INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON THE BORDER LANDS 0F KANYARKWAT AND KWANZA LOCATIONS OF TRANS-NZOIA AND WEST POKOT COUNTIES- KENYA

BY

JAMES KHAEMBA

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Student

This Thesis is my original work and it has not been presented in any other institution for the award of a Degree.

Signature…………………….……. Date ………………………...….…

Khaemba James

(SSC/PGA/08/04)

Declaration by the Supervisors
This thesis has been presented to the Department of Anthropology and Human Ecology, School of Arts and Social Sciences, with our approval as University supervisors.

Signature…………………………… Date ………………...……………

Dr. J. Kareithi

Department of Anthropology and Human Ecology

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Moi University

Signature…………………………... Date ………………………..………

Dr. H.M. Maithya

Department of Anthropology and Human Ecology

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Moi University

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to all men and women who are striving to see that peace may prevail in this border area of Kwanza and Kanyarkwat Locations of Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot County.

ABSTRACT

The main causes of the inter-ethnic conflicts between the Pokot of West Pokot and other ethnic groups of Trans-nzoia who border them, is not only the concern of this study but also for all people who love peace. The specific objectives of this study were to identify and document the causes of the conflict, among the various ethnic communities living along the border of West Pokot and Trans Nzoia Counties. The Study aimed at evaluating the impact of the conflict among the people living along the border of West Pokot and Trans Nzoia Counties. It also aimed at examining the stakeholders' solution or measures towards the conflict, especially on finding a resolution of this conflict. The study was grounded in Nkurunziza's Life Cycle of Conflict Theory. The study was carried out in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations in Trans Nzoia and West Pokot Counties. Interviews and observation as well as the use of questionnaires were used as the main methods of data collection. Purposive sampling and simple random sampling techniques were employed. Data were presented by use of percentage and tables. The findings of this study showed that there were various causes to the conflict although cultural practices by the Pokot constituted the main cause. The study also found that conflicts have had devastating effects on the people from both the Luhya and Pokot communities. The study found that despite efforts put forward by the government and other stakeholders to stop this conflict, much is yet to be realized in their efforts, due to lack of proper co-ordination and consultation This study recommends that there should be education forum in order to educate the people of Kanyarkwat and kwanza locations on the importance of a cease fire and peace building. That the government should involve all the stakeholders in conflict resolutions, with the local people participating at all levels of operation. Specific interests, like building new schools, dams etc by civil groups and government agencies, should be channeled towards the changing and provision of alternative but adaptive cultural practices among the Pokot people.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACPC	-	African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries
ASTU	-	Anti Stock Theft Unit
CBS	-	Central Bureau of Statistics
CJPC	-	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
EM	-	Explanatory Model
GOK	-	Government of Kenya
GSU	-	General Service Unit
KPR	-	Kenya Police Reserves
N C C K	-	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
P P B	-	Police Patrol Base
S A L W	-	Small arms and light Weapons
S A P	-	Structural Adjustment Programs
S P S S	-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
S E C A M	-	Symposium of Episcopal Conferences of Africa and Madagascar

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter introduces the main issues of concern that the study focuses on. The chapter consists of the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the key research questions that guided the study, the objectives that the study sought to achieve, the significance and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

This study emanates from a practical observation that when one turns on the television, listens to the radio, reads newspaper, listens to the people talking, and/or flashes back on memories of places such as Bosnia, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Iraq, Sudan-Darfur,

Liberia, Somali, Rwanda and Burundi, Senegal, and Uganda, they offer examples of conflicts, which could be compared to a cancer of this century. It is also true to say that although in the past natural disasters and famine were the root causes of human suffering and displacement, currently, conflicts seem to be the leading causes of emergencies in the world.

Historically, World War I was the result of international leaders' aggression toward other countries. This was partially as a result of the then rising nationalism of the European nations, economic and imperial competition, social and cultural clash between western and the rest of the world, and the fear of war that brought about tension. This uprising of countries against other countries constitutes global conflict.

Since the end of the World War II, the United States of America (USA) for instance, has been able to assist in over 20 different coups or regime changes, throughout the world (Blum 1995). However, it has also assisted in bringing democracy in many parts of the world. Looking at the world as such, one can name several troubled spots. Some of them are China, which in 1997 regained control of Hong Kong, and North Korea. Iran, whose Islamic dream of expansion poses a threat of displacing humanity from their original nation such as the Middle East. Libya is another trouble spot country often mentioned in incidents of terrorism worldwide; although things have changed since the death of Gaddafi but internal conflict is still going on. Sudan is also known for keeping terrorists and also for the Darfur region conflict between Muslims and Christians, which has been described as the worst human crisis in recent time.

Africa seems to be the most affected continent in terms of conflict as can be judged from the many African countries that are in conflict either within themselves or across their borders. Sudan, southern Sudan, Liberia, Senegal, Somalia, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, Algeria are just but a few of the examples. Most of these conflicts are internal: within the various states concerned. In July 2005, when the Southern Sudan government was formed, almost everybody thought peace had dawned in Sudan, but to date no peace seems to have been achieved. We are all aware of the problem now in Southern Sudan; the government seems to be divided, it was only last year December 2013 that conflict started between the president and his former vice. In Somalia an interim government was formed but conflict has persisted, time and again there have been Al-shabaab uprising . The Ethiopian army and the Kenyan Army together with the A.U. (Amison) have now joined to try and assist the interim government, but still the Islamic fundamentalists (the Al-Shaab) are up in arms making it even difficult for the

government to operate. It is further rumored that Eritrea, a long time enemy of Ethiopia, is behind the Islamic factions. In brief Kenya is surrounded by conflicting groups. Here in Kenya the woes and memories of the infamous 1992 and 2007/8 political clashes are still fresh in the mind of many people which were instigated by politicians,even the cases against humanity are still going on in the ICC. There are still skirmishes reminiscent of the 1992/2007/8 clashes going on in a number of places in the country. Many clashes in this country, especially those involving pastoralist communities, are widespread. In the North Eastern Region for instance, we have the pastoralist from Ethiopia fighting it out with the Kenyan ethinic groups over grazing, water, and livestock. The Gabra, Daasanach, Oromo,Samburu, Borana and many others.

In the North Rift; the Pokot and Marakwet; Turkana, Sebei and Karamajong of Uganda are always in conflict over grazing space and livestock. The cattle rustling in the South Rift; the Maasai, Kuria and Kisii people are also in conflict over grazing land and livestock. The Coastal region conflict is especially along Tana River District over land. The current conflicts in Mt. Elgon District have left Kenyans wondering as people of the same community, the Saboat themselves fight over land. All these conflicts are about conflicts of interest among communities and they manifest the pervasiveness and widespread of intercommunity conflicts in Kenya.

There are other conflicts caused by individual differences like what is happening in the political circles in this country where political parties are getting divided now and then due to personal differences and power struggles. More recently, the infamous "Mungiki" group has created insecurity, especially in Mt. Kenya region and Nairobi county. In these regions, people have lost lives in the brutal hands of the sect members who have not

spared even government officers and people assumed to be of other ethnic groups. Some people became internally displaced in the post-election violence of 2007/8 in Kenya and some are still living in camps as internally displaced persons (I.D.Ps) up to date. The inter-ethnic conflict of 2007/2008 will never be forgotten in the minds of most Kenyans. Conflicts along Trans-Nzoia-West Pokot border have a long history. However, the conflict intensified around 1980 (Kamenju et. al, 2003). During this time a large-scale conflict erupted between the Pokot and the Luhya that left many people dead, cows, goats and sheep from Trans-Nzoia driven away by the Pokot, crops, houses, schools, and other facilities destroyed as shall be shown on the photographs in the course of this work. Most of the people living here are either pastoralists or agriculturalist (Kamenju et. al, 2003). This study, therefore, sought to find out the causes of this inter-ethnic conflicts , especially between the Luhya and Pokot communities living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations of Trans-nzoia and West-Pokot counties in Western and North rift Kenya.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya are reality that has persisted for a long time in the country. Consequently, Kenyans have continued to witness ugly scenes of deaths and massacre in the name of tribal skirmishes. In 2005, over 100 people were killed, 30 houses burnt down in a fight between Samburu and Turkana over cattle, in Pokot, Turkana and Samburu Districts (Daily Nation, January 23 2005:3). The Pokot further fought the Luhya, Kisii and Kikuyu farmers at Kapkoi border of Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot Counties where 30 other people were killed. People were displaced in the same year in a battle between Gure and Murule clans over pasture in North Eastern Kenya. Fighting between the Maasai and Kipsigis also left scores of people dead, over 200 houses burnt down, and many families displaced along the Bomet-Narok Districts. Elsewhere in Likia,

skirmishes left 15 people killed, 13 injured and several houses burnt in a fight between Maasai and Gikuyu (Daily Nation, January 25, 2005: 1).

The West Pokot-Trans-Nzoia borderlands are some of the areas in Kenya that most acutely experience frequent conflicts (Kamenju et al, 2003). There has been concern about the number of people dying and those being displaced, houses torched, and the extensive magnitude of property loss due to conflict in this area which other scholars and stakeholders in the society have attributed to high levels of illiteracy and unemployment. However, as custodians of security the government seems not to have done much to manage the conflicts (Kamenju et al, 2003).

West Pokot, for instance, has over 100 NGOs operating in the area with the majority dealing with conflict and conflict resolution (CPJC Kitale Diocese, 2000). However, despite this conflict having a long history, the problem still persists yet little systematic study has been conducted on the inter-community conflicts in this area especially about its root causes. This study intended to contribute towards filling this knowledge gap and offer new information, which can be used to facilitate resolving inter-ethnic conflict in the study area. This study, therefore, sought to understand the various causes contributing to the inter-ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Luhya communities living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations of Trans-Zoia/ West pokot Counties in Kenya respectively.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. Overall Objective

The overall objective of this study was to investigate and document the causes of inter-ethnic conflict along Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot border.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To investigate the causes of inter-ethnic conflict between Luhya and Pokot people living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations.

2. To asses the impact of the inter-ethnic conflict on development among the people living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations.

3. To investigate measures taken by the various stakeholders to resolve the conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations.

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1.5. Research Questions

The research questions that this study sought to answer were:

1. What are the causes of the conflict between the communities living along the Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot border?

2. What consequences have resulted from the conflicts in Trans- Nzoia and West Pokot Counties?

3. What have been the opportunities and solutions offered by the stakeholders to the conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations?

1.6. Significance of the Study

The inter-ethnic conflict between the Pokot of West Pokot County and the Luhyia ethnic group of Trans-Nzoia County has persisted for a long time without being addressed. It is out of this realization that this study aimed at identifying the causes and persistence of the conflict. The fact is that there is no other systematic study that has specifically addressed this border issue. Researchers have written about Pokot/Turkana, (Awuodo, 1992), Pokot/Karamajong (Mwaura, 2001), Pokot/ Marakwet (Ruto et al, 2003), little or nothing has been written on the Pokot/ Luhya conflict. This study hopes to shed light and bring to focus the causes of conflict in question.

Besides being academic, the study intends to generate knowledge that can be used in conflict resolution. This would bring new development, improvement in socio-cultural, economical, education and political fields. It is hoped that the Kenya government, community leaders, church leaders, and all the NGOs working in this area would benefit from this research work in order for them to render better services especially in the promotion of peace and harmony among the people living in this area.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study focused on investigating and documenting the causes, effects and measures that have been taken in inter-ethnic conflict along the Trans Nzoia /West Pokot Counties especially in the two locations of Kanyarkwat and Kwanza. The study is entirely limited to inter-ethnic conflicts between the Luhya and the Pokot who border one another in the two locations. This is to say that the interest for the study does not focus other tribes neighboring the Pokot like the Karamajong' of Uganda, the Turkana, the Sebei, and the Marakwet, all of whom have had some conflicts with the Pokot.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter covers the works done by various researchers in relation to inter-ethnic conflict. More specifically, the chapter focuses on the traditional and religious methods of conflict resolutions and the measures taken by stakeholders to deal with the causes of conflict. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the theory guiding the study.

2.2 The Concept of Conflict

Conflict is multifaceted and may imply both perceived and real ideologies. Conflict refers to perceived and real divergent interests between two or more parties. It also refers to a clash between two opposing groups or a hostile meeting of opposing military forces in the course of war. It may also refer to a disagreement or an argument about something important (The Merriam- Webster Dictionary. 2004, pp 152).

A report from the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) Kitale office suggests that conflict occurs when human beings engage in stiff and sometimes fierce competition for resources that would satisfy their needs. This becomes a problem when such competition translates into a struggle when parties involved go to an extent of threatening to neutralize, injure or even eliminate one another. This means that conflict can be both violent and non-violent.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (10th Edition, 1999, pg. 299) defines conflict as a serious disagreement or argument. It could also be a prolonged armed struggle or an incompatibility between opinions or principles. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary

English (1st Edition, 1979, pg.228) defines conflict as a war, battle or struggle. It also defines conflict as a meeting of opposing ideas or beliefs, a disagreement, argument or quarrel, to be in opposition to one another or each other, or to disagree or to vary.

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English 4th edition 1989, pg. 245. has similar definitions for it gives it as a struggle, a fight, a serious disagreement or argument, controversy or opinions, desire, opposition, differences or clash, to be in opposition or disagreement, or be incompatible.

