools benefited from the scout’s club. Each school nominated ten boys and ten girls to be trained as boy scouts and girl guides. The purpose of these clubs was to create an opportunity for the youths from the border schools to make friends and learn from each other. CJPC shared the cost of scouts and girl guides uniforms with the parents.

Another school-based peace-enhancing activity in the pastoral conflicts area schools was joint evaluation tests. The twelve schools did a common evaluation test for all classes. These tests

were prepared through the combined efforts of teachers from all these schools, the results of which were released during school cultural day. This forum facilitated the meeting of the two communities thus enhancing interaction and improving relationships.

2.9.2 Sporting Activities

In Table 8 (page 76), data from the field reports that CJPC has recognized the role that games play in promoting peace, reconciliation and reconstruction within divided societies. Therefore, CJPC has used sports, especially football, to advance personal, social and community forms of development in Turkana East. Football had been used to teach participants how to engage fairly and competitively with people from rival groups. As a key informant put it;

Football has shown the youth and the community at large that you can compete without necessarily fighting in the process. The matches usually pull crowds from both communities, each crowd supporting their own team. At the end of the match, their winner is congratulated by everyone, but I don't think it really matters who wins. (K.I.I, 24/8/2017).

The organization had supported the formation of five football teams in Turkana East. These teams were made up of youth from Turkana of Kapedo –Napeitom and the Pokot of Baringo East bordering them.

Each team was encouraged to show respect to one another. Football matches were organized and sponsored by CJPC. Although before the year 2000, matches were faced with tension and apprehension; the consequent ones were livelier and attracted larger crowds. This change was attributed to a change in the community's attitude towards the idea of competitive games between two historically hostile communities. One respondent commented that:

At first, I was afraid to go to the matches because I feared that a fight would break out. I also insisted that my children should not go because I was afraid for their safety. Later, I heard from my neighbour that the match had been very entertaining, and people had enjoyed themselves...it had been a peaceful match... I now attend the matches when I can and I always enjoy. I even get a chance to meet old friends and make new ones from Pokot side.” (O.I, 27/8/2017).

Being interactive, football had played a major role in improving relationships between the Pokot and Turkana East Sub-County. Through provision of a non-verbal means of communicating, football had created a chance for the rival groups to engage in collective experiences. One respondent had this to say;

Football has not only provided a chance for us to show off our talent, but also a chance to meet in less hostile circumstances. We exercise respect towards all football players regardless of which team they are in. we are united by the sport and our only goal is to enjoy ourselves. At the end of every match, we have a chance to catch up with our peers from neighbouring locations. (O.I, 30/8/2017).

The ball games had also played a key role in creating an environment in which the rival communities come together to work towards the same goal while sharing space and equipment.

Table 9: CJPC organized peace races, singing, dancing, football matches and recitation of poems in conflict control.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	1	5.6	A/O/N
Local Residents	4	22.2	A/S
County Administrators	2	11.1	A
Chiefs	5	27.7	A
Religious Leaders	4	22.2	A
NGOs	1	5.6	A/S/O/N
Peace Members	1	5.6	N/R/O/S
Total	18	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

In Table 9, Data from the field is clear that about 50% of the respondents agreed that CJPC organized peace races, singing, dancing, football matches and recitation of poems competition in Turkana County. Respondents from the Herdsmen were divided where others said it's done occasionally others never and others said always. While respondents from the County Administrators, the Chiefs and Religious Leaders agreed that this was done always. Again, respondents from the NGOS and the Peace members also gave different opinions. This gives the impression that though it was being done, it only happened in some areas and others.

2.9.3 CJPC and Activities at Structural Level.

The root causes of conflicts in Turkana East can be understood from different levels. The first way is through examination of availability and access to basic needs in the community. Burton (1990) links formation of protracted conflicts to denial of identity, security, recognition and equal participation within society. The study found out that issues surrounding these needs have contributed significantly to conflicts in the region. Respondents from the four focus group discussions felt that lapses in security in the region contributed to conflicts in most cases. It also emerged that the Turkana of Turkana East felt inferior to the Pokot since the latter were better off economically. These circumstances led to tension and violence in the region. One elder, commented:

we decided to change to agro- pastoralism from pastoralism. This change improved our lives significantly. Our neighbours felt threatened by our stability and often raided us. (O.I, 5/72017).

Related to this cause of conflicts is disparity in levels of development between the two communities. Olson (1963) identifies as a root cause of protracted conflicts changes in economic development that brings about marginalization of sections of people in the community. The study established that economic development that occurred at the Turkana East (Lokor) division side of the border served to marginalize the neighbouring Pokot community and produce insecurity in the border. A key informant reflected:

NGOs were concentrated in Turkana East side and they did all sorts of projects there. Eventually they were enjoying things that we could only dream of. They had easy access to water, health facilities, their children went to school, they were better off in terms of food security. On the other hand, we struggled to live yet we were neighbours, it seemed very wrong, we had to share these benefits, this is how we justified our invasions.” (K.I.I, 4/9/2017).

Thirdly, scarcity models of conflicts formation (Dixon 1994, Gurr 1970, Gleich 1993) also provide useful insights into the origins of conflicts between the two communities. The study

found that, overtime, changes that have occurred in the availability of resources like land, oil, water and pasture and the accompanying changes in demand of these resources. Occasioned by population pressure have created situations of intense conflicts in the region. One of the respondents commented:

Prolonged draughts wiped out our livestock at one time...to survive; we had to raid our neighbours. The dry spells also made watering holes dry up and we had to fight over the remaining watering points...and sometimes we drove our livestock to our neighbours' fields to graze, this often led to fights... we understood well that we had to fight, we had no choice. (O.I, 4/9/2017).

The whole root causes of conflicts in Turkana East have been traced to socio-economic structures that are not responsive to the needs of the community. CJPC pursues activities that aim at fostering socio-economic structures that meet basic human needs and maximize people's participation in making decisions that affect them.

CJPC has been involved in various livelihood diversification activities in Turkana East and Todonyang areas. Ellis (2005) defines livelihood diversification as the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of household activities and assets to survive or to improve their standards of living. These assets include physical capital (basic infrastructure like schools, roads, and hospitals), human capital (education and training), social capital (associations, groups, and social networks), financial capital and natural capital.

Historically, pastoralism has been the major source of livelihood in the area. However, diminishing pasture and water challenged the viability of the practice in the region. Over reliance on pastoralism meant that the communities had to fight over resources with their neighbours. It is because of this situation that, CJPC embarked on programmes as from to

change people's attitudes concerning their main sources of livelihood. This was to be achieved through workshops on alternative livelihoods. These workshops were held as follow up to peace connector projects.

2.9.4 Turkana East Sub-County Youth Groups

CJPC has prioritized the youth due to their important role as perpetrators and victims of conflicts in the community. Majority of youths interviewed had witnessed atrocities. They have been socialized into violent conflicts. For a majority, violent conflicts deprived them of the necessary social mechanisms required to thrive in life. The disruptions of these social rhythms impacted negatively on their attitude towards life. A key informant commented:

However, the youth are very resilient and have potential to easily change their altitude...the organization (CJPC) aims at building on (the youths' strengths and resilience ...providing alternatives to destructive behaviour while economically empowering them to meet their basic needs and feel useful in the society.' (K.I.I, 8/9/2017)

Another respondent supported this statement that:

The youth still have a lot of years ahead of them... this makes it difficult for them to be pessimistic about the future... they have the energy to make changes in their own lives and be optimistic. (O.I,17/9/2017).

These qualities make it easy for them to take deliberate steps aimed at improving their lives and that of the community. Majority of the youths in Turkana East have not had a chance to receive formal education. Moreover, the few that have managed to go to school are unemployed. In some circumstances, some drop out of school since they cannot afford school fees. Some respondents linked jobless youths to cases of crime in the area. The crimes

identified were petty theft and banditry. Moreover, these youths are more likely to indulge in drug and substance abuse.

In this region, a sense of hopelessness had led the youth into alcoholism as one respondent commented:

My son had finished form four but couldn't find a job, he felt that since he had finished school, he hoped to benefit from going to school...later he turned into alcoholism and could not help with any work at home, he later joined Kaporyong a group of warriors who isolate themselves from community and lived in forests claiming to provide security for the community but are linked to banditry in the region.' (O.I, 21/9/2017).

As from 2005, Youth groups in the region started as a CJPC initiative. Officials from the organization held frequent meetings with the youth in the region aimed at finding out their perception of their own situation. The needs of the youth were identified, and this called for further training. The major issue raised was unemployment. They had little to do in the community and they felt helpless about their situation. The CJPC staff decided to liaise with other organizations that could provide vocational training for the youth.

Coupled with exposure tours and experiences they had had in peace connector projects; the youths formed their own groups. To start with, they decided to be involved in agricultural activities. The following account by a member of one of the youth groups illustrates the rationale behind the decision:

We reflected on our challenges as youth in the community'...we talked about our conflicts ... We found that raiding was not a good choice, so we had to substitute it for a productive activity. We needed money to purchase things, and we also needed enough food. So we thought of fishing for those from Turkana North

(Todonyang) and making of mats and table mats of those from Turkana East. '(O.I, 5/10/2017).