Conflict is also a state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people, which is sometimes characterised by physical violence. Conflict is usually based upon a difference over goals, objectives, or expectations between individuals or groups. Conflict may also occur when two or more people, or groups, compete over limited resources and/or perceived, or actual, incompatible goals (www.peoples.org/core/mediation/adr/22 July 2007:11pm). This is the type of conflict the study investigated. However, conflict could also be a mental or spiritual struggle within, often unconscious, resulting from the opposition, clashing or variance of opposed principles, statements, arguments, or the simultaneous functioning of mutually exclusive impulses, desires, or tendencies.

2.3 Traditional Methods of Conflict Resolutions

Literature on traditional conflict resolution strategy suggests that it was tailored towards peacekeeping and maintenance of the social equilibrium in the society. Each community has its distinctiveness despite the difference or similarities particularly in the ways

conflicts are handled. Mbiti (1991: 49) has pointed out a general belief among Africans thus:

"Moral order helps people to work out and know among themselves what is good and evil, right and wrong, truthful and false, beautiful and ugly and what people's rights and duties are. These values deal with relationships among people and between people and God and other spiritual beings; and man's relations with the world of nature".

From the above quotation it seems clear that the will of God is that people may leave in peace and harmony knowing all that pertains to each individual. The basic belief among Africans in general is that God is the God of peace and justice. The Swahili saying used whenever an injustice seems to prevail thus *"Mungu yuko"*, meaning God is present, to emphasize the idea of the God of peace and justice, implying that God will arbitrate. According to Kenyatta (1938:215), ancestral spirits were invoked to join the elders in the deliberations, who prayed for peace and beseeched God to bring peace. Similarly, among the Bakiga, Banyankole and Bahororo of Southwestern Uganda, when two families have a disagreement or a conflict, it is readily dismissed by saying, "God will judge between us" (Shenk, 1983:6) meaning that they will recognize the presence of God by resolving the conflict in question.

Anthropologists who apply structural functionalist perspectives to the study of social control have provided some understanding of conflict resolution and the maintenance of social order in pre-colonial African society. Conflict handling forum in Buem-Kator of Ghana and Togo is *"Benyaogba Ukpikator"*, which literally means 'to say no to a case between adversaries' (Mensah, 1996:32). The closest English equivalent for '*benyaoga*

ukpikator' is mediation. This provides adversaries with the forum to underplay conflicts and amicably convince each other that whatever may be the matter between them could be resolved without resorting to measures that could result into conflict. This procedure of conflict management is expected to eschew the adversarial deliberation and winner-loser mentality that are associated with adjudication and arbitration. This is generally flexible and adaptable method of resolving disputes between neighbours who live close to each other. It is thus, considered to be the most desirable mode of dispute settlement. This means that mediation is most likely to succeed between a disputant who's various residential and kinship ties require them to deal with one another in the future. In other words, it is a phenomenon of communities.

When social relationships are enduring disputants need to find a settlement to continue to live together amicably. The managers of conflict are lineage elders, medicine men, priests and influential individuals who are known for their wisdom, skills and trustworthiness in dispute settlement (Zartman, 1997:34). They normally enjoy wide reputation within their communities and have the capability to persuade and even manipulate individuals who have been summoned to attend the hearing (Zartman, 1997:35). The study attempted to identify elders who gave in depth understanding of the history and persistence of conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations border.

In case of hostilities with neighbors that resulted into fight such forms of conflict could be brought to an end by a third-party intervention such as respected and influential men/women. Men or women from within any of the two conflicting groups or from a different territory could be called upon to seek resolution through mediation and reconciliation. An instance of this mode of conflict resolution was demonstrated in the

war between a section of Buem-Kator and Ahlor of Ghana. This war was brought to an end through the negotiating skills of reknown and highly charismatic Roman Catholic Priest named Father Dogli (Zartman, 1997:41).

Council of elders resolved inter-community conflict among the Akan of Ghana. Apart from the important role performed by the intra- council of elders in the process of inter-neighboring community conflict resolution, the employment of accredited agents to represent and negotiate on behalf of a community seems to be nearly constant practice in West African tradition (Smith, 1997). It seems clear that the Akan resorted to all the known methods of diplomacy. The first and obvious one was the dispatch of diplomatic missions of ambassadors to conduct negotiations which would lead to the formation of alliances or the conclusion of treaties of amity (Boahen, 1973:8).

Among the same people of Ghana, there were special arbitrators and ritual experts who are called "Men of the earth who had no forceful powers of coercion" (Zartman, 1997:73). They cannot command men to do something and expect to be obeyed, but they are political as well as ritual functionaries. If a fight broke out, the men of the earth can restore peace by running between combatants and hoeing up the earth (Zartman, 1997:73). In the pre-colonial time Ibilio society of Ghana, there were also persons known as messengers or errand men (Zartman, 1997:74), linguists or priest sometimes played this role, especially if language difficulty was likely to arise. The person who was assigned this duty may have been chosen because he had skills in oratory, persuasion, language, literacy, technology and social management or because of his ability to deliver messages with dispatch or just because he had a respectable name and highly regarded in the society. Within the same context of peaceful settlement of conflicts, there is generally

among the Ouatchian of Togo exceptional character who creates peace. In Togo and parts of Ghana, this person was called *Dunku*, in Benin "*agbadjigbeto*" or "the community eye" (Zartman, 1997:74). This person will always mediate between conflicting parties in order to bring peace.

Similarly, among the Akan of Ghana, it is quite evident from oral traditions that peace making was the responsibility of a professional call consisting of the *Akyeame*, the *Ofenasofa* meaning the Sword bearer and the *Essen* meaning the court crier. It was usually the Akyeama (King's closest adviser on matters of constitution, political, cultural and customs), whom the king would dispatch to conduct all negotiations about war and peace, about the establishment of friendly relations within negotiations about war and peace, about the establishment of friendly relations within neighboring states and the conclusion of defensive and offensive alliance (Boahen 1973:8).

Another technique of conflict resolution relevant to the study is what Kwam called "establishing kinship as a technique of conflict resolution." The role of women here has been key to conflict resolution. The exchange of women between conflicting communities of people created a bond that often resulted into co-existence (Kwam, 1996:70). Sahelian history abounds with stories of conflicting or warring communities that resolved to end their conflict by encouraging intermarriages between them (Zartman, 1997:51). In Fulbe society marriages were often arranged between different groups of people to signal that conflict should be avoided because kinship had been established (Zartman, 1997:52).

As women's place in Africa's development is discussed and debated, it is important to understand the particular role that women play or are obliged to assume in the social as well as physical, reproduction of various societies. These strategies need to be analyzed in the context of options that currently exist, have been lost or can plausibly be networked. It is important to investigate what might possibly serve African societies today as replacements or alternative process for conflict management (Zartman, 1997:53). Inter-marriages cannot necessarily be counted upon to avoid or alleviate conflict on large-scale, they are limited towards enhancing sociopolitical relationship that minimizes conflict.

However, as Nkurunzinza a (2004) put it, a woman in her role as a mother, does combine the natural and the gendered role of educator. It's not all to bring forth life, that life must be nurtured in all its dimensions. It must nurture into a culture of peace. He elaborates that most of the African myths accord that a woman was created by God to give quality and perfection to life. That the gendered roles to play are already implied. That God decreed his work complete and perfect after he handed man and woman all that they needed to maintain harmony and peace, and to restore it in case of its disturbance.

Back to the study area while the pokots have the famous *"Labai"*(a purnishment instituted on one who wrongs another maybe by way of killing as a way of conflict resolution,the Bukusu's who are a sub-tribe of the luhya have three principles that govern conflict resolution. Relationship alliance,blood compensation and joking relation.

According to Barasa in his drumming up dialogue (2011).

Relationships among the Bukusu are anchored to one's locality but are also connected to geographically distant areas where a person's relatives have migrated

or where one's sister have married. These patterns of distant relationship alliances also tend to be maintained from generation to generation as the younger generation develop and relate with others at the larger clan gatherings. The geographical link is vital to understanding the nature of relationships within that clan's locality and also to the understanding of the nature of that clan's political leadership. While blood liberation is an aspect of reconciliation ignited by a killing. The Bukusu people's believe is that the spirits of the dead must be appeased. Instead of calling for blood revenge, however, economic compensation is made to stop the hatred .For example, if there is killing within the clan, five head of cattle might be demanded for a killing outside the clan-for the hatred would have more severe and dangerous consequences if it were outside the clan. The question of a spiritual, internal pollution adds further complications and demands higher rates of compensations to achieve reconciliation. Killing within the clan do not incur pollution because one has a chance to purify oneself on the grave of deceased, in order to guard against a vengeful spirit that might return to harm the killer. Killing outside the clan incur pollution caused by frequent visits of a foreign spirit.

A Joking relatives is a relationship between two persons by which one is traditionally permitted, and in some cases required ,to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence to respond in kind. Joking relations represent a type of "peace pact" based on prohibited aggression under all circumstances.

The phenomenon of the joking relationship is in essence what the whole world od competitive team sports appear to be for some individuals who cannot abide the concept of violent, competitive play that is accepted and loved by the world. Encyclopedia Britannica defines joking relationships thusly. (Barasa,2011, 292-294).

Encyclopedia Britannica defines joking relationships as follows, Joking relationships are generally found in situations in which conflict or rivalry is possible but must be avoided. In one form, it is used as an instrument of social sanction, with the joker calling public attention to an individual or a group that has behaved in socially unaccepted way. When such a relationship abstains between groups that has behaved contrally to accepted social practice. When such a relation abstains between groups, the joker or the critique, although disrespectful, expresses the separateness of the groups in a manner that averts actual conflict. The second form of joking relationship is often found in association with the avoidance relationship, which limits direct personal contacts and maintains an extreme degree of respect between categories of people. In such cases joking relationships are typically prescribed between people of opposite sex who are potential partners in marriage or sexual relations, while avoidance relations are required between persons of opposite sex for whom marital or sexual relations are forbidden. Both of these customs viewed as points along a continuum of respectful behavior ranging from avoidance to licence-act to stabilize relations that might be subject to conflict. For example, in many cultures a man must avoid his mother in-law and joke with his sister in-law, while a woman must avoid his father in-law and joke with her brother in-law. (Encyclopedia Britannica eb.com. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/305724/joking-relationship.) If such methods were applied in this study area conflict would not be experienced to the magnitude at which it is now.

2.4 Religious methods towards Conflict Resolution

Another method of conflict resolution is what the researcher calls religious approach. Where the moral aspect of human nature is investigated and the good values of the person

are employed. Conflict is an open reality touching all areas of life. The challenge of conflict as a moral problem is critical. I think no faith advocates for a non-loving God. If God is a loving God then we His children are bound to be loving an aspect that is missing in the areas of conflict.   The unresolved conflict becomes a hindrance to unity and integrity of the people.

The fear of diversity especially when it expresses itself in a narrow and exclusive nationalism or ethno-centricism that denies one's rights, leads to disunity and disharmony. The message of catholic Pope John Paul II is quite relevant to the conflicting parties particularly those in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza location. He affirmed that:

> "The unity and harmony of the human family requires that (Kenyan) beyond its ethnic, cultural and religious differences should form a community that is free of discrimination between people and strives for reciprocal solidarity. Unity also requires that differences between members of the human family should be to strengthen unity rather, than serve as a cause of division" (John Paul II, 2004:55).

The openness and desire of knowing better the cultural heritage of people with hom one comes into contact would help to eliminate attitudes of prejudices which hinder healthy avenues of consolidating conflicting communities to live in harmony. This process ought to be continuously fostered since such unpleasant and inhuman attitudes tend to re-occur under new forms. What this means is that there is need for every individual, as a member of one human family to understand and respect the value of human diversity and direct it to the common good.

Peaceful co-existence in this context requires constructive appreciation and development of what distinguishes people as individuals from communities and what constitutes their identity. In addition it contributes to the building of a united and peaceful community. Participation of people in respect of their diversities in various activities is key to unity and peace. The Catholic Bishops of Malawi pointed out that:-

> Participation in the life of the country is not just a right, it is also a duty that each Christian should be proud to assume and exercise responsibility. People in positions of authority; in government and administration, have a particular duty to work for restoration of a climate of trust and openness (Bansikiza, 2001:157).

Within the context of this discussion, respect for cultural differences is key to unity and peace in Africa. Symposium of Episcopal Conference of Africa and Madagascar (SECAM) has well affirmed that:-

> A church which allows and leaves room for a diversity of cultures offers the kind of witness to which our African continent is particularly sensitive today (SECAM, 1981:18).

All men and women are, therefore, called to belong to the new people of God. Each part contributes its own gift to other parts and to the whole church, so that the whole and each of the parts are strengthened by the common sharing of all things and by the common effort to attain the fullness of unity that prefigures and promotes universal peace.

Cultures have different ways of understanding the meaning of personal existence and identity. Herein, one learns how significant it is to safeguard the fundamental right to freedom of conscience as the cornerstone of the structure of human rights and the foundation of every truly free community. In this context one needs to understand the essential differences between an unhealthy forum of cultural identity that teaches contempt for other cultures and a proper love of ones culture at the expense of others. (Bansikiza 2001:160).

In order to bring down conflict there is need to develop positive attitude towards other people. It is important to answer the question, what attitude does God expect people to have towards others of different ethnicity and culture? Jesus Christ put the attitude perfectly when He said "whatever that you wish (people) would do to you, do so to them" (Good News Bible, Mathew 7:12). This requires that each put him or herself in the place of the other. For instance, the message of Chiara Lubich to the Hindus of Gandhi's saying "You and I are one. I cannot hurt you without harming myself." And in response Jainst, a Hindu, admits that "unless we seek to be united there is no possible redemption for humanity Brotherhood, co-existence, love, affection all this is our duty". In quoting Lubich, C. Bansikiza says only peace and love can save us nothing else. If the people living along the border of West Pokot/Trans-Nzoia apply this golden rule in resolving the conflict it would mean a way forward to a better attitude of co-existence. Buber (1975:108) rightly highlights the need to demonstrate respect for the other, which he calls "setting at a distance in order to be able to relate to the other (person) and make his/her soul ours."

This attitude of the other, as a person, is mutual and can become the basis between persons and community arriving at the shared unity in diversity. On a general sphere, Africa, a continent bitterly torn by ethnic hostilities, promoting a culture of unity and peace would save political, religious and oppressive social classes among persons. People have to acknowledge that God is not confined by cultures or human boundaries. God is omnipotent and omnipresent, he transverses cultures and people. Building peace and unity in Africa needs what Pope John II called,

"Civilization of love". He further asserted that "we must discover a spirit of hope and a spirit of trust. Hope and trust are the premise of responsible activity nurtured in that inner sanctuary of conscience where one is alone with God" (John Paul II, 1995:17). And he added "No person, no group is excluded from this mission of unifying love which has now been entrusted to us. We too must pray as Jesus did on the very eve of His death, with the simple and sublime words "Father may they be one in us as you are in me and I'm in you" (Bansikiza, 2001:163).

2.5 Measures taken by Stakeholders towards Conflict Resolution

The Kenya Government is a leader in this region in recognizing the problem of small arms proliferation as well as in working to co-ordinate a sub-regional response and implementing a national strategy to curb the problem (Daily Nation 27/4/05 page 17). However, though the government seems to have pursued a comprehensive approach to eradicate or control the proliferation of arms in the worst hit areas, the existence of armed groups and cross-border attacks, poverty and other socio-economic factors, present challenges in addressing the problem in a systematic way.

In the past the government has responded to the cattle rustling with operations that sometimes recover livestock, and or confiscate all seized illegal guns. Evidence from print media indicates that an improved police force that has been able to forestall crime in many parts of the country. For instance, in the past years, police have been able to recover over 1000 firearms in illegal hands through random checks in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations. Police have also embarked on an operation to disarm the so-called home guards in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations. These are people, initially armed by the state to restore peace by dealing with cattle rustling, who have instead used their guns to fan skirmishes not only in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations but also the same happenings is found in Mombasa, Pokot, Isiolo, Turkana and North Eastern Counties. Some firearms, reportedly originating from troubled Somalia, have been used to fuel inter-community conflicts in parts of Northern Kenya, the Rift Valley and Coast. Police quickly moved into Mandera where a number of lives were lost in the month of March 2005 following skirmishes over watering points and restored order. This was short lived as recently Members of Parliament and government officials lost their lives due to conflicts in Moyale and Marsabit districts. The same urgency was at work in Kwale, where groups of youth training in the Mlungunipa Forest were flushed out and key suspects charged in court.

The government has launched a new strategy expected to radically redefine past initiative against crime. This approach is called Community Policing. Indeed, for the first time, the public has been given a voice on how to make their neighborhood and business environment safer. Thus police reforms are chiefly to ensure that people in Kenya are free to move and own property anywhere in the country without fear of being harassed or having to lose their legally acquired wealth. (Daily Nation April 27 2005). There were

reports that the government decided to sack over 400 chiefs (Daily Nation, April, 27, 2005). The purpose was for abetting crime and inciting communities against each other. As Government put it, some of these officers are corrupt, partisan, and insensitive to the poor, while others incite communities against each other and are a bad example to the youth and the general community" (Daily Nation, April 27, 2005: 4).

During his tour of the North Rift on April 26 2005, the president of Kenya had a loud and consistent message that killing; theft, banditry and cattle rustling must and will come to an end. There was seriousness and a commitment in both president Kibaki's and the Internal Security Minister's address. This was encouraging as for decades the North Rift has been under siege from cattle rustlers, political inciters and a wide variety of criminals who roamed the area freely with illegal weapons. The law of the jungle prevailed and all was heard from the government was to "beef up security and send in the helicopters" (Sunday Nation, April 24 2005). The tone of the speeches seemed to indicate that there could be a major offensive directed against the communities living in the North Rift region of the Rift Valley province. The security machinery must target criminals and not communities. It is worthy noting that recently Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) member countries met in Nairobi to discuss the possible ways and means of ending the conflicts within the Great Lake Countries (Sunday Nation, April 26 2005). Some sources say that those with licit arms also have their own illicit weapons, which are perhaps better and more modern than the official ones.

2.6 Perceived Causes of Conflicts

Conflicts being a disagreement between two groups of people, there are various factors, which tend to cause them. Resource factors, refer to water, land and pasture. Access to water has been a cause of this conflict. Water is a very important resource required by both human beings and livestock. In the event of one who needs such a resource and ends up being denied, such a person can easily cause conflict. Conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza is partly caused by access to water. It was reported in one of the daily newspapers in Kenya that: "The renewed clashes began last week on Tuesday after herdsmen from West Pokot claimed that their livestock had been denied access to water points at Kapkoi, Kolongolo and Kanyarkwat areas." (Daily Nation, January 24, 2005: 2). West Pokot being a semi-Arid land, during drought, water becomes scarce. Hence, water scarcity has made the Pokot to move to Trans-Nzoia where the colonialists, constructed dams for their livestock. Due to the fact that the Pokot are found in West Pokot County, their movement to Trans-Nzoia County for water has been perceived as signs of aggression, hostility and interference, when perhaps is mere transhumance.

Search for pasture has always driven pastoralists to many parts of Kenya and beyond. For instance, the Samburu, Turkana and Pokot have always moved to Laikipia, Nyeri and Nyahururu. This movement in search of pasture by the pastoralists has led to conflict in these areas. They find themselves grazing their livestock on private ranches in Laikipia County. Evidently the Pokot have also been moving towards Uganda and Trans-Nzoia, for the same reasons, hence sparking off conflicts. West Pokot is a semi arid area, at times during long dry spell water points tend to dry up and grazing areas become scarcer. This leads the Pokot to start looking for grazing area and watering places and the immediate place become the neighbours farms either in Trans Nzoia or across the

border in Uganda. In Trans Nzoia they encounter the Luhya who seem less hostile as compared to the Sebei and Karamajong neighbours of Uganda. While in Trans Nzoia they encounter cultivated farms and various crops planted by the Luhyas who are more of agriculturalists than pastoralists. The cattle, goats and sheep time and again stray and enter the cultivated farms hence destroying crops. The Luhya take this, as a way of aggression by the Pokot against them; this, sometimes become the start of the conflict. This study attempted to suggest alternatives that could be found to alleviate this conflict of interest.

2.6.1 Cultural Factors

Culture is a very important element in any community in the world; the Luhya and the Pokot being no exception. The cultural values given to cattle for instance, by both the Luhya and Pokot have had a role in this conflict. Both communities have high regard for livestock. They use livestock for bride wealth, financial support, and source of food, clothing and for cultivating farms. The Pokot in addition particularly use livestock raiding as a sign of bravery and high social esteem.

2.6.2. Pokot World View of Livestock

The Pokot greatly value livestock *(tany)*. A person's wealth is measured in accordance with the number of cattle he have. Cattle is a blessing as well as a curse for the Pokot people in the sense that it has always been the source of the sweetest feelings when one has it as well as the cause of tribulation when one does not have it or during cattle rustling. For a Pokot, cattle are everything for existence; for it provides almost all his basic needs. Against this background, a Pokot child is taught; from his/her very tender age not only to respect and love a cow but also to cling to it even if it means death (Donovan 2004:17-18).

A young man is considered to be a real warrior if he brought home a herd of his own cattle. The Pokot young men go for cattle raiding expeditions with the mentality that they are brave as warriors by bringing back what rightfully belong to them that is the cattle. Then women will surround such a man and sing him praises for coming back from such a dangerous but worthwhile mission in peace with girls beseeching him to marry them while asking other young men to emulate his courageous action. Cattle's rustling in itself is a way that one proves to be a crafty warrior capable not only of defending a home but also attacking an enemy. A cattle rustling is seen more like war games and show of strength in which combatants try to outwit each other than theft (Ndegwa, 2004:12).

Another cultural practice among the Pokot that causes insecurity and conflict along the common border of West Pokot and Trans-Nzoia district is what the Pokot call **"Lapai"**. This is in itself a punishment from the Pokot side whereby if a Pokot stole from a fellow Pokot or killed a fellow Pokot he is sent out of the community for a period of not less than four years and when he comes back he has to pay this fine (harsh punishment to deter kinsmen not to kill each other and a fine to which up to 60 head of cattle demanded).
Like any other Kalenjin community or pastoralist in a wide perspective, the Pokot, culturally believe that all cattle belong to them and that other communities have no right to keep or own cattle (Ndegwa, 2004:11). This partly explains why they routinely raid other communities for cattle.

The history of the study area indicate that at one time the Luhya sold fake guns to the Pokot people. This means that it is the Luhya who introduced the use of guns to their neighbours the Pokot although these were local home-made guns, but at the moment the AK47 guns are the ones being used in the area. It is also rumoured   that at one time the

Pokot and the Luhya used to exchange cattle for safe keeping but it happened that some Luhya slaughtered the cattle of the Pokot and others sold them but when they were asked by the Pokot they cheated by saying that they died. According to the Pokot tradition, the Luhya were supposed to give the skins of the animals which they never produced hence a confirmation to the Pokot that they were being cheated and in return the Pokot started demanding for their animals by use of force, which made the two neighbours enemies. The findings even confirm that the Pokot people don't trust the Luhya.

2.6.3 Luhya World View of Livestock

It is worth noting here that the two communities have love for livestock. For instance, for the Luhya livestock and especially cattle play a big role in their lives. Almost all their traditional rites are incomplete if no blood of livestock is shed. It's also very essential that from the livestock they get food, clothing and financial support, when they sale them. They also use animals to till their land, and to pay bride wealth during marriage. For all this, a Luhya needs a cattle in his or her life. Makila (2003) also reports that in the old days, initiation for the Bukusu involved practices of war games. This have since changed in the modern times, circumcision for the Bukusu who are a sub clan of the Luhyia and are the majority in Trans-zoia County, now for instance is performed in hospitals. This indicates that there is no time for traditional initiation as children have to go to school (Egesah, 2009).

The Luhya just like other communities in Trans-Nzoia, have a high regard for livestock. On the other hand, as Makila reports, "The Luhya generosity and hospitality lured numerous alien destitute to seek assimilation into their clans whereas they symbolically considered themselves the "thigh of an elephant" that was capable of absorbing blows

from enemies without flinging", Makila (2003). As regards law and order, Luhya people were and still are all rooted in their ancient customs and traditions. For instance action taken against offenders was and is directed at reconciliation, restitution, compensation or prevention of disaster to the entire group. According to Makila (2003), the Luhya in their traditions had great attachment to cattle, for it provided almost all the necessary needs. Goats and Sheep were reared for use in ritual sacrifice, for exchange gifts and for barter trade.

2.6.3. Political Factors of conflict

The Pokot claim that the entire Trans-nzoia County was originally their ancestral land, but colonialists displaced them. Likewise other communities that have acquired land in Trans-nzoia County claim that when the colonialists left, the land was put on sale by the government of Kenya for any willing buyer. According to reports in one of the daily newspaper,

"Members of the Pokot community have in the recent past claimed that they used to live in the fertile area before they were pushed by colonialists to the drier parts of West Pokot" (Daily Nation 24, Dec, 2005: 2). On Christmas Day in 2004, some politicians from West Pokot were arrested and arraigned in a court of law allegedly for inciting the residence to invade Kanyarkwat farm on the border of Trans-Nzoia County. Another factor that has contributed towards political conflict in this area is the role of the politicians. These leaders in many a time have incited the two communities against each other. They have gone as far as encouraging people to acquire illegal guns in order to stage cattle raids and protect themselves against their neighbours, and have therefore, played a leading role in inciting communities to violence. By so doing, they have sent the message to the people

that it is right for them to acquire illegal arms and to stage cattle raids against their neighbours.

2.7 Impact of the Kanyarkwat/ Kwanza Locations Conflict

There is no conflict that does not leave behind an impact. For instance, during the Second World War, the Americans bombed Nagasaki – Hiroshima, leaving behind immense impact. In the Middle – East, the conflict between America and Iraq, has led to many people killed and property destroyed; and perhaps reshape of world political, economic and social orders.

In Africa, in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, many people have lost their lives including some Presidents as a result of conflict. Many others have been displaced and property destroyed. The infrastructure in general has also been destroyed. Government projects stalled due to conflict (Daily Nation, January 24, 2005: 1).