Summary and Conclusions

Each activity undertaken by CJPC at the personal and relational levels aimed at provision of information and enhancing communication respectively. Introduction of information had played a key role in changing the attitudes of the respondents in the County. Exposure tours had provided an opportunity for the two border communities to view each other differently. Respondents from the FGDs pointed out that the tours influenced them to challenge the stereotypes they had formed about each other. Peace training workshops and paralegal training provided knowledge that guided how the two communities related to each other. Connector projects and peace meetings were aimed at encouraging communication between the two communities. Connector projects provided an avenue for the communities to work towards a greater goal. Respondents reported that the connector projects gave them an opportunity to bond in the process of addressing the root causes of conflicts in their community.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE APPROACHES OF THE CATHOLIC JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION (CJPC) IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY

3.2 introduction

In this chapter, the study discussed the approaches of the catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflict resolution in Turkana County. The theoretical framework that was used was still the PSC by Azar, specifically the pre-condition of the Communal Content. Communal content according to Azar (1990:12) in PSC situations is communal identity based on race, religion, and ethnic group or cultural ties which was very important because these identities used to solicit basic needs. In many multi-ethnic societies, states emerged were dominated by a single communal group. This communal group or coalition of groups ignored the needs of other communal groups, thereby straining the social fabric and eventually breeding fragmentation and protracted social conflict (Azar, 1990:7).

3.3 Peace Meeting approach

CJPC held several Peace meetings as an approach to conflict management. The first step in organizing these meetings was identification of the people willing to talk things out in pursuit of peace. The study found out that initial peace meetings were held in hotels and at the Eldoret diocese in Uasin Gishu County away from Turkana County. With time, it was found that these meetings were attended by the same people all the time. Furthermore, these meetings were far removed from the reality on the ground. This called for a change in approach by the organization. As from 2008, CJPC resolved to hold meetings at the villages to reach the actual victims and perpetrators of these conflicts.

Table 10: CJPC and religious leaders' role in policy processing and peace talks in conflict management.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	7.4	A
Local Residents	5	18.5	A
County Administrators	3	11.1	A
Chiefs	6	22.3	A
Religious Leaders	5	18.5	A
NGOs	3	11.1	A/O
Peace Members	3	11.1	A
Total	27	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

In Table 10, the finding shows that most respondents of the sampled groups reported that peace talk's intervention during peace meeting has controlled the conflicts in Turkana County. Above 80% of the respondents agreed with the study that through the peace talk's intervention, people have contained peace in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub Counties. 7.4% respondents from the Herdsmen, 18.5% from Local Residents, 11.1% from the County Administrators, 22.3% from the Chiefs, 18.5% from the Religious Leaders, and 11,1% from the Peace Members totally agreed with the study that peace talk's during meeting has reduced

the conflicts between the Pokot and Turkana communities. This shift enabled the inclusion of the community members in peace meetings. CJPC came up with a step by step approach for carrying out these meetings. The approach included one to one meeting, small groups to small groups meetings, and intra-ethnic meetings.

3.4 One to One Meeting approach

The initial step was organization of one-to-one meetings. During one to one meeting, the Pokot and Turkana communities identified one elder each to meet at a neutral place (a place that has no socio-economic significance to either parties) to discuss issues leading to conflicts and focus on negotiations for peace. At this stage, CJPC provided transport for the elders to the meeting point. They often held meetings at the crisis stage of conflicts. One to one meeting was expected to lead to a cease fire depending on the agreements reached by the two elders. One to one meeting was also supposed to erase suspicion and show commitment by the warring parties to search for peace. At the end of the meeting, the elders were expected to go back to their communities and identify more people (usually elders) to be part of the next round of discussions and negotiations. Officials from CJPC acted as facilitators. A key informant narrated:

One to one meeting determines the direction of the next round of meetings. If the one to one meeting is unsuccessful then the peace-making process comes to a standstill. (K.I.I, 6/10/2017).

At this point, our role is to ensure the elders meet through provision of transport. The CJPC only listened to their negotiations and ask them how they would be of help to them.

3.5 Small Group to Small Group Meeting approach

After the one to one meeting, elders identified several people interested in peace talks from both sides. These people then met at an agreed place to continue with the discussions for

peace. These groups usually consisted of a maximum of ten people from each side. A key informant explained this:

We encourage either side to have less than ten people. In this way the small groups have little potential to turn chaotic. Having a total of at most twenty people makes it manageable for the facilitators...it is also easier to gauge emotions and steer the discussions away from confrontations. Moreover, this gives a chance for everyone to be heard. We have found larger groups to be unsuccessful. (K.I.I, 13/10/2017).

The meetings usually began with trading of accusations and airing of grievances. The moderator ensured that everybody spoke to ensure equal representation in the meeting. This initial stage was important as it let people air their emotions thus paving way for peaceful discussions. The groups were encouraged to exhaust their grievances or key concerns during this initial stage, leaving enough time for as many grievances as possible to be aired allows for catharsis. Once all has been aired, focus was shifted to the way forward. The elders then focused on their common goals and tried to figure out how to end and prevent further conflicts.

These meetings usually focus group discussion of elders (men), since each side occasionally had to discuss issues amongst themselves. A key informant (K.I.I, 13/10/2017) reflected:

We often pause to reflect on the proceedings. Every word said here is important and must be considered seriously. There have been occasions when these meetings end without success ...sometimes elders walk out.

3.6 Sharing of Food or the ‘Breaking of Bread’

Among the Turkana and Pokot eating together usually symbolized reconciliation. In situations of peace meetings, the ‘breaking of bread’ played a key role. It signified the willingness of the communities to forgive each other and work towards a common goal. As one elder (Jane Ekai) in Lokor in Turkana East stated:

When both sides have finally agreed to forgive each other, we share meat as a sign of a covenant. This covenant is strong and forbids the breaking of a peace deal that has been agreed upon. When we agree to eat together, we make a promise not to fight. (An Elder 16/10/2017).

Two male elders and three female elders from focus group discussion stressed that timing of this breaking of bread was very important as it could mean the continuation of peace talks or the absconding of the talks. When the food was brought too early in the talks, either side may feel forced to forgive. Sometimes food was shared once an agreement has been reached, other times it was shared in the middle of peace talks to symbolize willingness to forgive. CJPC incorporated this culturally symbolic activity in its peace building activities to strengthen the process. The role of CJPC at this step was that of contributing partly towards provision of the food to be shared.

Table 11: CJPC as a conduit for reconciliation dialogue and disarmament among the Turkana.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsman	2	9.5	R
Local Residents	6	28.7	N
County Administrators	2	9.5	A
Chiefs	4	19	A

Religious Leaders	4	19	S/O
NGOs	1	4.8	N/S/O/S
Peace Members	2	9.5	A
Total	21	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

Data from the field in table 11 shows that about 40% of the respondents reported that partly reconciliation was done through the breaking of bread. Local -residents said that they have not seen it done, while herdsmen acknowledged that this was done rarely but respondents from the County Administrators, chiefs and peace members reported that this was always done. The chiefs reported that this was always done in their presence and they are the ones who organized and united the people in meetings.

3.7 Intra-ethnic Meeting approach

After small group to small group meetings, officials from CJPC organized intra-ethnic meetings in bringing them together in a large peace meeting. Peace facilitators found it important to have intra ethnic meetings to ensure that each group was clear on what they needed to be in their agenda. This step was also called ‘clarification of grievances’ step. People attending intra ethnic meetings were usually chosen by the community members.

Intra-ethnic meetings comprise 30-40 people. In these meetings, the participants analysed root causes of conflict and wrote a list of grievances. They also wrote down their demands

and the way forward. The role of the mediators at these meetings was to keep the meeting moving forward, while the people themselves shaped the agenda of the meeting. The lists of grievances from the conflicting communities were used to form the agenda of the inter-ethnic meetings. This was done by identifying the common grievances between the two communities and deciding on their priority.

3.8 Inter-Ethnic Meeting approach

After the intra-ethnic meetings, the conflicting communities were brought together to present their list of items they felt should be prioritized in the peace talks. Each side read out their agenda. This was followed by discussions and rewriting of the agenda so that the meeting had a common agenda. The mediator then encouraged the participants to come up with action plans to solve the items in the agenda.

The study found out that inter-ethnic meetings had been used to reduce prejudice and misinformation. It was also at these meetings that peace connector projects were born. One elder Woman interviewed had this to say of the meetings:

When we invite the other group to come join us in the meeting, we show the willingness to listen to each other. These meetings don't always end with a solution, in fact sometimes we break them halfway because of hostility ...but in the end we always come around to tabling our grievances. Sometimes we even get a different perspective about the conflicts... sometimes we learn something new about the rival group...new concerns we had not considered.' (O.I, 19/10/2017).

The above sentiments captured the dynamic nature of conflicts and how introduction of new information (in the form of a list of grievances) had been instrumental in forging the way forward for reconciliation between warring parties in Turkana East and Pokot. Inter-ethnic meetings may be held more than once. This was to ensure that the reconciliation would be

based on a genuine common ground built on existing interests and values shared by divided communities rather than on a compromise ground built on a merging of various divided interests of divided communities. A key informant Mwajuma Abudala from CJPC stressed:

There is always no hurry in these meetings; we ensure that we depart from approaches that encourage unjust peace (K.I.I, 20/10/2017).

The communities set the pace; they trade accusations for as many meetings as is necessary, eventually this finger pointing graduates into a mutual search for a solution. When this stage is reached, then it is easy to find genuine and lasting solutions.

The peace meetings were sealed with a peace agreement or a 'social contract'. These agreements were structured around the issues that led to the conflicts in the community. The contract included an agreed plan of action for addressing the present conflicts. It also included appropriate conduct when interacting with the other community and penalties in case of breach of agreement. The agreement was signed publicly in a ceremony marking reconciliation.

3.9 Youth groups Formation approach

Under the initiative of CJPC the youths from Kapedo, Napeitom and other locations of Turkana East locations organized themselves into groups at the beginning of 2003. Being borderland locations, these groups were composed of youths from other side of the locations. The groups met regularly under the facilitation of CJPC staff. These initiative meetings were for group bonding purposes. Eventually, each group came up with its desired project. The projects identified were for income generation purposes. Initial projects were agro-based but

with time some of the youths ventured into shop keeping while some became boda boda operators and livestock traders. One youth reflected:

Being a member of the youth group opened my mind to many business opportunities .I got the skills I needed in the group to start my own business. (O.I, 14/11/2017).

The CJPC donated water pumps to groups that had ventured into farming. Certified seeds and Pesticides were also donated by the organization to help the groups start off. With time, these groups managed to sell their produce and reinvest the money in their projects. The success of these groups led more youths that had initially been sceptical into joining. The result was that as at the time of this study, several youths were gainfully employed in fruit and vegetable farming in the locations. The county administrators (respondents) were asked to rate the frequency at which the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission engaged the youth; women leaders, elders and pastors in various social action projects aimed at peace building in Turkana County.

The findings from the field on Table 9 revealed that most of the respondents sampled supported that engaging the youth; women leaders, elders and pastors in various social action projects aimed at peace building in Turkana County. While less than 40% felt it was not always but sometimes.

Table 12: CJPC involvement in youth, women leaders, elders and pastors in social action projects.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	4.9	A

Local- Residents	16	39	A
County Administrators	6	14.6	A
Chiefs	6	14.6	A
Religious Leaders	5	12.2	A
NGOs	2	4.9	A
Peace Members	4	9.8	A
Total	41	100	

Source; data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

Dada from the field in Table 12 shows that all respondents from all categories agreed with the study that CJPC engage the youth, women leaders, elders and pastors in various social action projects aimed at building intercommunity trust and unity in peace building in Turkana County. 100% of the respondents said this happened always and has reduced conflicts. The social action projects had reduced the number of idle youths hence sustaining peace in the region. Moreover, having alternative sources of income served to reduce reliance of the youth on livestock rearing hence reducing the occurrences of conflicts relating to cattle rustling.

3.9.1 The approach of Women Groups formation

Like youth groups, women groups in the locations began to emerge because of CJPC initiatives in 2010. The groups were initially formed for purposes of psychosocial support. With time, the women organized themselves into smaller groups to venture into income-generating activities. Membership to the groups was determined according to locations. Motivation for the projects arose from exposure tours of the women groups. In 2011, CJPC

facilitated several exposure tours to neighbouring communities. In these tours, the women learnt about many income generating activities. A respondent commented:

It took us a trip to Eldoret to learn that there were many ways of making an income. (O. I, 3/8/2017)

The women started with bee-keeping and vegetable farming. The organization offered training on bee keeping and donated several beehives for the women groups. The organization also assisted in marketing of their produce. Money obtained from these initial sales was ploughed back into the bee-keeping and vegetable.

The women groups came up with posho-mill project. Initially, women had to walk for long distances to access a posho- mill. Moreover, some women relied on traditional milling which took much of their time and energy. The maize milling project was an opportunity to make an income while reducing distances travelled by women to access this service. Now, most locations in Turkana East have posho- mills. The mills are run by the women groups. The women have also ventured into shop keeping, basketry and making of ornaments. Some women entrepreneurs ventured into selling of medicinal herbs. The region of Turkana East is rich in traditional herbs. Women use their traditional knowledge of these herbs to earn a living. The herbs are sold as far as Nairobi. In support of the groups, CJPC offers frequent training on management of the projects. In some instances, the organization markets the products from the women groups.

3.9.2 Revolving Fund approaches

Being a rural area, access to credit is a major challenge to the community in Turkana East. CJPC initiated a revolving fund to drive the projects identified by the youth and women

groups. A revolving fund is a financial mechanism that allows the borrower to use a loan for a specific project. The borrower takes out the money from the fund as needed and repays that money plus interest as soon as the project starts generating an income. The borrower enjoys continued access to the fund on condition that every loan taken out is repaid. The advantage of the fund is that it allows small farmers to get access to credit as needed and encourages them to save money. Over time, the fund attracts interest which then becomes the property of the farmers.

The revolving fund was initiated as a result of meetings between CJPC staff, the women and Youth groups in Turkana East. In these meetings, it was established that inadequate start-up capital for identified projects held them back. The CJPC explained to the groups how a revolving fund worked and the conditions for being eligible for the loan. Each group was then organized into small groups of about ten and each of these subgroups selected a group leader. The group leader became responsible for collecting the loans plus interest within the agreed time. An overall management committee was to be responsible for record keeping. Apart from providing funds for the projects, the revolving fund was initiated to bring the two communities together. The fund was started on condition that it would be used by farmers from other side of the borderland (Pokot). This meant that the fund was to be loaned in turns. Once the people of Turkana East paid back the loan and interest, the money was to be made available for farmers of Pokot.

On several occasions, the funds were availed to the farmers in kind instead of cash. The management could purchase animals, seeds and fertilizer at the request of the farmers. This

proved very helpful since the quality of farm inputs were assured hence leading to better yields. Having this joint fund created opportunities for the farmers to work together towards improving their economic situation. Each side operated to pay back on time as this determined the success of projects. This reflected the wish of the groups to live in peace. The revolving fund played a role in diversifying the sources of income for the two communities. This implied that reliance on livestock reduced thereby reducing the chances of conflicts over pasture and water in the region. Moreover, the fund provided an opportunity for the two groups to interact therefore, reducing stereotypes and tensions that come with severed communication channels. This interaction made it unlikely for conflicts to break out since the channels of communications are opened. As shown in table 12, all respondents from all the categories have supported that indeed this improved the interaction between the two communities (page 93).

Table 13: CJPC mediated communities by introducing Revolving Funds in conflict management.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	6.3	A/R
Local- Residents	10	31.1	A
County Administrators	3	9.4	A
Chiefs	3	9.4	A/S
Religious Leaders	8	25	A
NGOs	3	9.4	A
Peace Members	3	9.4	A
Total	32	100	

Source: data from the field.

KEY: A-always O-occasionally N- never S-sometimes R-rarely

3.9.1 Creation of Border Markets as Spaces for Peace

The women and youth groups in Turkana East worked towards improving economic situation of the region. Opening-up of border markets became an important initiative towards marketing of their produce. Initially, border markets had witnessed violent conflicts as communities took advantage of the meeting place to carry out revenge attacks. Lokor centre in Turkana East, a major market at the border, has in the past been a battleground with both communities taking advantage of market days to settle scores. However, since the coming together of groups in the two regions, peaceful interactions in the market have been witnessed. A respondent commented:

It is in our best interest to ensure peace in the markets since we depend on trade between the two communities. We come to the markets with perishable goods and these must be sold immediately ...any conflicts in the markets would ruin our activities ...because of this, we try to avoid any conflicts. (O.I, 22/10/2017)

The two communities came up with market peace committees. The main function of the market committees was to quickly resolve disagreements in the market before they got out of hand. The committees are made up of people from both communities. The market committees included people from the community peace committees. CJPC was involved in regular training of the peace committees on conflicts resolution in the markets.

3.9.2 Activities at Cultural Level as an approach

CJPC used activities at Cultural Level in conflicts management. At the cultural level, conflicts management involved identification of cultural patterns that contribute to violence in a given context. It also involves building on existing cultural mechanisms for handling conflicts. Lederach (1997) argues that culture plays an important role in dictating how

communities respond to conflicts. CJPC approaches each level of transformation through a cultural lens. One official member commented:

It is often stated that these conflicts have a primarily economic origin...that they arise from scarcity of resources in Turkana County...but the actual conflicts is manifested in the cultural context ...Morans go to war because they see it as a way of defending their ethnic community first...to defend their identity ...and secondly, to secure pasture and water. (O.I, 24/10/2017).