Eight people were killed and five others injured in a fight over water in the Mai Mahiu area of Nakuru County in south Rift of Kenya. Further, it was reported that when Longonot chief tried to mediate in the dispute, his vehicle and other property were burnt. At the same time, rampaging villagers beat a man to death. A catholic priest, Father John Thuo said:

A matatu traveling to Narok town from Nairobi was stopped at Mai Mahiu trading centre and four of its occupants were killed." Scores of houses in Nyakinywa, Lari, Kegesha and Karima were also razed and property looted (Daily Nation, January 23, 2005: 3). At the

Ireri Caves on the Longonot Hills, more than 500 villagers held an Assistant Chief and three policemen hostage for several hours for allegedly taking sides in the fighting.

In Mandera, 30 people were killed, 30,000 displaced in battles between Garre and Morole clans over pasture and water (Daily Nation, December 18, 2004: 12). During the skirmishes, an 8-year-old pupil at the Rhamu D.E.B School had his leg amputated after being shot on the leg. His mother and a younger brother were said to have been killed during the inter clan fighting that had rocked the area in the month of December 2004.

In another incident, one person was killed, five injured and 30 houses burnt down in a fight between Samburu and Turkana over pasture and water points. In renewed clashes in Loiyangalani Division, Marsabit District, armed bandits shot dead a 6-year-old boy and stole 800 goats (Daily Nation, August 8, 2007: 1).

2.8 Theoretical Framework

The Life Cycle of Conflict Theory postulated by Nkurunziza in 1999 guided this study. The theory holds that the conflicting communities must be involved in finding a lasting peace between them (Aredo, 2001:38).

According to Nkurunziza, a long term and a well-planned strategy in resolution that includes the participation of the communities concerned can work. Shortcut solution and quick successes like mopping up of arms caches might not yield the desired long term peaceful co-existence and elimination of armed conflict (Kifremariam, 2000). In the Life Cycle of conflict theory, Nkurunziza designed four phases of conflict and conflict resolution. These helped in exploring the causes of inter-ethnic conflict along Kanyarkwat

and Kwanza location border and the measures that are aimed at resolving it. The four phases are:

Phase one: Conflict formation - that is the beginning of the conflict that can start at personal levels. If not prevented moves to the second stage which he calls conflict escalation. In the case of this study conflict is said to have started between one Luhya man and a Pokot man who exchanged livestock for safe keeping and better grazing field but then the Luhya man sold the bulls and cheated on the Pokot that it had died of a certain disease.

Phase two: Conflict escalation – in this phase, the whole ethnic group will find itself taking part in the conflict. The conflict has gone out of proportion hence it calls for what Nkurunziza refers to as conflict resolution and transformation. In this study what was between two people turned out to be two ethinic groups, s ince the Pokot after realizing that he was cheated went and organized his kinsmen to come and attack the Luhya neighbours for the feeling that all Luhya were cheats. The whole issue escalates thus calling for resolution. This leads to phase three.

Phase Three. Conflict resolution and transformation –According to Nkuruzinza, This situation calls for intervention between the conflicting parties with a goal of reestablicing sustainable peace. Once this is attained then the last stage that he calls conflict reconstruction and reconciliation is entered. In our view this is all the reason why both governmental and non-governmental bodies are found in the study area working on the resolution and peace- building activities.

Phase four: Conflict reconstruction and reconciliation - In this phase according to the theory, conflicting parties have to learn to appreciate one another and live in harmony. This is where the study is concerned. In trying to find out what measures the stakeholders are taking and may be give a recommendation using this theory to see if peace and harmony can prevail in the study area. To sum up the diagram shows how this theory works.

SUMMARY OF THE LIFE-CYCLE OF A CONFLICT

Phase One:
Conflict Formation

Phase Four:
*Social Change
Reconstruction
and Reconciliation*

Peace-building

Prevention

Phase Two:
*Conflict Escalation
(Violent Conflict)
Protracted Violent Conflict*

Peace-making

Peace-keeping

Phase Three:
*Conflict Resolution
and Transformation*
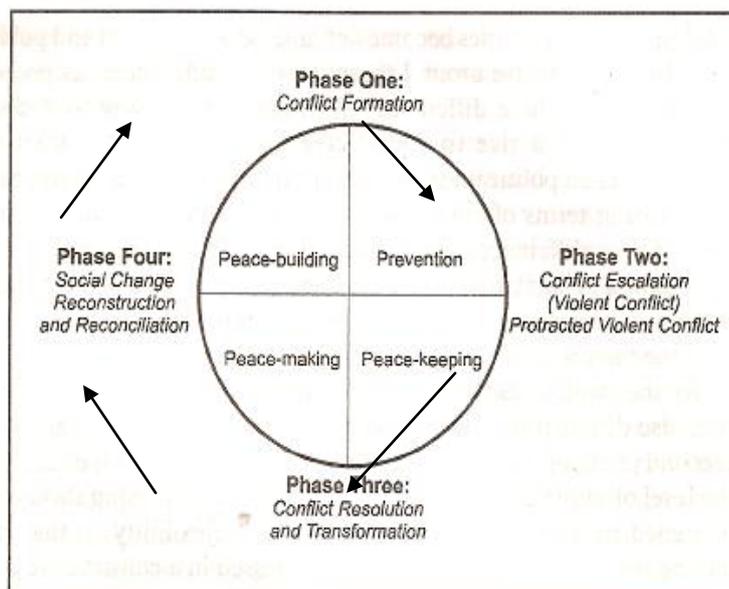
Source: Nkurunzinza (2003: 309)

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the study area, study design, population of study, sampling strategy, sample size, method of data collection, analysis and presentation of data and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

This study used both descriptive and survey research designs, which allowed the researcher to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The survey design was instrumental in opinion seeking questions, while descriptive design was adopted to guide the explanations for the nature and type of relationships observed among variables of interest to the study. The study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, a questionnaire with both open and closed ended questions was administered. The design enabled the researcher to get information on the social, cultural and economic factors, which have led to the conflicts along West Pokot (Kanyarkwat location) – Trans-Nzoia Counties (Kwanza division) border. Survey was employed to capture the opinion of people living in the study area.

The second phase involved the use of case histories in order to gain detailed information and understanding of the people's views. In this design, the focus was on individuals with unique features in regard to their experiences since they settled in the study area.

3.3. Study Area

The study was carried out in Kanyarkwat location of West Pokot County and Kwanza Location of Trans-Nzoia County. These two locations have been purposefully selected because of frequent conflicts between the groups living there. Luhya predominantly inhabits Kwanza Location, while the Pokot mainly inhabits Kanyarkwat Location. West Pokot County borders Uganda to the west and Trans-Nzoia and Marakwet Counties to the south, Baringo and Turkana Counties to the east and north respectively. It is located between 34° 47' East longitudes and 1° 15' and 2° 45' North latitude. The County has an area of about 9100 square kilometers and its headquarters is at Kapenguria. It has six administrative divisions namely: Kapenguria, being the study area, Chepareria, Sigor, Kacheliba, Alale and Lelan. The Pokot community is the main inhabitants in the County (Kamenju et al. 2003, p 18). Kanyarkwat location alone has an area of 206.6 square kilometers with a population of 6,297 this is as per 1999 census with a pop growth rate of 3.1% per year. These people(the Pokots) engage in buying and selling of domestic livestock. They also do farming of Maize, Vegetables, especially for the people in the upper part along Lelan area.

The County is predominantly pastoralist. Thus, livestock keeping accounts for a significant percentage of household incomes in the County. Land is communally owned except for small portions, which are individually registered particularly within the agriculturally rich divisions of Kapenguria and Lelan. The County has poor infrastructure. West Pokot has a great variety of topographical features. There are spectacular escarpments of more than 700 meters high (Kamenju 2003, p 20). Trans-Nzoia County on the other hand, is located in the Northern part of Rift Valley Province (Kamenju et al. 2003, p 20). It borders Uganda to the west, Marakwet County to the East, Uasin-Gishu

County to the Southeast, West Pokot to the North, Bungoma County to the Southwest and Mount Elgon County to the west. The County lies between latitudes 0° 52' and 1° 18' North and longitudes 34° 18' and 35° 23' east. It covers an area of 2487 square kilometers, which represents 1.4 percent of the Rift Valley Province. (Government of Kenya, 2002: 4). On average the District is 1800m above sea level. The District is cosmopolitan and is settled by ethnic communities that include the Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo, Kalenjin and Pokot. Land is demarcated and a large number of the population posses land-ownership documents such as title deeds. Most of the population in Trans-Nzoia are said to be living in absolute poverty especially in Kwanza and Endebess Location due to the unresolved conflict along the West Pokot -Trans-Nzoia District borders. Kwanza location alone has an area of 125.4 square kilometers with a population of 43,757 people (Government of Kenya, 2002: 4). This reflects a high population density.

Other challenges in Kwanza location relate to cattle rustling and tribal clashes in areas bordering Uganda, Marakwet and West Pokot. This seems to have retarded development due to frequent destruction of property and displacement of people. The average population density is 231 persons per square kilometer (Kamenju et al. 2003, p 21). Agriculture is the main economic activity in the Location. Dairy farming is also widely practiced and is one of the main causes of conflicts between Trans-Nzoia residents on the one hand and west Pokot on the other. Both Kwanza and Kanyarkwat Locations are on the borderline demarcating Trans-Nzoia from West Pokot District. The two locations have witnessed persistent inter-ethnic conflicts between the Luhyas and Pokots for over 2 decades. The two are also strategically located along the main roads crossing the two districts, thus, significant passage route preferred by the Pokot raiders. They have also witnessed massive displacement of families, loss of property and lives. This

study area is also a security tension zone all the year round, under police and Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) patrol.

3.4 The Study Population

The study population included the people living along the conflict-prone zone Kanyarkwat and Kwanza location border. These residents were chosen because they live in the study area and so were assumed to have the relevant information for the study.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Strategy

The study had 200 respondents: 100 from Kwanza location and the other 100 from Kanyarkwat location. This was representative enough because the study population shows similar experiences that have no great variations. This is based on the premise that dealing with a small group can still provide sufficient data for the whole population so long as the small group is chosen in a representative way.

The study used simple random sampling in selecting respondents from each of the two locations. The researcher would pick on one household randomly and then skip few others before picking on the next. This happened both in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza location until 100 households had been interviewed from each of the locations. On top of the 200 respondents, the researcher also had 10 key informants that consisted of 4 provincial administrators, 4 local community elders and two officials from civil organizations working the study area. Purposive sampling was used in selecting key informants from each of the study locations. Here, the researcher using the objectives of the study selected specific individuals in the study area as he desired for inclusion in the study.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

Various methods of data collection were used as detailed below:

3.6.1 Survey Method

This involved administration of an interview schedule whereby the researcher asked questions and filled in the instrument himself. This was used to collect information on respondents' background, knowledge of the causes of the conflict, the impact of the conflict, attitudes towards the conflict, security situation in the areas affected by the conflict and possible solutions to the conflict. An interview schedule was used to gain a general picture of the conflict among the affected people as far as causes and interventions are concerned. A semi - structured interview schedule containing closed and open-ended questions were administered to 200 respondents. The instrument produced both quantitative and qualitative data.

3.6.2 Key Informants Interviews

The key informant interviews were carried out with 4 community elders, 4 provincial administrators, and 2 officials from Non Governmental Organization. Key informant interviews took the form of face to face interaction between the researcher and the key informants. Having been purposively selected, the key informants provided in-depth information on the various issues of concern to the study. They mainly provided qualitative data.

3.6.3 Life Histories

Ten Life histories were also used in order to get the informants experience in life with the conflict occurrences. This involved face-to-face interactions with the purposively

selected members of the study population. These were four (4) old people that had settled in the study area in the early colonial times and were rich in information on historical experiences in terms of conflicts in the study area. They also helped in getting the strategies that the communities have used in peacefully coexistence and helped to understand why some of the residents of the study area had shifted to stay in market centers. The method helped in documenting key events, which the communities in the study area had gone through over the years.

3.6.4 Observation

Observation involved of systematically observing a phenomenon, event, process or physical object in their natural setting. This was used to verify the findings. It was used also to gain first hand information along the border, such as deserted homes, remnants of ruins after the conflicts, the kind of life being led by the victims of conflicts who remained in the study area at the moment. The researcher also used Snow –ball sampling so that the subjects were able to point to out the phenomena that were affected by the conflict. The main target here was the areas/places and victims of conflict. Victims of the conflict were required to identify others and to point out some of the destruction that might have been caused by the conflict. The researcher observed 8 victims, six of them being women who had been the most hit by the conflicts. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1991) the phenomena is determined by both observing and asking. The purpose was to collect objective evidence and verify findings by other methods of data production. Observation produced qualitative data which was recorded in the form of photographic plates.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis to be able to explain patterns of variables, and also in order to understand the historical behaviour, beliefs, practices and perceptions regarding the environment in which the respondents live. Quantitative data was categorized into themes that were used to understand patterns in the findings. Qualitative data were generated through observations, life histories and key informant interviews, which was then presented in the form of quotes. Quantitative data analysis involved the use of numerical values in summarizing findings of the study. Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies and percentages were used to analyze data, while matrix tables were used to summarize quantitative data.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

During the study, various ethical issues were taken into consideration given the sensitivity of the issues under observation. First and foremost the researcher had to seek permission from the Ministry of Education to get the Research permit to carry out the study. Secondly, the researcher had to introduce himself to the local administration starting from the district officials who then gave him a formal letter of introduction to the study area. Thirdly the respondents were given free choice to respond or not and they were assured of the secrecy to the information they could give.