Therefore, culture is primarily responsible for the violent engagement. In the above comment, culture is used to justify conflicts. The material base of conflicts becomes intertwined with culture base. CJPC investigated aspects of culture that determined how the community members view themselves and others, and how this feed into conflicts in the community. The Turkana and Pokot have a shared history and very similar culture. This fact enabled the use of culture to pursue peaceful coexistence in the region. A key informant reflected:

Our totems are a unifying factor in the community, for a long time now we remind the kokwo (council of elders) of our common origins, especially during times of violent conflicts... we share totems that spread to the rest of the Pokot community...culturally, it is morally wrong to keep fighting with kinsmen...especially if the fight concerns resources that are our common lifeline...it is taboo to let our kinsmen's children starve to death...we must share. (K.I.I 25/10/2017)

At the personal level, success of psychosocial support depends on ability of the staff to incorporate a cultural backdrop to it. The staffs incorporate traditional healers in group counselling sessions. Rituals performed by the healers are readily accepted by participants as a way of overcoming the tragedies that befell them. One respondent commented:

It's easy for people to identify with the rituals. The traditional healers have played a key role in explaining these rituals to counsellors... this knowledge has helped to develop holistic approaches that are sensitive to community needs. This is an easy way for the community to understand the group counselling sessions. (O.I, 27/10/2017).

Another aspect of culture is the emphasis on the use of groups to address personal needs. In trauma counselling, for instance, CJPC used groups in the society as opposed to counselling individual cases. This approach is based on the communal nature of the Turkana and Pokot community. Group 'counselling reduced the risk of stigmatization that is common in situations of individual counselling. A respondent from Lokor in Turkana East reflected:

Traditionally, people belong to a group, we do not see people as individuals, therefore there is no personal problem '... if a person has a problem, we think of it in terms of 'our problem. (O.I, 29/10/2017).

Relational levels, the cultural importance of the kokwo (council of elders) are exploited to facilitate peace meetings. The kokwo plays a key role in decision making in both Pokot and Turkana communities. Traditionally, it was the role of the kokwo to give the Morans blessing before a raid. It was also the kokwo that were actively involved in dialogue for peace.

CJPC staff incorporated them in every step of activities starting from the initial one-to-one meeting to the signing of 'social contract' stage. The cultural practice of sharing of food to signify reconciliation and a willingness to proceed with peace talks is also used by CJPC. The entire step by step approach to peace talks was designed in line with the traditional methods of dialogue among the Turkana and Pokot communities. A key informant narrated:

It is important for our activities not to be far removed from the people's ways of life... we sought to use their knowledge to come up with activities that will not

be rejected based on being foreign ...we have found that considering peoples beliefs and values is central in any activity aimed at transforming conflicts.
(K.I.I, 29/10/2017).

Peace connector projects appeal to the traditional maxim that asserts ‘I am because we are’. This virtue places emphasis on communalism, showing of compassion to fellow humans and sharing among community members.

Turkana and Pokot cultures both share this virtue. Activities at the relational level are tied closely to the communal way of life of the community. The success of the Turkana County revolving fund, for instance, is attributed to the norm of reciprocity. All groups involved in the fund were aware that their actions (timely repayment of loan or defaulting on payment) impact on the other group positively or negatively. In the spirit of good neighbourliness, each group strives to pay back the loan on time. A respondent from Todonyang commented:

Culturally, we have a practice that involves rescuing our neighbours in times of need... if my neighbour has no food, I am obliged by tradition to provide for his family until such a time that he can provide for his family...when he is out of trouble, he pays me back in the same fashion. (K.I.I, 3/11/2017)

Generally, culture is a thread running through most activities at the personal, relational and structural levels.

3.9.3 Guidance and counselling approaches

The CJPC used the approach of guidance and counselling programmes in giving psychological support to the violent survivors in the society. One key informant from the field also observed that:

Before we start these programmes, we start by analysing how the affected people themselves understand their situation. For example, if the issue is about rape, the challenge for the survivor may be, fear of stigmatization in the society. In this case, rape itself is not the immediate concern of the victim. (K.I.I, 6/11/2017)

These comments showed that development of programmes had to be culturally sensitive for development initiatives to be sustainable. Traditional methods of psychosocial support were also used. Traditional resources such as cleansing rituals played a key role in the healing process. A key informant from Napeitom in Turkana East said that:

we have found that traditional methods of psychosocial support are readily agreeable in the county. Cleansing rituals, for instance, have been found to be effective in the process of healing. We co-operate with traditional healers. (K.I.I 20/11/2016).

The aim of these counselling sessions was to equip participants with knowledge on trauma, its recognition and management. These counselling sessions usually involved the crucial step of processing traumatic events. Group members were given an opportunity to narrate their traumatic experiences. This was later followed by discussions on coping techniques used by group members.

Table 14: CJPC religious departments in guidance and counselling for peace building.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	6.1	A
Local Residents	10	30.2	A
County Administrators	4	12.1	A
Chiefs	6	18.2	A
Religious Leaders	9	27.3	A

NGOs	2	6.1	A
Total	33	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

In Table 14, sampled respondents from all the categories agreed with the study that Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) engaged in guidance and counselling services to reach out to wider groups in Turkana County. This reduced the conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot Communities as they became friends.

3.9.4 Workshop training approach

During meetings for the connector projects, the facilitators took the opportunity to offer training on alternative livelihoods. This was usually through interactive sessions in which members would discuss various opportunities for livelihood diversification. The sessions gave the community members a chance to think of ways in which they could improve their standards of living. The study found out that CJPC has been involved in creation of resources and enabling environments for diversification. This has been through involvement in activities that facilitate communities to improve their assets through development of human capital, infrastructure and social capital. The processes lie at the core of conflicts transformation. Connector projects have played a major role in improving physical and human capital.

3.9.5 Women Groups formation intervention

Women Groups formation intervention has impacted on motivation to start the projects that arose from exposure tours of the women groups. CJPC facilitated exposure tours yearly to neighbouring communities. In these tours, the women learnt about many income generating activities. A respondent (A clan Elder from Nadome in Turkana East) commented:

It took us a trip to Eldoret to learn that there were many ways of making income. (O.I, 18/11/2017).

The women started with bee-keeping and vegetable farming. The organization offered training on bee keeping and donated several beehives for the women groups. The organization also assisted in marketing of their produce. Money obtained from these initial sales was ploughed back into the bee-keeping and vegetable

The study has shown that CJPC has made steps towards transforming capacities for war in all levels into capacities for peace. Capacities for war in Turkana County include different group interests, retrogressive cultural practices like cattle rustling and stereotypes. On the other hand, capacities for peace include common history, similar culture and peace connector projects. The study has also revealed that for the purposes of being effective and bringing about lasting change in communities, CJPC need to pursue simultaneous and complementary interventions.; or instance, the study found out that interventions aimed at changing attitudes and perceptions at the personal level run simultaneously with interventions targeting opening up of communication channels at the relational level. This ensures that the interventions support each other hence securing sustainable positive change in the community. Moreover, the study reveals that the organization adopts interactive processes that are integral in the transformation process.

Table 15: CJPC organized peace races, singing, dancing, and recitation of poems competition.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	1	5.6	S/A/O/N
Local -Residents	4	22.2	S/A
County Administrators	2	11.1	A
Chiefs	5	27.7	A
Religious Leaders	4	22.2	A
NGOs	1	5.6	A
Peace Members	1	5.6	R
Total	18	100	

Source: data from the field

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely³.

Dada from the field shown in Table 15 shows that Most of the respondents agreed with the study that CJPC organized peace races, singing, dancing, and recitation of poems competition in Turkana County. Through sports activities, message of peace reached the two fighting communities. However, the peace members deny that much hasn't been accomplished, there is much to be done. Therefore, if this can be done aggressively then we shall create more peace between the Pokot and the Turkana.

Summary and Conclusion

The study concludes that the approaches in conflicts resolution worked effectively though others partially functioned. The objective under study was; The Approaches of the Catholic

Justice and Peace Commission in conflicts resolution in Turkana East and Turkana North sub-counties. This objective helped the study to analyse the approaches used in conflicts resolution between the Pokot and Turkana communities. The approaches used were various meetings, formation of groups, introduction of revolving funds and several other activities. Some approaches did not work due to inferiority and fear of the people. Those that functioned partially are one to one meeting. This was impossible due to strong revenge between the Pokot and Turkana communities. Other approaches like meetings were very successive because it included many people, church leaders, and Government leaders.

The study also revealed that conflicts transformation is a multifaceted approach that requires collaboration among peace actors. CJPC collaborated with appropriate operational partners in the region to help fill capacity gaps where they existed. The study also confirmed that the transformation process relied on innovativeness and creativity of the peace actors (ACTION 2003:5). In this regard, CJPC used creative and innovative ways to enhance communication between the Pokot and Turkana communities. Rather than rely purely on dialogue, the Organization used sporting activities to enhance communication. Sporting activities offer non-ways of communication while reinforcing contact between the two groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT OF THE INTERVENTION BY CJPC IN TURKANA NORTH AND TURKANA EAST SUB-COUNTIES

4.2 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the study explored on several approaches that CJPC used to sustain the conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot communities in giving the interventions. This chapter's objective under discussion was; the economic, social and political Impact of the intervention By CJPC In Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties. The CJPC has been involved in sinking of boreholes and construction of water pans, carrying out peace training, paralegal training, and organization of peace festivals, organization of exposure trips, peace marathons, and rehabilitation of schools which were previously destroyed due to conflicts attacks and many other connector projects.