There was also suspicion from the local government officials at some point to the extent that they seemed not certain whether to divulge some of the information or not. This was because of the sensitivity of the issues that were under discussion. However, after giving out the research permit and letter of introduction, they opened up to the

researcher and even went ahead to provide security where necessary during data fieldwork.

3.9 Operational Definition of Terms

Conflict: refers to perceived divergent interests between two or more parties. Conflict is also a state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people, which is sometimes characterised by physical violence.

*Ethnic***:** means belonging to people that share a cultural tradition.

Inter – means between; from one to another.

Inter – Ethnic conflict: means divergent interests or differences between people who have different cultural traditions.

Resolution: means solving or settling or finding answers to a problem or dispute. This study based its research on the conflict of two groups who have different cultural background and practices and yet they are neighbours, and they also need a solution to the conflict problem afflicting them.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAUSES OF CONFLICT ALONG KANYARKWAT AND KWANZA - LOCATIONS AT THE BORDER OF TRANS-NZOIA AND WEST POKOT COUNTIES

4.1 Introduction

Kanyarkwat Kwanza locations have continued to experience intermittent conflicts of different nature and magnitude. The dynamics and root causes of these conflicts are determined by the social, economic and cultural patterns as well as governance systems that enhance violence and conflicts. In this chapter some social and economic characteristics of people living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations are described. Some 200 respondents were interviewed; with 100 from each location. The chapter therefore, focuses on the root causes of the conflict in the study area. However, the chapter starts by describing the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants, as crucial background information, before embarking on the actual causes of conflict.

4.2 Respondents Sex

Out of the 200 respondents interviewed, 125 (62.5%) were male as the remaining 75 (37.5%) were female as shown in the table below.

Table 4.1: Sex of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Male	125	62.5
Female	75	37.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

Among the Pokot and Luhya communities, the male is the head of the household hence they have the responsibility of representing the entire family interests. Some of them also act as Kenya Police Reserves (KPRs); hence play a vital role in conflict situations. The male are also the village elders, chiefs and assistant chiefs. The cultural aspects in terms of household power relations of these communities prevent women from freely associating with strangers especially when the men are present they belief that women don't keep secrets hence can betray the whole tribe. This made it difficult to reach female respondents so easily as compared to the male. Thus, in most cases, potential female respondents asked their husbands to talk to the researcher.

Secondly, there are matters that can only be handled by the male including matters pertaining to security and conflict. Therefore, majority of the female were either confined to the kitchen or simply agreed with what their male companions said. This however, happens despite the fact that women are the ones that suffer more in times of conflict. However, the researcher made efforts to include female respondents. This was evident whenever the researcher visited a home; the researcher observed a female family member, excusing them to go in the kitchen to prepare something like tea for the visitors who had arrived, while the male engaged the visitors in talking. Whenever a question was asked which required the woman to answer when around, most responded by saying "I have nothing to say, all is just as *mzee* (husband) has said".

This was a way to understand the decision-making processes in terms of security and conflict handling in the community. However, among the Pokot, various informants reiterated the fact that women play a key role in inciting young men to go for raids. The following narrative represents the views of one of the Pokot elders.

...if a young Pokot man has to marry, the potential groom and women from her family would demand for cattle from any non-Pokot community. In that case, the young man has to go for raids in the said community and raid their livestock. When this is done by the young man, the lady together with others sing heroic songs of praise and happiness praising the young man for being brave. Many other young ladies in the process give themselves freely to the brave man as wives. Old women encourage the young ones to marry brave men who had succeeded in raids...this has been our tradition and I don't think it is easy to end it because even other communities have ways they use to show their brevity and unless you want our young men and women not to marry...

(69 years Pokot elder interviewed at Kanyakwat centre)

This means that gender plays a crucial role in instigating conflicts. However, it should be noted that although the raids appear to be a simple cultural aspect among the Pokot people, it is the main cause of conflict between the Pokot community and any of their neighbours.

4.3. Respondent's Age

From the findings, out of 200 respondents interviewed 5% (10) were aged between 15-20, 16% (32) were aged between 21-25, 17.5% (35) were aged between 26-30, 15% (30) were aged between 31-35, 19% (38) were aged between 36-40 and 27.5% (55) were over 40. This is summarized in the table below.

Table 4.2: Age of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
15-20years	10	5.0
21-25years	32	16.0
26-30years	35	17.5
31-35years	30	15.0
36-40years	38	19.0
Over 40 years	55	27.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

Table 4.2 shows that the majority (62%) of the people were aged over 31 years. Most of these adults were easily reached for interview simply because of the displacement by the conflict they stayed at home most of the time and/or in public meeting places. Age is crucial in understanding conflict in the study area. It was found out that the majority of the people in the study area enter into marriage life as early as 15 years old due to the fact that most of them are school drop outs, and also girls are encouraged by their culture that prefers marrying them off at early age to earn bride wealth to their family. This means that at 31 and above, where the majority of the respondents belong, one has a stable family with children. Among those interviewed were, for instance, diviners, and elders, while some were women that give blessings to the warrior/raiders and cattle rustlers before or after any raid. This is the group that gives directions on how the conflict is to be handled. They convene and participate in meetings that can both discuss how raids are to be conducted or make peace with their neighbors. They also have powers to approve reconciliation processes or make decisions to revenge.

With the majority 61% of the respondents being over 31 years of age, and given that they are non school going group, it means that they are part of the trouble shooters. Many of them spend most of their time in local brew place where they gossip and spy on the areas of attack or potential aggression, thus, pre-occupied by war-like sentiments. In the words of one of the respondents,

> "This is the group that does the survey of the area to know how the raids would be carried out".

The remaining 38% who are aged between 15-30 years are in the youth brackets. Apart from depending on the older group for advice most of them were found in the fields grazing the livestock while others were in schools. However, another group was also found at home and seems to be doing nothing. In this group, most of them were not married; however, they are in the process of getting married. In the case of the Pokot one informant said,

> "This is the group put on the forefront in the raid for if they succeed they would be the beneficiaries. While in Trans Nzoia this is the group that either organizes the stealing and thuggery in the area to earn a living".

The stealing and thuggery in Kwanza location involves guns, which is assumed to be borrowed from Kanyarkwat by the local youth in the location or from the Kenya Police Reserves. In both the Pokot and Luhya communities, the study found that people aged between 15-30 (38%) years of age are the most active members of the society. They either look after livestock or concentrate in the farming activities. Being the most productive group, they are looked upon for survival by the rest of the community. They, therefore, play active role in fanning the conflict, as they are both tribal warriors for the

purposes of defense as well as raiders who terrorize their neighbours during cattle rustling. Out of the conflict, some of these young people emerge as heroes, which give them special recognition in the community including from young women who choice them as marriage partners. Being young and vulnerable, the youth are also easily manipulated by their seniors especially the local elders and politicians through the use of tokens to cause havoc to people who seem a threat to their political ambitions. These findings therefore, show the role each age cohort plays in conflict situations. Age in this case is an element that contributes to the root cause of the conflict in this particular study area.

4.4 Education Level of the Respondents

Out of the 200 respondents, interviewed 44.5% (89) had secondary level of education, 23.0% (46) had tertiary, 2.5% (5), had university education.

This is summarized in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Education level of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
None	19	9.5
Primary	41	20.5
Secondary	89	44.5
Tertiary	46	23.0
University	5	2.5
TOTAL	200	100.0

The table 4.3 shows that 70% of the respondents had formal education. However, the majority of them had attained secondary school level. Education develops a person's character, morals and personality. With such, it is expected that one will embrace human values that discards retrogressive cultural behaviors and practices. Education improves the socio-economic standards of the people. This has, however, not been the case as the culture of the people seems to put the possession of livestock superior than education. Though educated, the cultural aspect seems to have more influence on the people than what education does. Such a scenario results into a mass of young people with less education, unemployed, poor and thereby easy prey to manipulate for cattle rustling and thuggery.

4.5 Marital Status of the Respondents

The study wanted to understand more about the marital status of the sample population as this could help find out how the conflict in this area could have been caused by marriage. It turned out that of the 200 respondents interviewed, (148) 74.0% were married, (34) 17.0% were not married, while (15) 7.5 % were widows, as (3) 1.5% were divorced or separated. This is illustrated in table 4.4

Table 4.4: Marital status of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Married	148	74.0
Not married	34	17.0
Widow/widowed	15	7.5
Divorced/separated	3	1.5
TOTAL	**200**	**100.0**

As much as marriage institution is cherished in both communities, it is also to some extent contributing factor to the cause of the conflict. Culturally, in both Luhya and Pokot marriages, bride wealth is paid in terms of livestock. Among the Luhya, bride wealth is paid up to 12 heads of cattle and at least two goats. According to some informants, some young men especially from the Luhya community collaborated with cattle rustlers with identifying homes so that they can have a share or paid some token when the deal is successful. Among the two communities, if one reached an age of marriage and he/she is not married then he/she is considered bewitched or something wrong somewhere hence all means will be sought to help out. Marriage therefore, is considered paramount in the life of a Luhya or Pokot, without which one is considered worthless. Given such importance, bride wealth is very much valued. There can be no valid marriage without bride wealth payment for both groups.

Among the Pokot bride wealth is even higher as bridegroom is required to pay up to 60 heads of livestock especially if the bride is a virgin. Now the question is how does one who is unemployed acquire all these heads of livestock so as to pay bride wealth? Since one needs to have some animals of his own before the parents adds some more, young men have no alternative but to go out to raid in order to raise the required bride wealth. This becomes a cause of the constant raids. Marital status has some economic value. Polygamy is a sign of wealth because the number of wives one has shows how rich he is. To have many wives means to pay more in terms of bride wealth thus, the temptation to raid is reinforced. It was observed that polygyny was practiced in most cases for the purpose of wanting of more children especially of a particular sex whereby one wife could have missed getting that sex. Polygyny is also common since women are also taken as source of labour in a family.

4.6 Occupation of the Respondents

From the 200 respondents interviewed, (54)27% were government employees, (26)13% were private sector employees, (36)18% were business men/ women, (62) 31% live on subsistence farming (agriculture/livestock keeping), (22)11% are others (not specified). This is presented in the table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Occupation of the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Government employee	54	27.0
Private sector	26	13.0
Business people	36	18.0
Subsistence farming/pastoralist	62	31.0
Others	22	11.0
TOTAL	**200**	**100.0**

Table 4.5 shows that many of the respondents 62 (31.0%) are small-scale farmers who live on tilling the land or keeping livestock. Tilling the land means that they use manual labour; hands, in digging their land, or sometimes use oxen especially in Kwanza location, in ploughing their small pieces of land. It is when they graze on the maize fields of others that animosity arises and sometimes conflict erupts. The cause of the conflict here is the grazing fields. Normally it is the pokots who would come to graze on the fields of the Luhyas.

In the study area, farming mainly involves the growing of crops like maize, beans, sunflower, finger millet, potatoes, vegetables and sorghum. The planting period is always in the month of March into April while harvesting starts from October each year. Farming is both for commercial and subsistence purposes. The cultivation methods vary from one farmer to another depending on the financial abilities. Some till the land using hoes; others use ox-plough and tractor. All communities living in the study area practice farming.

Livestock keeping involves rearing of cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys. Livestock keeping in Trans-Nzoia is done by the Luhya mainly for bride wealth, ploughing, and for sale, while in Kanyarkwat livestock is kept by the Pokot mainly for bride wealth, social prestige, ploughing and for commercial purposes. Livestock is kept throughout the year irrespective of the weather conditions and size of the land one owns. Farming and livestock keeping have created competition for land leading to conflict. Pastoralists have on many occasions grazed their livestock on crops in Kwanza causing animosity between the invaders and the owners of the land in Kwanza.

The animals shown below left on there own sometimes stray and graze the maize plantations that are seen in plate 2.

Plate I. Pokot Livestock that graze the maize plantations in Kwanza

Plate 2. Maize plantation in Kwanza Location that are grazed by the above livestock when left alone or when they go astray

It was revealed that some businessmen have taken the advantage to commercialize the whole issue by buying and selling of stolen livestock from Uganda and Turkana in the name of raids in the area. Livestock business is one of the contributing factors to the conflict in the area. Many people have diversified buying and selling of poultry as well as charcoal. In livestock business, the buyers are always the non-Pokot, while the middlemen and sellers, are always Pokot This is because the Pokots will want to make money in their own land. It was also revealed that one cannot be allowed to buy something directly from the owner; if you do they will either start a fight or waylay you on the way to snatch it from you. This buying and selling is always done at the two centers in the Pokot area, that is, the Kanyarkwat and the Cheptuya centers. It is strictly done in the morning hours, as evenings are not safe. Due to the conflict, most market

centers in Kwanza like Kolongolo were closed. This was a centre famous for sale of milk, clothes and other foodstuffs. In the past, it was opened on Sundays, but it does not operate anymore.

4.7. The Knowledge of Respondents on Conflicts

The study first of all wanted to establish how long the respondents had lived in the study area so as to capture their level of experience in the face of conflicts. It was found out that (5) 2.5% of the 200 respondents had lived in the area for less than a year, (11) 5.5% had lived between 1-5 years, (30) 15.0% had lived for between 5-10 years, (29) 14.5% had lived for between 10-15 years, while (125) 62.5% had lived for over 15 years. This is summarized in the table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Duration lived in the area by the respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Less than a year	5	2.5
1-5	11	5.5
5-10	30	15.5
10-15	21	14.5
Over 15	125	62.5
Total	**200**	**100.0**

Table 4.6 shows that the majority of the respondents (62.5%) had lived in the study area for over 15 years. This implies that most of the respondents interviewed had lived in the study area for long enough and were thus, conversant with the dynamics of conflicts in the area. The Luhya group that had migrated from Kolongolo in 1972 due to tribal clashes

had settled at Matisi in Kwanza location where they were given land by the government at a small fee. The following is a brief history on the way people settled in the area and how their settlement has brought about conflicts as recorded during an interview with one old man who lived in the area since 1928.

When I came to this area it had been occupied by a Musungu (white man). Part of Kwanza was a forest, which went up to Lelan area, and it was the route of elephants. There were lions also in the area. The white man had come in the place in 1919 and found Luhya and the Nandi in this place with cows called Ngombe za blue (blue cows). These are the people the white man sent away from the place in 1932. Then he started to bring in his own cows, he never employed Pokot people on his farm because they could steal his cows and they also never raided his farm because he was having guns. Trouble in this area started after the death of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. It all started when this land was distributed out by the government and given to people at a small fee. The Pokot never came that time to buy land, but afterwards they started coming to steal and force people out of this place with a claim that this land belongs to them. They started by coming in the night and could call one by his name but if one came out in response to their call, they killed him. They have taken peoples' livestock even mine was taken. I now buy milk to avoid trouble.

The Pokot claim that the whole of Trans-Nzoia District is their ancestral land from which the white settlers removed them. So they have always, through the conflicts, fought to reclaim their land from 'outsiders'. The land clashes of 1992 were an expression by the Pokot to demand back their 'ancestral land' from the resident of Trans-Nzoia district. The residents of Kwanza location have on the

other hand, always insisted that they bought the land and are ready to defend it at

all cost. In my stay here since 1928, I never saw the Pokot people as the natives

except the Luhya and Nandi as I mentioned earlier.

(89 Years, Luo old man and former manager of a white settlers' farm living now

at   Kwanza market centre).

The narration gives a brief but rich historical account of the complexities, which surround the study area in regard to cases of conflicts from a resource factor point of view. However, some respondents were mainly new comers in the area that is, they had bought land from the previous owners who had fled from these conflict areas. However, land ownership was said to be a very important aspect. The study also found that 150(75%) of them owned the land they lived on while the remaining (25%) did not. For those who owned land, 60% had between 1 and 7 acres, 10% were having less than one acre, while the remaining 30% owned more than 8 acres of land. Although land is prime for both Kwanza and Kanyarkwat residents, the people of Kwanza location seem to have lost hope in land investments. According to them, these are people prone to attacks and in many cases they actually own land, but don't live on it. The following is a resident's contribution on the same.

I have a very big and fertile land as you can see, but I can't sleep here. You can see all my neighbours are also away at the center. We are actually situated along the raid route where when the Pokot youth come for raids, they take away our livestock, rape our women, kill our women and our children cannot go to school anymore.

`These people have dangerous weapons and you cannot dare stay here if
you hear the kinds of gun sounds that we have been hearing. They have
also threatened us saying that we sell off our land to the Pokot as cheap as
20,000 shilling per acre and if we do not comply, they will use force to
take it. Most Luhyas as you can see have desperately sold their land and
relocated to the center as squatters.

(48 Years, Resident of Kwanza Location.)

The respondents were asked whether they had heard about conflict between the Pokot and
the Luhya community living in the study area. It was found that all the respondents had
heard about it. However, when asked about how frequent the conflict was, (1) 0.5% said
on monthly basis, (14) 7% said it occurs annually, while 1(88) 92.5 % said anytime. This
is summarized in the table 4.7:

Table 4.7: Frequency of conflict occurrence as reported by respondents

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Monthly	1	0.5
Annually	15	7.0
Anytime	185	92.5
Total	**200**	**100.0**

Table 4.7 shows that the majority of the respondents indicated that conflict in the study
area can occur at any time. In visiting the study area, it was observed that the area is
always quiet and disserted, with people rarely moving up and down. In some of the places
in Kanyarkwat location, the researcher had to be escorted by the Kenya Police Reserve

officers because the researcher was told that one can easily be attacked by the raiders. In another situation, the researcher encountered several young men hiding behind tree trunks and peeping suspiciously . In another place, a child appeared from nowhere in the bush and passed across without talking. When the researcher looked behind to see where the boy was heading to, it was found that the boy had disappeared. One of the Provincial Administrators interviewed during the study also said that "this area is a security zone", implying that it is insecure. It was later observed that the area is prone to attacks and so people are always on alert, taking no chances with strangers, hence young boys in the area are used as spies on any stranger who may appear in the area.

It was also found that the situation is even made tense by the fact that very minor issues can lead to community wide conflicts. Personal quarrels between individuals from Pokot and Luhya community were the most cited catalyst, where the parties involved in the quarrel go back to their community and raise an alarm to magnify the issue for reinforcement. This eventually ends up into full-blown attacks and counter-attacks. A transect walk in the study area would leave any new person in the area worried because whenever a Pokot passes, the Luhya people are worried and on alert just as is the case when a Luhya person passes in their villages. This implies that the people of the two communities are living in suspicion of one another.

On the dynamics of conflict occurrences, the researcher was interested in knowing the kinds of seasons prone to conflict. The findings were that (4) 2.0% of the respondents stated the rainy season, (60) 34.5% indicated dry season, (24) 12.0% named both dry and rainy season, while (103) 51.5% indicated any season. This is summarized in the table4.8.

Table 4.8: Season prone to conflicts

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Rainy Season	4	2.0
Dry season	69	34.5
Both dry and rainy season	24	12.0
Any season	103	51.5
Total	200	100.0

Findings in Table 4.8 indicate that many (51.5%) of the respondents said conflict occurs at any season. This implies that conflict is pervasive in the area as already stated under table 4.7. With raids being a cultural element, respondents emphasized the fact that this tradition is spontaneous with no time limits. It was found that the Pokot are good in interpreting events from their foot wear for instance if they want to go out to raid, the youth will approach the elders to interpret for them whether they will succeed or lose. The elders in turn will take their shoes off clap them together and then throw them down and from that, they will interpret. Once they say all is well, the warriors take off to go raiding whereby in most cases they will succeed.

This kind of outcome is contrary to the well known belief that dry season is the one mostly prone to conflicts. Those who hold such views might have judged from the fact that in dry season the pastoralists move a lot with their livestock in search of water and pasture and in the process, conflict of interest arises. However, in this study, the season is not an issue. As Kamenju et al (2003) seem to suggest or puts it the harsh climatic conditions hinders adequate security in the area hence making it easy for the raiders. This

is because the nature of conflict between Pokot and Luhya community is a cultural phenomenon and historical revenge and goes beyond a survival or livelihood strategy. The raids are a cultural practice, a prescribed way of doing things, which is crucial in the lives of young raiders. Being a cultural practice, it is spontaneous and unpredictable in that it has to be carried out whenever a need arises. This combined with their historical struggle to take over their perceived ancestral land in Trans-Nzoia County, makes their raids more uncontrollable and uncertain.

In an effort to find out the main cause(s) of conflict in the study area, respondents were given various possible causes of conflict and asked to rank them. In this analysis, the researcher has listed all the possible causes and in the table 4.9, the focus is on the way in which each of the causes was rated as the number one cause of conflict in the study area.

Table 4.9: Causes of conflicts

Responses	Frequency (N=200)	Percent
Population pressure	7	3.5
Land competition	41	20.5
Poor relationship	14	7.0
Political incitement	28	14.0
Cultural practices	110	56.0
Total	**200**	**101**

Analysis in Table 4.9 shows that cultural practices are the main causes of conflict (56%) between Pokot and Luhya people living in Kwanza and Kanyarkwat locations. In line with the above findings, all the key informants interviewed agreed that the Pokot were the aggressors while the Luhya were the ones on defense. The interest was therefore, to understand the exact cultural practices behind conflicts in the study area from the Pokot'spoint of view. It was clear that cattle rustling, also referred to as, raids are the main cultural practice that instigates conflicts in the area. These raids are generally carried out by the Pokot youths under various circumstances. First, as a customary demand in the sense that it's a prove for manhood and bravery and a kind of guarantee that one can start a home and also it is a manifestation of the Pokot's belief that all cattle in the world belong to them; finally, as an act of revenge and punishment. Therefore, whenever a raid occurs, it may be for one or more of the above reasons. Above all as Kamenju and others also points out those raids are pressured by the marriage factor which is the payment of bride wealth (Kamenju et al 2003, 48). This is in line with the issue raised in chapter four on marital status. It also means that the raids hold a significant meaning in the life of Pokot men and women. The following citation presents some of the explanations as narrated by a resident of Kanyarkwat location.

> *Pokot people believe that all animals, especially cows of the world belong to them. From childhood, a Pokot is taught to have a special regard for a cow, respect and if possible adore it for a Pokot without a cow is like being dead. All Pokot traditional rites cannot be performed without a cow. A young Pokot can only prove that he is a true warrior or a real man if he goes out to bring livestock of his own. This means that they have to go for raiding. Marriage in Pokot is also incomplete without payment of a number of cows. A virgin for instance attracts a lot of cows. All these factors influence every Pokot man to have livestock. Wealth is measured in terms of how many livestock one has. It's therefore clear that the Pokot are forced by circumstances to go out and raid. For fear that their livestock could be stolen; information about livestock is not freely divulged to strangers.*

In the past, elders often sanctioned such raids, blessing the raiders before they set off. However, in recent times inter- ethnic community rustling has become more frequent and severe, degenerating into a militarized like activity with devastating acts of human slaughter, rape, burning of settlement structures, abductions and utmost revenge. However, today's incidents of cattle rustling are driven by hatred, political instigations, unscrupulous commercial activities, general crime and availability of firearms. Plans and execution of such raids are done with fragrant disregard for traditional norms of war and respect for human life. Consequently, women, children and the elderly have become exposed to vulnerabilities precipitated by these conflicts. They have overwhelmed the security operations, eroded traditional conflict management mechanisms and adversely impacted on environmental resources. However, all that said and done, we the Pokot treasure cattle so much that we can do anything to get them; thus cattle rustling.

(46 Years, Pokot Man, Kanyarkwat Resident.)

From the above information, it is clear that cattle rustling has something beyond the collective cultural practice to the individual conviction among the Pokot people. Land is a significant factor of production in both an agricultural and a pastoralist economy. Findings in Table 4.9 show that competition for land was the second (20.5%) major cause of conflict in the study area. According to one of the informants,

Issues of land ownership have complicated security situation in this area. The Luhya people were settled here by the government in the early 1970s and have the title deeds to prove this legal ownership of the land they live on. While the Pokot have had one disadvantage that they don't have title deeds although we are sure this is our ancestral land. The problem arises when they are stopped from grazing in some of these places.

This implies that there is war of words over ownership of land by the two communities. In one of the walks in the study area, it was overheard that some of the residents of Kanyarkwat say that, they should feed our livestock on the farms in Kwanza because it is part of their land. This means that there is deliberate aggression by the Pokot towards the Luhya in relation to the historical land ownership issues. The competition here is not over the resources on the land but the real legality in ownership of the land and an extension of enmity. The Pokot have land, just like their Luhya counterparts, but they feel that the Luhya should leave them more land, which they claim to be their ancestral land.

The table also shows that population pressure, with 3.5%, is not a major cause of conflict in the study area. In visits to various villages in the study area, the researcher came across large tracks of land lying fallow while others had been disserted; with signs of previous occupations like disserted homesteads. In the same visits, it was evident that most of the homesteads are not at close proximity with each other. Thus, indication that population pressure is not a major security problem. For those that said it is, they were mainly talking in regard to centers at the market places where people rent houses in fear of attacks in the villages. In these centers, there are informal settlements that create congestion. However, the concentration in these places is not because of lack of land space but out of fear of attacks in the villages.

Political incitement is the third (14%) main cause of conflict in the study area. According to respondents, politicians capitalize on the "poor" relationship between the Pokot and Luhya community and on the conflict incidences to amplify issues for their own personal gains. There was a general impression from participants in key informant interviews that politicians come in strong in inciting their people against

one another rather than in providing lasting solutions to the situation. This means that the politicians are at home with the status quo. Therefore, the poor relationship that was cited by 7% of the respondents to be a major cause of conflicts in the study area may not be a cause as such, but an indication of the extend to which other causes have entrenched in the lives of the people in the study area. Politicians incite the youth to gain popularity that cheating on them that they will acquire free land if they succeed in displacing others. They also use the youth to fight their political enemies. They manipulate the youth in order to vote for them. It is however, important to note the fact that although various causes of conflict in the study area have been discussed, they all have a bearing to the overall security situation in the area although in varying magnitudes. It therefore, means that any effort to handle the conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza location has to consider each and every factor separately depending on how it rates to the people.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF CONLFICTS ON DEVELOPMENT IN KANYARKWAT

AND KWANZA LOCATIONS

5.1 Introduction

One of the objectives of this study was to find out the effect of conflicts on development in the study area. This chapter discusses how conflict has impacted on development in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations. In the year 2005, more than 10 people were admitted to Kapenguria and Kitale District hospitals after sustaining injuries in violence. More than 600 people fled the volatile area leaving behind about 400 acres of land unattended and waiting to be planted with maize ahead of the planting season. Kanyarkwat, Kolongolo, Kapkoi, Muram, Bondeni and Maliki areas were the hardest hit by the exodus (Daily Nation, January 24, 2005: 1).