Construction of schools made it possible for children who previously stayed at home to access basic education. Many young people would access education to the highest level. Cattle dips also have been rehabilitated by the community to enable the animals get better services and treatment. Cattle dips on the other hand have been instrumental in improving the quality of livestock in the County. Due to peace between these communities, they have re-opened the market centres that previously shut down due to conflicts. The reopening of the market centres enabled many people to do businesses and improve their livelihoods.

Formation of youth groups, women groups, in Kapedo, Lomelo, silale, Napeitom and other locations revolving fund and opening up of markets discussed in this chapter are part of CJPCs' strategies to improve social, financial and natural capital in Turkana County.

4.2 Social impacts

1. The youth groups

The Youths who had been socialized to violent conflicts, which deprived them of the necessary social mechanisms required to thrive in life. They changed their attitude towards the disruptions of these social rhythms that impacted them negatively on their lives. The church organization (CJPC) helped the youths to be strong and resilient. CJPC provided alternatives to destructive behaviour while economically empowered them to meet their basic needs and feel useful in the society. Another respondent supported this statement that;

Since the youth still had a lot of years ahead of them; this had made them not to be pessimistic about the future. They had the energy to make changes in their own lives and be optimistic. Majority of the youths in Turkana County resolved into formal education. Moreover, the few that have managed to go to schools had been employed.' O.I 5/7/2017

In Turkana East (Kapedo) a focus group discussion reported that there were few primary schools and only two (2) secondary schools in the whole Location. This meant that there were small number of children accessing education and the rest were socialized to look after livestock. When they reached adolescence stage they resorted to raiding because that was the only available option. These youths did not have any other skills other than what they had learnt culturally from the community. Therefore, lack of education had led to lack of skills that were needed by the youths for employment.

This deprivation of education had robbed them of senior position in government; hence they felt marginalized in many ways. The study related these findings to Azar's (1990:7-8) precondition of deprivation of human needs. All individuals aim at fulfilling their needs through their collective identity group, which in this case was the Turkana community. Needs deprivation such as lack of schools, therefore led to increased grievances, which individuals expressed collectively, by turning to the most available options like raiding the neighbouring communities.

The Turkana felt that the government provided such services to other communities in the country, while they were not getting equal attention. This translated to the deprivation of these needs which, Azar's terms as resulting to inequalities. This means that the dominant social group satisfied its political access needs, security and acceptance needs at the expense of the needs of the other social group.

As a result, the social groups that felt dissatisfied felt frustrated, marginalized and excluded from the social, economic and political participation. The community felt representation of the community in government would help them to access political goods such as better educational infrastructure, road and communication network, more hospitals, livestock production services, commerce and industry, among others. The CJPC then came up and intervened for them to get the services from the Government. As a result of the intervention of CJPC, Turkana East and North Sub-Counties got enough learning facilities constructed and by other NGOs like UNCEF, UN and CDTF.

Other government services were also lacking due to insecurity and the community suffered

negative publicity due to constant drought and famine, insecurity and inaccessibility due to poor road and communication network. This made the PSC theory applicable in this study. CJPC also voiced to the Government on construction of roads. National wise, CJPC has worked on insecurity issues up the grassroots level. The Government reinforced by increasing police camps in the affected areas and provided enough manpower.

Youth groups in the County started as a CJPC initiative. Officials from the organization held frequent meetings with the youth in the county aiming at finding out their perception of their own situation. The needs of the youth were identified, and this called for further training. The major issue raised was unemployment. They had little to do in the community and they felt helpless about their situation. The CJPC staff decided to liaise with other organizations like UNCEF, and UN that provided vocational training for the youth. Coupled with exposure tours and experiences they had had in peace connector projects. The youths formed their own groups.

Protection of the citizens against the violence

The impact of the above intervention is clearly seen because all the respondents reported that it is true that CJPC worked on protecting the citizens from violence. This had been done through construction of schools for the children of the victims. The construction of health centres too for people in conflicts zones. Therefore, all the children from the affected zone are now peaceful due to the security from the CJPC. The church organisation (CJPC) worked and supplied foods to this affected area in Turkana East and Turkana North Sub-counties. The CJPC enabled the children in this schools to have food and learn well.

Table 16: CJPC protecting citizens against violence in Turkana County

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	1	2.9	R/A/O/S
Local- Residents	10	29.4	A
County Administrators	2	5.9	A
Chiefs	9	26.5	A
Religious Leaders	8	23.5	A
NGOs	2	5.9	A
Peace Members	2	5.9	A
Total	34	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

In Table 16, Data from the field showed that all sampled respondents agreed that CJPC always protected citizens against violence, of which 26.5% respondents from the chief, 23.5% of religious leaders, 5.9% from the NGOs, 5.9% from the peace members, 29.4% of local-residents agreed that CJPC always protects the citizen from violence. Some respondents from herdsmen had divided mind that CJPC always protects the citizens from violence which made come up with different options such as rarely, occasionally and sometimes.

4.3 Economic impacts

The youths decided to be involved in agricultural activities. The following account by a member of one of the youth groups illustrates the rationale behind the decision:

We reflected on our challenges as youth in the community...we talked about our conflicts. (O.I, 7/9/2017).

The youths have found out that raiding was not a good choice, so they have had to substitute it for a productive activity. Because they needed money to purchase things they have resolved into other activities like fishing and making of mats. One of the youths from Todonyang reported:

We thought of fishing for those from Turkana North (Todonyang) and making of mats and table mats of those from Turkana East. (O.I 6/7/2017)

At the beginning of 2003, youths from Kapedo, Napeitom and other locations of Turkana East locations met regularly under the facilitation of CJPC staff. These initiative meetings were for group bonding purposes. Eventually, each group came up with its desired project. The projects identified were for income generation purposes. Initial projects were agro-based but with time some of the youths ventured into shop keeping while some became boda boda operators and livestock traders. One youth reflected:

Being a member of the youth group opened my mind to many business opportunities I got the skills I needed in the group to start my own business. (O.I, 2/7/2017)

The CJPC donated water pumps to groups that had ventured into farming. Certified seeds and Pesticides were also donated by the organization to help the groups start off. With time, these groups managed to sell their produce and reinvested the money in their projects. The success of these groups led more youths that had initially been sceptical into joining. The result was

that during the time of this study, several youths were gainfully employed in fruit and vegetable farming in the locations. This had reduced the number of idle youths hence sustaining peace in the region. Moreover, having alternative sources of income served to reduce reliance of the youth on livestock rearing hence reducing the occurrences of conflicts relating to cattle rustling.

4.5 Funding of the projects

Through the interventions by the CJPC, school, health centres and orphanage projects in Turkana North and East Sub County were funded. The organization also trained management committees of the projects to ensure the projects do not collapse due to management challenges. The impacts of these activities in the community include increased sources of livelihood. This means that the community did not have to depend on livestock only for survival. This has consequently led to reduction of violent conflicts in the County. Another impact has been the optimal utilization of resources in the community. The groups mobilize resources in the community to meet their basic needs. Activities targeting change of attitude and perceptions in the community were approached by CJPC from the personal and relational levels. At personal level, CJPC pursued activities that addressed self-esteem issues and spiritual and physical well-being of the individuals. The major activities included organization of training workshops, provision of psychosocial support and facilitation of exposure tours. These activities provided knowledge that led to change in how the communities view each other. It had led to doing away with stereotypes and misinformation about the rival community. The activities also empowered the communities to deal with their challenges in an amicable way instead of acting to violence.

Table 17: CJPC in peace races, singing and dancing competition for peace building.

Category	Frequency	Percentage	Response
Herdsmen	2	7.7	R
Local- Residents	6	23.1	A
County Administrators	3	11.5	A
Chiefs	6	23.1	A
Religious Leaders	4	15.4	A
NGOs	3	11.5	O
Peace Members	2	7.7	S
Total	26	100	

Source: data from the field

KEY

A-always **O**-occasionally **N**- never **S**-sometimes **R**-rarely

Data from the field in table 17, shows that the respondents from four categories about 65% agreed with the study that CJPC organized peace races, singing, dancing, and recitation of poems competition in Turkana County. This was meant to bring peace among the Pokot and the Turkana. About 30% of the respondents recorded that this happened Occasionally, Sometimes and others said rarely.

At the relational level, the activities also provided chances for the two communities to meet often and establish friendships and partnerships. CJPC made use of peace connector projects and activities to enhance opportunities for the two groups to meet. CJPC activities led to

increased collaboration, and bonding between the Turkana and Pokot communities. Finally, the study concludes that CJPC incorporated culture in designing all its activities in the information process. The organization identifies existing cultural mechanisms and builds on them in the process, incorporation of spiritual healers in trauma counselling, incorporation of traditional practices like sharing of food during peace meetings and recognition of the role played by the council of elders all led to acceptance of CJPC activities in the County.