The continued conflict along the border of West Pokot/Tran-Nzoia District has affected the socio-political and economic lives of the people of Kolongolo, Kwanza, Kapkoi and Keiyo sub-locations of Kwanza Division in particular and the country in general. The schools in West Pokot were broken into; books looted and later closed down. This has led to increased illiteracy level in the area. From the Districts performance records, the schools in the affected areas have less students' entry for the Exam and yet they still perform poor. The officers interviewed blame the interruption of learning time due to conflict in the Area. For instance according to primary exam results of 2003, pupils from the affected areas come out among the top ten. Those school-going pupils who used to benefit from school feeding programs in West Pokot had to miss the food because infrastructure like roads, were also destroyed. For fear

of retaliation the Pokot moved into the interior. In the past years a large piece of land was left vacant. Currently, they have started moving back to their land.

Since 2003, the stand of education has continued going down and although the communities are coming back, it is a very slow rate.   Towards the end of the year 2008 and the beginning of 2009 more people have been killed on both sides. The reason for the killing is nothing else but cattle.

5.2 The Respondents Monthly Income

 When asked to state the average monthly income in their households, various responses were recorded although they may not be accurate. Table 5.1 summarizes the findings.

Table 5.1: Household average monthly Income

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Below 2000	75	37.5
2001-4000	43	21.5
4001-6000	18	9.0
6001-8000	16	8.0
8001-10,000	11	5.5
10,000-12,000	11	5.5
Over 12,000	26	13.0
TOTAL	200	100.0

Majority of the people especially in Kwanza Location provide casual labour in Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) farms or other big farmers in Kwanza Division. Less than 2000 shillings per month is below the one-dollar poverty line defined by the United Nations, which is indicative of poverty in terms of income levels among the residents of Kwanza and Kanyarkwat locations.

Formally this area depended mainly on livestock as a source of income. From livestock, people obtained milk, which they sold to the Kenya Cooperative Creameries and other companies. They also used to sell skin and hide from the same livestock, which is no longer the case. On the other hand, they sold maize and other horticultural crops especially vegetables. This is not the case as per now, since most of the land, especially in Kwanza location, is uncultivated for fear of being grazed by the Pokot, while in other situations; the land is already evacuated and deserted. Businesses have closed down and people have limited income-generating opportunities. Major health centers and education facilities that used to provide employment for the local community are also out of operation due to conflicts. This is also the situation with building sand-harvesting activities, which used to provide income to many youths.

Observations indicate that the study area is a rich agricultural zone that is not utilized. For instance, while visiting Kwanza Location the researcher could see large pieces of fertile land that was uncultivated. From one of the key informants, it was observed that these two locations are endowed with a lot of resources, in terms of food production for instance, maize do well in this area, and in addition livestock was initially kept in large numbers. Currently, residents do not have food to eat, for they rely on market to buy food, and they even fear going to work on their own plots. The researcher was also informed

that gold mines exist in West Pokot. However, the constant fighting and the fear to lose investments hinder any significant progress; reducing the people to low standards of living.

Those who earn 6,001 and over 12,000 shillings form a small percentage (13%). These were government employees, security officers, provincial administrators, employees in Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and sometimes businessmen/women who own canteens or deal with business of buying and selling of livestock.

5.3 Effect of Conflict on the Family Institution

The family is the basic unit of any human society as well as the unit of production in any economic development effort. Therefore, by implication, when the family is stable and at peace, then the society is. It is from this premise that the study sought to find out the extent to which the family institution in the study area has been affected by conflicts. Out of the 200 respondents interviewed, 83% (166) said that their family had been affected by the conflicts while the remaining 17% (34) said they were not. This is summarized in the table 5.2

Table 5.2 Effect of conflicts to the Family institutions

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Family affected	166	83
Family not affected	34	17.0
Total	**200**	**100.0**

The few families who had not been affected by the conflicts were those who had just settled in the area. They however, expressed concerns over insecurity. Most of these families are in Kanyarkwat location, which is a Pokot territory. The informants who said their families had been affected by conflicts were asked to state the extent and nature of the effects. The results are summarized in table 5.3

Table 5.3 Effect of conflict on the family

Responses	Frequency (N=166)	Percent
Loss of life	7	4.2
Loss of property like Livestock	68	41
Displacement	32	19.3
Loss of both property and life	46	27.7
Other effects	13	7.8
Total	**166**	**100**

The family is highly valued by the Pokot and Luhya communities. As an institution, the family was found to be the basis for social organization; political alliance formation; economic production and distribution of resources: and personality and identity development. Table 5.3 shows that conflict between the Pokot and Luhya resulted mainly in loss of property particularly livestock. Livestock, particularly goats, sheep and cattle, constitute a significant source of livelihood for the Pokot and Luhya communities.

Therefore, it implies a loss on the family's source of income, food and other basic requirements. One of the informants said,

> Yes, I lost my three milk cows, two oxen, sheep and three calves. I cannot buy others because the raiders will still come for them and might even kill me."

It was also found that at one stage, a Luhya woman who had married a Pokot man decided to break the marriage after realizing that her husband had participated in raiding her father's livestock. Thus, conflicts destabilize the institution of marriage. Property was lost; this property lost includes land, crops, houses, and personal belonging such as bicycles. One-female respondent, a resident of Maliki village, narrated how raiders struck at her house at around 4.00 a.m. They shot at the door several times and threatened to burn them in the house should they fail to open the door. She took the threats seriously and opened the door. When they entered, her husband went under the bed. She was beaten up and told to pack all the valuable things in the house as the raiders stood guard both inside and outside the house. When she finished packing, the raiders took her husband's bicycle, which they used to ferry these property. Some of the informants said that the conflict has led to loss of lives among their relatives. The conflict has made many children orphans, women widows and men widowers.

> *I lost my husband two years ago (2004) to the raiders. My husband was a charcoal burner, on coming from his work in the evening he bumped into raiders who had attacked Chekata village and also engaged members of the GSU officers who responded to the villagers alarm on a running battle. On meeting the raiders, he was ordered to kneel down, while on his knees my husband was shot dead, his bicycle and charcoal taken and my children currently live at Kolongolo market*

centre and still feel insecure most of the time especially at night when attacks commonly take place.

(35 Years, Luhya Woman, resident of Piketi area in Kwanza.)

During the study it was observed that there is a large area, which has been left unoccupied due to conflict. This stretches from Maliki, Chekata in Kwanza to Kanyarkwat, Kotengere and Kerengere. Some families have been displaced more than ones. One informant said that he had been displaced three times: in 1992, 1995 and 2005. During these occasions he put up at Kolongolo market centre. His houses were vandalized and on resettling back he had to incur the cost of rebuilding new houses. He has since 2006 returned to his home. A teacher at Kanyarkwat said that displacement of people is a very common effect of the conflict. He added that once the situation becomes tense in the area many people do move to "safer" places. He said that during the conflicts the Pokot have always moved up to Uganda and further interior into the District with their livestock. Most of the time they do move to Makutano town, Ammidat, Riwo, Kereswa and Kacheliba.

The conflict has led to a large number of internally displaced persons both in west Pokot and Tran-Nzoia Counties. It was reported that some people since displacement they had never attempted to resettle but they only go back to the farm during the day to do some farming.

Plate 3: Abandoned Homestead at Gesarati

The surrounding are bushes showing the none existence of people

Plate 4: Abandoned Homestead at Chekata

This home has no footpaths to show that people leave here, rather is a deserted home but livestock are brought to graze a round almost on daily basis.

Plates 3 and 4 above shows abandoned homesteads while plate 5 below shows a displaced woman in her new home.

Plate 5: A displaced woman in her new home is shown above who has gone back to till her land but in the evening she should have to go back to the market center where she has found a new home. This is one of the houses rebuild by the catholic diocese of Kitale.

When armed raiders descended at Gesarati village; destroying homesteads, schools and the hospital in the neighbourhood, Some of which were burnt down, some owners killed, others injured, owners of some homestead had no choice but to flee with other survivors.They first moved to Kapkoi market centre and when conflicts persisted they moved further to Kitale town. Such cases were observed to be common, whereby some people even migrated to distant towns like Bungoma, Kisii, Kisumu and Kapenguria.

Many people have been killed, some injured, houses burnt down, others had their roofing materials such as iron sheets taken away. Due to fear of being attacked many people temporarily shifted to Kolongolo market centre which they spend the nights and return to their plots every morning to work on their farms It should be noted that Kolongolo Centre is the only place that has a police post, hence security is assured. It is also more in the interior of the Luhya community Many women were raped but the General Service Unit personnel rescued them. They narrated that it is not the first

time to be displaced. The Luhyas had fled their homes many times before. In 1992 they fled after the Pokot raiders shot some people. They moved to various towns only to return in 2003. The Luhya community have been destabilized by conflicts and cannot engage themselves in any serious farming activity on their lands.

Conflict has impacted negatively to the family and marriage institutions in that most of the households are poor, with many cases of early marriages among young boys and girls; displaced families; and the number of widow/widowers left after the death of the spouse is large. Although women in the literature reviewed are portrayed as potential hope for unity and peace, in these findings, women are instead used to spy on the other communities. Women were said to be the informants, inciters, and custodian of those involved in conflicts despite the fact that they are the most affected victims when raped, displaced, and their children, spouses, or are themselves killed.

It was also observed that conflict has led to about 300 families to be internally displaced in both in West Pokot and Tran-Nzoia District. It was revealed to me that displaced persons in most cases don't prefer going back to their former farms (homes) in fear of further attack and out of trauma over what they had witnessed when conflicts previously happened.

Plate 6: Abandoned house Kolongolo

5.4 Effects of Conflict on Business

Business operations require a secure environment. However, with insecurity in the study area, business has been greatly affected. Some markets that were booming with business have closed down. For instance, Chumuni market located at the border along Maliki village in Kwanza location and Kotengere village at Kanyarkwat location. These market centers were closed in 1985. Naboi, Katukomar, markets all in Kanyarkwat location, were also closed in 1992 and have never been reopened.

Other markets in Kanyarkwat, which were closed down in 1992 due to the conflict and reopened in 2004, include Kolongolo, Keiyo and Kapkoi market centers. Although as a resent of the conflicts, the operations are very minimal as compared to those days when the conflict had not started. Thus some prominent businessmen have relocated to more secure places like Kitale, Kiminini in Trans Nzoia County and Makutano and Chepareria in West Pokot Country. Business operations have been affected to the extent that there is fear of investments; lack of income to buy goods; lack of secure market place of operation; and few hours of business operation due to insecurity.

Plate 7: Not even a single building can be seen in this former market place

Plate 7 above shows a destroyed Chumuni market centre in Kwanza location which is one of the centers that have been destroyed completely and closed down in this study area.

5.5 Effects of the Conflict on Agricultural Production

From the observations and interviews conducted the study area can be very productive. However, the agriculture sector is one most affected sector of development here. Most farmers have left their farms uncultivated, others who risk working on their farms fear attacks while working on their farms. Livestock keeping is also a risk venture especially in Kwanza location. This has led to poor food production leading to food insecurity and thus, hunger in an area that has high agricultural potential. Informants interviewed revealed that in 1990 milk production was very high because there were many livestock in the area. Conflict has contributed to livestock theft lowering milk production in the area resulting in the high cost of milk. From the livestock officer in the area, there has been a drop of about 25-50 cattle every year although the owners have been trying to

restock but this time with the indigenous cows which cannot produce enough milk like the high breed grade cattle previously kept.

Beginning of the year, 2008 for instance, my research assistant lost his four oxen that he used for ploughing his land. This was early morning while he was ploughing the land; men came at gun point and took his oxen leaving him helpless, and injuring his boys, one was shot in the leg and lost it. The other boy was left unconscious. This was an attack by the Pokot raiders extented on the man from Trans-Nzoia Kwanza location.

Therefore, agriculture being the main source of livelihood for the Luhya people, while livestock husbandry for the Pokot, both communities have large parcels of land in Kwanza, yet no farming activities are taking place on these farms due to the fear of conflicts. Plates 8 and 9 show some of the farms, which were invaded and grazed on by livestock from Pokot community. These were sunflower and millet farms respectively.

Plate 8:. Sunflower farm in Kanyarkwat

Plate.9: Finger millet in Maliki area of Kwanza location

Plate 8 and 9 above shows how rich the soil in Kwanza location can be; this is one of the major causes of conflict in the area.

5.6 Effects of Conflict on Infrastructure

The effects of the conflicts could be observed on infrastructure in the study area. Roads are in poor state. It is difficult, for example, for the employees of the Ministry of Works and the Local Authority sent to grade and gravel roads in Kanyarkwat to risk moving into the interior of the area for fear of being attacked. There are no roads in the area and even the police have a rough time in following cattle rustlers.

This is to say that the poor transport and network communication impacts negatively on all sectors of life. Another very important commodity in life is water but there is no reliable supply of water since dams that had been constructed in colonial times have since been destroyed as was observed by the researcher while others are silted. Water pipes were destroyed or vandalized while those people who were operating water pumps in Kwanza had been transferred to other places due to the conflict.

Plate 10: Dam neglected at the border of the two locations

Plate 10 shows a neglected dam at the border of the two locations. People fear visiting search places since the raiders are said to hide in such places in order to get the livestock that are brought for watering.