4.6 Political Impacts

In the political impacts, CJPC led many people into total commitment in peace building in Turkana and Pokot Communities. Due to its involvement in peace building in the region for over two decades it has made Progress towards conflicts transformation. The interventions undertaken by CJPC in Turkana East and Turkana North Sub counties, brought change in attitude and Perceptions that were responsible for bringing violent conflicts. Since establishment of CJPC, justice and peace has been promoted in Kenya through challenging of oppressive political structures. To this end, CJPC has been involved in various activities geared towards sensitization of communities on their rights.

The organization has also been involved in mobilization of communities towards working for peace. It has laid down the programmes to facilitate Transformative Civic Education and Constitutional Reforms Programme. They initiated the programme to influence constitution review process. This was done through use of dialogue and civic education. Their main objective was informing Kenyans about the constitution and their rights. After the promulgation of the Kenyan constitution, the Programme focused on the implementation process. The main objective of the Programme now was to build capacity of communities to

effectively engage in the implementation process. This was aimed at reaching a common understanding of the new Constitution. CJPC has organized Peace building programme on promotion of peaceful co-existence among bordering Communities. In coordination with the government, CJPC have ensured more securities to surround the borders. They have facilitated talks with the elders from both communities by the church leaders to arrest the conflicts. The programme has been active mainly in Turkana East and Turkana North sub-counties, in areas like Kapedo, Napeitom, Silale Nadome and others where conflicts among bordering communities are rampant. The programme aimed at building capacity for communities to handle conflicts, therefore breaking the cycle of violent conflicts.

In 2007 CJPC empowered communities to promote and protect human rights. It also focused at empowering communities to demand for good governance. The programme was organized into six elements; voter- education and elections observation, paralegal awareness and training, civic education, transitional justice, socio-economic justice and parliamentary liaison desk. CJPC held several peace meetings in the area of conflicts. The meetings were attended by various people from Pokot and Turkana communities including religious leaders, clan elders and political representatives. Inflicting communities identified one elder each to meet at a neutral place to discuss the conflicts and focus on negotiations for peace. At this stage, CJPC provided transport for the elders to the meeting point. They often held meetings at the crisis stage of conflicts. CJPC facilitated reconciliation and forgiveness between the Pokot and Turkana communities through peace meeting. CJPC warned the leaders in power who distributed weapons to people in return of gaining power. CJPC filled up the gaps of accountability and acted as the neutral party. CJPC participated on the process of disarmament of the civilian warriors.

Despite the work done by CJPC, there is still deep disagreement about boundaries demarcation. Moved boundaries erupted into major conflicts. Colonial boundaries are described as distorted; demarcations made since then are heavily contested. Land reforms as part of the new constitution meant to address past injustice in land distribution, constitute underlying causes for conflicts (Greiner, Bolling and McCabe, 2011:78, Oesterle, 2017, chebunet, 2013. Mutsotso 2013, 2014, pragya 2012). They are understood as “a window of opportunity for change and thus give rise to competing claims to land”; Greiner, Bolling and Maccabe, 2011: with that they address the long-standing disputes over land and boundaries between the Turkana and Pokot communities. These boundaries have been shifted by earlier administrators and government often arbitrarily, which created ill-defined and in cases overlapping boundaries in Pokot (Greiner, 2013:231)

Boundary issues also had a big role, based on the far-reaching transformation processes of pastoral communities in their relationship to land and access to land. CJPC noted that they were also a result of the propagation of sedentary lifestyles and agriculture as a solution to minimize the negative impacts of droughts. CJPC noted an increased number of settlers in the region, acceleration of privatization and fragmentation of the initial communal land. Agricultural projects, modern infrastructure and access to fertile land and irrigation areas gained important conflict triggers. This signifies then that boundaries really matter as a factor that limited and enabled access to a given natural resource, be it pasture or water for the pastoralists.

The on-going nation building process, expressed by devolution has opened the political sphere on local level-and macerated politics, leaving vacuums on the county and local level-that needed to be filled. But with intervention of CJPC, political elite on local level appears to re-negotiate land access and boundaries while at the same time is mobilizing playing the ethnic card. CJPC has intervened on the government voices. The government action is seen as not sincere, Turkana government is not perceived as neutral but favouring specific communities. Intervention by CJPC has led the Turkana county government to build up extra efforts to be neutral and fair judging entity.

With the introduction of the Nation building that was triggered by devolution, a political space was created to the very local stage and asserted more power. In this case, the CJPC played a role of ensuring that the local leaders do not use their locally acquired new power of control of their own use and leave out the important factor of peace and harmonious existence. Therefore, CJPC embarked on educating the Pokot and Turkana communities the concept and use of the newly acquired constitution. CJPC sensitized people to avoid negative politics as an effect from devolution.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on all the three objectives that guided the study, how they were achieved, the theoretical framework used, conclusions drawn, and recommendations given at the end of the study. The objectives of the study were: To examine the roles of the catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts management in Turkana North and East Sub-Counties; to investigate the approaches of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts resolution in Turkana County; To analyse the economic, social and political impacts of the interventions by the CJPC in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub-Counties? This chapter also presents the summary of the findings of the roles of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts management in Turkana North and Turkana East Sub Counties.

The theoretical framework employed by the study in this study was PSC by Edward Azar, (1990). This theoretical framework was applicable to this study and helped to anchor it and similarities could be drawn from the study and the theoretical framework. Therefore, the objectives and the theoretical framework used by the study helped to premise and anchor the research study: Role of CJPC in conflicts management in Turkana county, Kenya: a case of the catholic justice and peace commission. 1960-2015.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study involved the residents living within Turkana East, Turkana North as the key informants who provided primary information to the research. Their participation rate in the study was equal and therefore the findings of the study had a balanced bearing. The study found out that majority of residents living in Turkana North had lower education qualification levels and this was because constant attacks made learning difficult and majority of residents usually fled from their ancestral land and this discontinued their children education.

Most of the residents reported to have lived in the area for a longer period thereby making them spend more time in the conflicts. It was learnt from the study that access to and use of renewable, common-pool resources essential to rural livelihoods were highly contested in the area. The study also as understood that improving cooperation in their management is increasingly seen as an important element in strategies for peace building, conflicts prevention, and longer-term social ecological resilience among the Turkana and Pokot.

For instance, in the case of CJPC, it was impacted upon management of conflicts between Pokot and Turkana had not been achieved bearing in mind that they had other challenges in the office. However, this assumption could not hold water because, the Northern Ireland conflicts (1969-1998) was resolved after the British government established a devolved government in Belfast from London and the war ended. Since the introduction of county governments in the year 2013, conflicts had significantly reduced as a result of people feeling the government presence within their areas which provided channels for addressing their

grievances. It was found that 77.2% of respondents supported the notion that CJPC helped in management of pastoral conflicts.

Moreover, the study findings showed that the church organization (CJPC) spearheaded the peace building initiatives aimed at addressing the animosity, hatred and fear among the two communities by taking a bipartisan stand on the conflicts. The study also understood that religious affiliation and conviction often motivated religious groups within the two counties to advocate peace-related government policies. CJPC also directly opposed repression and promoted peace and reconciliation. The study also observed that the religious groups and leaders on most occasions mediated in conflict situations, they acted as communication link between the two communities while others provide training on peacekeeping. In another positive development regarding the role of religious leaders, it was evident that some of them even went further to press for dialogue among the warring communities, they were involved in disarmament exercises (although at a smaller scale), they gave hope regarding the role of CJPC in management of pastoral conflicts. Most of them played an advocacy role in promoting justice and monitored human rights violations across the border. It relied on donor funding for support of their activities and this made them to be active at certain period of times. Their activities in management of peace were short-lived. On a positive side of view, the respondents indicated that some like CJPC and other NGOs foundations held annual peace marathons aimed at reforming the Morans who had abandoned cattle rustling for the sake of peace.

However, this event was held once a year, but a positive observation was that the foundations had established a rescue Centre through which girls and rehabilitated Morans were accommodated by being offered education. Some of them started developmental projects aimed at diversifying the local people economic reliance on livestock as a source of livelihood to sustainable agriculture and other business enterprises. For instances, women formed groups that loaned money for business start-up and mixed farming techniques. The study realized that civil society working in restoring peace at the Turkana East and Pokot border could effectively intervene by focusing attention on the social organization and structural patterns of interaction.

Lastly, the study found out that CJPC leaders had an important role to play in quelling conflicts between the two communities. For instance, they were seen at the forefront during peace meetings as they deemed to be the leaders“ members of the community who were respected and therefore could make resolutions and decisions. It was also found out that some of them went further to become mediators during conflicts period. Despite all, the study found out that the two communities developed certain practices that aimed at uniting the two communities. These initiatives were promotion of inter-marriages amongst them, participating joint cultural ceremonies and dances while others had exchange programmes like sharing of water points and grazing areas.

5.3 Conclusion

The study found out different mechanisms presented in the chapter influenced in the management of conflicts between Turkana and Pokot communities. The initiatives made by CJPC in mediating, disarmament, peace mission and reintegration were helpful in quelling

the conflicts between the two communities. Also, the introduction of county government reduced incidences of cattle rustling as leaders from both counties usually arranged for peace meeting through which issues surrounding them were discussed and mediated upon.

It was found out that 77.2% of respondents on both sides of the border believed that CJPC tried and helped to restore peace within their areas. This was due to the resources reachable to all locations and villages that were unreached before, the government was now closer to the people and historical injustices committed by the previous government regimes that neglected the area for long were now being addressed with the coming of the new constitution dispensation.

Besides that, the results of the study showed that CJPC also played a significant role in management of conflicts between Turkana and Pokot counties. This was through promotion and advocacy of human rights, sponsoring peace meetings and seminars, building of schools to reform and educate the young children on the importance of peace, sponsoring games and dancing competition while others were found to be engaged in protection of citizens across the border from conflicts. Therefore, the study realized its objectives and the premises for they have achieved peace between the two Communities.

5.4 Recommendations

The study so far noted the four factors that had a significant impact on restoration of peace across the Turkana North and East sub Counties. However, a lasting solution had not been found yet since the people constantly lived in fear because they felt insecure and could be

attacked any time. This called for every stakeholder to take his/her role seriously to avoid mass destruction of the property, livestock stealing, maiming among others. Therefore, the study makes the following recommendations:

There is need for religious leaders from Turkana East and Turkana North Sub -Counties to be involved and avoid siding with any of their respectively communities. The place that religious leaders and organizations held in the society could be observed by ensuring that the members of clergy remained non-partisan for the sake of offering spiritual and moral support to the victims of the conflicts. The Turkana elders from Pokot and Turkana Communities needed to assert their authority in ensuring that the commands and decisions they make to young men “Ngorokos” against attacking or raiding the neighbouring communities, were strictly followed and those found to violate could be punished.

Turkana county government and other neighbouring counties should reconcile and encourage dialogue among the various communities for the sake of peace and development. Politicians are urged to be impartial in dealing with security issues among the communities. The leaders and politicians of Turkana and Pokot counties were urged to practice good values and make unity, love and joint activities the Centre of their public behaviour. The politicians advised to stop tribalism and practice inclusion and communality. They are also asked to be “in touch” with the reality and problems affecting their people.

The intervention of CJPC has enabled the Turkana county and local government to spear-head a meaningful and sincere peace building process on the ground. Peace building

initiatives have now left the hotel rooms to the conflicted communities that are in Turkana North and Turkana East sub-counties. Meaningful peace building is closely linked to sincere disarmament process. The leaders from Turkana and Pokot have joined efforts to ensure strong and strict laws regarding the possession of firearms. CJPC involved the elders and youths in constituting elements of any meaningful peace process.

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Respondent	Age	Sub-County	Gender	Place	Date
Middle aged woman	56	T/East	female	Kapedo	24/4/2017
Reformed Moran	40	T/East	Male	Kapedo	2/5/2017
Moran	39	T/East	Male	Lokor	17/7/2017
One member	50	T/East	Male	Lokor	3/7/2017
One survivor	40	T/North	Male	Todonyang	12/7/2017
An officer	56	T/North	Male	Todonyang	4/7/2017
A facilitator	51	T/Central	Female	Lodwar	7/8/2017
An elder	78	T/North	Male	Lokitang	21//7/2017
An elder	70	T/North	Female	Luarangak	18/9/2017
Chief	48	T/North	Male	Todonyang	16/8/2017
A young Man	28	T/East	Male	Lokitang	20/7/2017
A herdsman	56	T/East	Male	Lokor	27/8/2017
A youth	35	T/East	Male	Lokor	30/8/2017
An elder	80	T/East	Male	Kalutum	5/7/2017
A woman	55	T/East	female	Lokor	17/9/2017
Akraar Leader	40	T/North	Male	Lokitang	5/10/2017
Elder woman	86	T/East	Male	Napeitom	19/10/2017
Youth	60	T/Central	Male	Lodwar	6/8/2017
OCS (police)	50	T/Central	Male	Lodwar	6/7/2017
An Officer in the Judiciary	40	T/Central	Male	Lodwar	6/8/2017
An Officer in the High court	25	T/Central	Male	Lodwar	6/8/20177

Focus Group Discussion

Participants	Place	Date
Clan elders	Lokor	7/7/2017
Elderly woman	Napeitom	7/7/2017
Politicians	Silale	7/7/2017
Traders	Nadome	7/7/2017
Clan elders	Lopie	7/7/2017
Chief	Lopie	7/7/2017
Herdsmen Clan elders	Kapedo	7/7/2017

Key informant Interviews

Participant	Age	Place	Date
Clan elder	77	Todonyag	23/8/2017
Politician	61	Lokor	24/8/2017
Female youth	21	Lodwar	4/9/2017
Clan elder	70	Napeitom	8/9/2017
Herdsmen	70	Nariokotome	6/10/2017
An Administrator	45	Lodwar	6/10/2017
A Religious leader	56	Napetet Parish	13/10/2017
Chief of the area	59	Lodwar	13/10/2017
Community policing Member.	50	Kanamukemer	29/10/2017
Elder man	76	Lobur	3/11/2017
A Moran	43	Lokitang	20/11/2017

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West Pokot County 1990-2014. Master Thesis: Kenyatta University.

APPENDICES**APPENDIX I: LETTER OF TRANSMITTA****Sr. Veronica M. Ogoti****P.O. Box 42,****Lodwar.****Dear respondents**

I am a student at Kenyatta University undertaking master's degree in History. It is a requirement that a student writes a project report in the field of study. For that purpose, I request you to spare your time to fill this questionnaire that is intended to find out the determination of church in conflicts resolution in Turkana County. Kindly spare sometime to fill the attached questionnaire to enable me to complete this study for which I will be very grateful. You are kindly requested to fill in the blank spaces at the end of each question or simply put a tick where appropriate. This information will be used purely for academic purposes and will be treated in strict confidence. You need not include your name. Any additional information that you might feel is necessary for this study is welcome. Your participation in this study will be valuable as it will contribute to the achievement of the study objectives. Please respond as honestly and truthfully as possible. Put a tick (√) on the appropriate answer on the administrative agencies below.

Thanking in advance

Sr. Veronica M. Ogoti.

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions:

Please answer the entire question as provided using a tick (√) where applicable or give an explanation where needed.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

- 1. What is your gender? Male () Female ()
- 2. What is your age bracket? 30-35years () 36-40years () 41-50years () 51-55years () 56 and Above ().
- 3. What is your highest academic qualification? No education () Primary () High School ()

Diploma () Graduate () ` any other specify_____

- 4. What is your role in the community? I) DC (), ii) DO (), iii) Chief (), iv) NGO manager () v) .C.B.O manager (), VI) F.B.O in charge ().

5. What is the name of your Sub -County-----?

- 6. How long have you serviced in the sub-County? Less than 1yers () 1-5years() 6-10years() Above 11years ()

7.a. Are you a resident of this County? Yes () No ()

b. If yes, what is the living environment like? If Not, what has been your experience like?-----

How would you rate the political stability of your area on a scale of 1-10?-----

--

8. How does politics affect the lives of people in the society?-----

9. a) Has the society taken any action in relation to conflict resolution in Turkana County? Yes () No ()

10. If yes, how effective was it? -----

11. If No, what directive would you propose? -----

12. What is the role of CJPC in exposure tours in control of conflicts in Turkana County? _____

SECTION II: THE PERCEPTION OF THE CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN HUMAN CONFLICTS AND HOW TO SOLVE IT.

Indicate the extent to which the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in your locality play the following functions in addressing the conflicts in Turkana County on the following scale: N- Never, R-Rarely, S-Sometimes, O-Occasionally and A-Always;

	N	R	S	O	A
1. What is the role of the Catholic justice and peace commission (CJPC) in conflicts management in Turkana County?					
2. Does the CJPC strengthen the ministry of reconciliation through capacity building trainings in Turkana County?					
3. Does the CJPC engage the church organization's leadership through pastors' forums in healing, reconciliation and peace building in communities of Turkana County?					
4. Do the CJPC engage the youth, women leaders, elders and pastors in various social action projects aimed at building intercommunity trust and unity in peace building in Turkana County?					
5. Does religious leaders use church organizations services to reach out to wider groups to spread messages of peace in Turkana County?					
6. Do religious leaders reach out to wider levels of society to influence the region's leadership to influence policy process in					

Turkana County?					
7. Do the CJPC give hope to the victims of cross-border conflict in Turkana County?					
8. Do the CJPC offer material assistance to the victims of cross-border conflict in Turkana County?					
9. Does organizing abundant prayers in the in the ethnic clashes' zones assist in peace building in Turkana County?					
10. Does calling for peace in the ethnic clashes' zones assist in peace building in Turkana County?					
11. How often does CJPC act as a conduit in pursuit of reconciliation, dialogue and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in Turkana County?					

APPENDIX III: THE APPROACHES OF THE CATHOLIC JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION (CJPC) IN CONFLICTS MANAGEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY.

Indicate the extent to which the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in your locality play the following functions in addressing the conflicts between in Turkana County on the following scale: N-Never, R-Rarely, S-Sometimes, O-Occasionally and A-Always.

	N	R	S	O	A
1. How often do the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) protect the citizens against the violence in Turkana County?					
2. How often do the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) monitor human rights violation focusing on the implementation of conflict management in Turkana County?					
3. How often the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) do advocates for peace and human rights within Turkana County?					
4. How often the CJPC organize the social events like sports marches and restocking programme in Turkana County?					
5. How does the CJPC organize peace races singing dancing competition and recitation of poems in Turkana County?					

6. How often the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission mediated between communities by introducing Turkana County Revolving Fund in conflict management?					
--	--	--	--	--	--

1. What is your age bracket? 30-35years () 36-40years () 41-50years () 51-55years () 56 and above ()

2. Tick as applicable. Which one are you?

a) Ward representative ()

b) Villager elder ()

c) Village headmen ()

d) Women elder ()

e) Youth leader ()

f) Businessman ()

g) Trader ()

h) Emuron ()

i) Cluster of men () Women () Youth ()

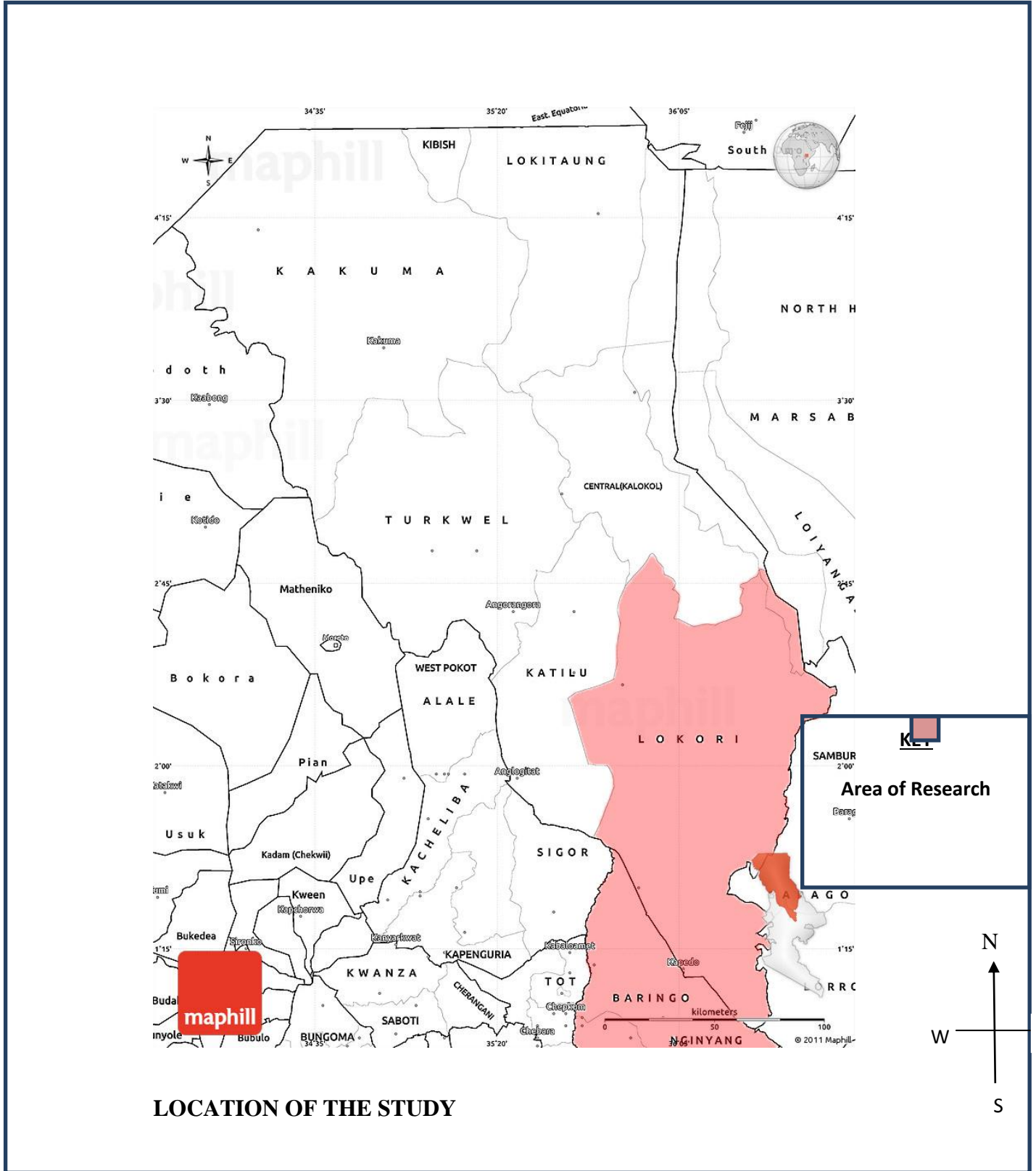
3. What is the name of your area of jurisdiction?

For how long have you been a representative or led the people of this area? 1-5

years () 6-10years () 11 and above years ()

LOCATION OF THE STUDY

Figure 1: General map of Turkana east and Baringo east sub-counties



LOCATION OF THE STUDY

APPENDIX IV: TABLE FOR DETERMINING SAMPLE SIZE FROM A GIVEN POPULATION.

Population size	Sample size
10	10
20	19
30	28
40	35
50	44
60	52
70	59
80	66
90	73
100	80
150	108
200	132
250	162
300	169
400	196
1500	306
2000	322
3000	341
4000	351
5000	357
6000	361
7000	364
10000	370
20000	377
50000	381
100000	384

Source: R.V. Krejcie and D. Morgan (1990), determining sample size for

APPENDIX VI: KENYATTA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH APPROVAL



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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

P.O. Box 43844, 00100

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 020-8704150

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 10th April, 2017

TO: Veronica Moraa Ogoti
C/o History, Archaeology and Political Studies
Department

REF: C50/CE/25696/2014

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL
=====

We acknowledge receipt of your revised Research Proposal as per our recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 25th January, 2017 entitled "Role of Catholic Church Organizations in Conflict Management in Turkana County-Kenya: A Case of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, 1960-2015".

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the 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 Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the Progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

JULIA GITU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

CC: Chairman, History, Archaeology and Political Studies Department

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Peter Wanjala Wekesa
C/o History, Archaeology and Political Studies Department
Kenyatta University
2. Dr. Pius Kakai Wanyonyi
C/o History, Archaeology and Political Studies Department
Kenyatta University

JG/rwm

APPENDIX VII: NACOSTI RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/31740/21228**

Date: **27th February, 2018**

Veronica Moraa Ogoti
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“Role of catholic church organisations in conflict management in Turkana County Kenya. A case of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission ,1960-2015,”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Turkana County** for the period ending **26th February, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Turkana County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

G.P. Kalerwa

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Turkana County.

The County Director of Education
Turkana County.

APPENDIX VIII: RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MISS. VERONICA MORAA OGOTI
 of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 43844-100
 Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
 research in Turkana County

on the topic: **ROLE OF CATHOLIC
 CHURCH ORGANISATIONS IN CONFLICT
 MANAGEMENT IN TURKANA COUNTY
 KENYA A CASE OF THE CATHOLIC
 JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION
 ,1960-2015**

for the period ending:
26th February, 2019



**Applicant's
 Signature**

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/31740/21228
 Date Of Issue : 27th February, 2018
 Fee Received : Ksh 1000



J. J. Kalewa

.....
**Director General
 National Commission for Science,
 Technology & Innovation**

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, research site specified period.
2. Both the Licence and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. Upon request of the Commission, the Licensee shall submit a progress report.
4. The Licensee shall report to the County Director of Education and County Governor in the area of research before commencement of the research.
5. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further permissions from relevant Government agencies.
6. This Licence does not give authority to transfer research materials.
7. The Licensee shall submit two (2) hard copies and upload a soft copy of their final report.
8. The Commission reserves the right to modify the conditions of this Licence including its cancellation without prior notice.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science,
 Technology and Innovation

**RESEARCH CLEARANCE
 PERMIT**

Serial No.A **17686**

CONDITIONS: see back page

GLOSSARY

Bodaboda: Commercial cyclists

Karacuna: Refers to are adolescent boys, and young men who are primarily responsible for the provision of security and protection for their communities. They are also, in charge of securing their communities' livelihood in times of food scarcity, including the herding of livestock.

Kokwo: Turkana Council of elders

Kraal leaders: Village Elders

Moran; Youth warriors

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

Ngorokos: Refers to young men who were used to attack or raid the neighbouring communities.

Punviik: Mortal Enemies

Riam Riam: This is a Turkana word used to mean a meeting. It is used repeatedly to show its importance