5.7 Effects of Conflict on Employment Opportunities

Unemployment is another problem in this area. According to the respective Counties development plans from the government planning office records, West Pokot has over 57% of its population living below the poverty line, while in Kwanza it is 56% of the population living in abject poverty. There is low investment to attract most of the school dropouts in this area. As Kamenju et al also reports the youth drop out of school at an early age and remain idle. This high rate of unemployment has compounded the problem of conflict in the area. (Kamenju et al, 2003:49) This has led to high unemployment rate in the area. This has also had an implication on the re-current conflict in the area since many young men look for alternative means of survival such as raids. It was also established from the Trans Nzoia County Planning records that the unemployment rate was as high as 73.1% in some cases.

It was reported that in April 2005, a young man (barber) who came across raiders on his way from Kanyarkwat to shave his customers was robbed of money, equipment, a bicycle then shot dead. This had made many young men fear venturing into some business or alternative self-employment activities like sand harvesting and charcoal burning available to them in the area.

It was also reported in Kanyarkwat that most government employees are non-Pokot. This was attributed to the few number of Pokot who have attained higher education, hence merited for government employment. In the event of the conflict, it was revealed that some of the government employees posted in the area have declined to take up their positions opting to be posted elsewhere. This has hampered service delivery in key economic and social sectors in the area.

5.8 Impact of Conflict on Health

Health centers are some of the most hit by the conflict in this area. It was found that Kanyarkwat and Gesarati health centers were closed down due to the conflicts. Gesarati was closed in 2005 and reopened in the following year, after it was vandalized, medicine and other valuable equipment taken by the raiders. The medical officer had to be transferred to other "safer" places. Many people walk long distances looking for medical services either to Kwanza dispensary, Kitale or Kapenguria District Hospitals.

Plate 1: Abandoned dispensary at Gesarati-on the roof are stones that were used to scare off the workers

Plate 11 shows Gesarati dispensary that was looted and vandalized by the Pokot youth in the year 2005. Health personnel though not injured fled the area. They were later posted to other health centres in other parts of the country. Most people have not returned to their land/homes as most homes are abandoned in the neighborhood of the health facilities.

5.9 Effects of Conflict on Education

During raids, education and learning in schools have been interrupted. Many schools have been closed down due to conflicts. During the interview, majority of the respondents said that the schools which are frequently affected by the conflict include Kolongolo, Koros, Mlimani, Sirakati, Maramu, Gesarati and Bondeni in Kwanza location, while in Kanyarkwat, they are Kanyarkwat, Katukomar, Kerengere and Kotengere. Pupils and teachers alike have been affected by the conflicts as some of them have even lost lives.

It was revealed that in 1992, raiders took hostage Kolongolo primary school during school day. It took the security officers quite some time to recapture the school from the raiders. This made many qualified teachers who have been posted to these schools decline taking up their positions. Observation showed that the conflict has contributed to understaffing in the local schools. This has made many schools to resort to employing untrained school leavers as teachers a situation that impacts negatively on the quality of

education in the study area. Conflicts make teachers report for work at 10.00 am and leave at 2.00 pm. This was observed to be true as head teachers from Kanyarkwat location stay in Kwanza area after assessing their safety. It was also reported that the maximum number of days one can go to school is three days in a week due to the insecurity of the area and at times travelling on food while going for pay also consumes time. This makes classroom attendance very poor.

Some of the school committee members from Kanyarkwat schools reported that inspection of schools by education officers is very poor due to both the conflicts and poor roads. They also asserted that there is only one secondary school in Kanyarkwat area, the rest of the schools having been destroyed due to conflicts as evident in Plates 12 and 13. This reduces the chances of young people continuing with education after primary school in the area. School enrolment has also been affected by the conflict. In Kerengere and Kotengere (Kanyarkwat location), Maramu, Gesarati and Sirakati (Kwanza location) primary school, most classes have their pupils either transferred to other places or dropped out of school. It was therefore, revealed that school dropout rate is very high in the area due to conflict. From the Education Officers in the two districts, it was established that primary school drop out is at an average of 4.35%, while secondary school drop out is 5.8%. Transition rate is 47% for primary and 11% for the secondary.

The conflict has led to increased social evils where some school going children have been sexually assaulted by the raiders either at home or on their way home. It was reported that some children who have dropped out of school due to conflict have resorted to prostitution, house help jobs and herds' boys while others have chosen to marry early giving rise to teenage families composed of young boys and girls as parents.

Plate 12 and 13 below, is a clear indication of the destruction in schools. Iron sheets removed from the Kerengere and Bondeni primary schools were found abandoned and being destroyed as if nobody cares. It was reported that armed raiders scare children from going to school while in other places the raiders interrupt learning in schools by attacking them. On the Bondeni primary school, bullet holes are clear on the walls indicating some school children could have been assaulted and killed in the raids.

Plate 12: Destroyed Kerengere primary and secondary school-iron sheets are said to have been taken by the raiders for use at their own places.

Plate 13: Destroyed Bondeni primary school in Kwanza location

5.10 Impact of Conflict on Religion

Some churches have been destroyed by raiders, abandoned or relocated to "safer" places in the area. Examples were cited during the research. Evidence in plate 14 which shows the Bible Baptist Church, which was destroyed by the raiders in 1992 at Maliki village.

Plate 14: Ruined Baptist Church

During the raid, People were injured and others killed. The church property that was locked inside was taken away. The church was later relocated to Kolongolo Primary School in 1993. Church members had to conduct 'harambee'(a collection of money from well-wishers) to buy a piece of land as well as build a new church.

A catholic catechist at Kanyarkwat said that raiders destroyed Kanyarkwat Catholic Church in 1992. Church members were forced to have their Sunday prayers at Kapkoi Catholic Church 10 km away. This church was rebuilt in 2002 at the same spot. The church catechist had this to say.

> *When the church was rebuilt, after one year [2003] two boys decided to pull*
> *down its doors and windows. This time round church members both the Pokot*
> *and Luhya convened a meeting and resolved to investigate privately so as to bring*

to the police those behind the destructions of the church doors and windows. After one week two boys were found selling the church doors and windows. They were arrested and taken to Kanyarkwat police station. They were later taken to court and charged with the offence. The church has never been destroyed again.

Religious groups have been on the forefront in provision of basic amenities like education and health facilities in the study area. However, from the above findings, these have not bailed out the religious from being attacked.

Thus denominations have been very reluctant to work in the area. For instance, the Muslims are confined in Makutano town and few in Kwanza Centre. Only the Catholics and the Church of the Provinces of Kenya could be spotted, within the area but with scattered membership. It was reported that the Pokot "Sapana"(a pokot graduation ceremony from childhood to adulthood) and "Lapai"(a pokot curse for all those who kill their own, it calls for heavy penalty in terms of cattle) are very strong traditional practices hence most people go to church only to get some assistance like food or money. The Luhyas reportedly go to church to seek sympathy and protection.

5.11 Impact of Conflict on the Peoples' Culture

When the respondents were asked whether it was worthy to fight for their own people and culture than lose them to others, (99) 49.5% disagreed, (81) 40.5% agreed while (20) 10.0% were undecided. This is presented in the table below.

Table 5.4: Is it worthy to fight for your culture?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	99	49.5
Agree	81	40.5
Undecided	20	10
Total	**200**	**100**

From table 5.4 it is clear that most people (49.5%) disagreed with the statement that it is worthy to fight for their own people and culture. This indicates a general change in attitude toward stopping of the fights. To fight for ones people and culture is a thing of the past and should not be given time and space in the current world. Young boys and girls today should be allowed to fight with illiteracy in classrooms. The issue of taking up arms, *rungus* (Club- always used as a weapon) and other weapons to fight in the field has been overtaken by events.

Most of the respondents who responded to these questions were from Kwanza location, which had been on the receiving end in times of conflicts. It was also revealed that

> Any conflict that cannot bring peaceful co-existence among member of different communities should be left to die while any cultural practice that is friendly to members of diverse communities should be maintained,"

This adds to the desire for peace and critic to cattle rustling. However, the majority of the respondents from Kanyarkwat were the ones that constituted the 40.5% that agreed that it

is worth to fight for their own people and culture than lose them to others. From these findings, it is clear that conflicts mark some Pokot cultural elements, as being outdated and detrimental to the community's co-existence with others. Consequently, when people are displaced and live in informal settlements, children lack role models. Displacement, death, and loss of property also encourage a culture of violence, hatred and death among young generations. Therefore, development in its conventional terms cannot be realized in such a cultural context.

5.12 Impact of Conflict on Security

Conflict is ideally the opposite of security. When asked about presence of fear and insecurity in this area, the findings were as recorded in the Table 5.4.

Table 5.5: presence of Fear and insecurity

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	6	3
Undecided	12	6
Agree	182	91
Total	200	100

Analysis in table 5.4 shows that (91%) of the respondents supported the idea that they lived in fear and felt insecure in their area of residence. The sense of insecurity and fear can be grouped into three: Physical, Psychological and social insecurity for the sake of this study.

5.12.1 Physical Fight

Many people said that conflict has led to physical fight between Pokot and Luhya communities. This has caused in security in the area. In these fight, guns, *pangas,* machetes, clubs and even fire is used. Consequently, houses are burnt down, people killed, while other property is either lost or destroyed. Men fight while in *changaa* and *busaa* drinking places (this are the local brews common in the area). Such fight, in some cases have generated into community wide conflict. The study also recalls that the presence of the security officer, in the area is not a guarantee to security because they are few in numbers, and are overwhelmed.

5.12.2 Psychological Insecurity

It was found that most people live in fear and suffer from psychological insecurity. One widow from Kapkoi village said.

> *My husband was killed in 2005 by raiders who torched our house at night. On the fateful night my husband sensed that there were strange people in our compound. He decided to find out who they were. No answer was given. Then he decided to get out of the house to confirm if people were outside and on opening the door he was shot dead and the house set on fire. These people ran into the darkness when we raised an alarm, which attracted neighbours. The neighbours helped put off the fire spreading into other house. After a short while police officer came. Nobody was arrested in connect ion with the killing of my husband. Since then we have lived in fear of further attacks. Since then, I live in the market centre and only come to this home to do some farming between 10.30 am to 4.00 p.m. This is the time which we consider to be "Safe" otherwise from 4.00 P.m to 9.00 A.m raiders can strike.*
>
> *(75 Years, Pokot Elder).*

This means that the fear is due to psychological trauma that most of the households have gone through in the hands of attackers. Victims of the conflicts have all the reasons to fear as they narrated ordeals they have undergone in the hands of attackers. Rape and other evils are very common as a result of the conflict. It was reported by a member of Maliki Village, that in 2005, while people were sleeping in the night, they were woken up by gunshots which were being fired at their house. Orders from outside came that the doors be opened. When the doors were opened, raiders entered the house and raped the woman and her two daughters.

Although this family has resettled back into their home, the attack has left a permanent sense of fear in them. It will take some of the victim's years to heal from such psychological effects of this conflict. Some children watched their parents killed in cold blood, houses set ablaze and their mothers and elder sisters raped. Such kind of memory takes long to fade off.

5.12.3 Social Insecurity

Majority of the respondents who were interviewed said that they live under state of suspicion and mistrust. During the study, the research came across two widows, a Pokot and a Luhya, whose husbands died in a violent attack. The two women separately said they cannot share a meal with one another, which indicates they cannot freely socialize. It is out of fear that it was reported in the media that a senior politician, raised complaint when the army officer were withdrawn from the area on the notion that security in the area had improved. The politician feared that, unless other army officers were deployed in the area, the armed bandits would take advantage of the insecurity vacuum and cause the

security situation to deteriorate to its former state where at least four people were killed by bandits in a month (Daily Nation, April 5, 2007). Many people are also said to have moved their families out of the place because of fear of being attacked. In the local market centers, people are congested in informal settlements and in some of the cases, families share a two-roomed rental house. This has implications in the up-bringing of children and overall social wellbeing. To conclude about this chapter, overall conflicts have had a direct bearing on security in the study area. This has been the most hit aspect of development that underlies all the odds that have been described about Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations.

The persistence of conflict in this area has caused destruction in the entire area. Development of the area is lagging behind due to conflict. People live in fear and insecurity. Fear of one another, neighbours, or security personnel who are patrolling the area. Many people have been traumatized especially having been displaced, lost their loved ones, raped or dropped out of school. One is left to wonder whether there will be any forgiveness in this area. How will the destroyed be rebuild and when? The abandoned homes pose a strong mark to the people of the area. The social links such as intermarriage which was building bonds and destroying ethnicity has been in itself destroyed. It needs a strong will for the people of the area to sit and agree in order to live in harmony and peace. In the next chapter, this study looks at the measures, which have been taken by the stakeholders to accept to resolve the conflict, that has devastated the population under study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONFLICT RESOLUTION MEASURES UNDERTAKEN IN KANYARKWAT

AND KWANZA LOCATIONS

6.1 Introduction

One of the objectives of the study was to find out the measures undertaken by various stakeholders in curbing conflicts in the study area. This chapter has discussed what has already been done and what is being done. It also points out the weakness and success of all the steps taken by the stakeholders.

6.2 Government Efforts in Conflict Resolution in the Study Area

The control mechanism the government has used is the issuing of guns to Kenya police Reserves (KPRs). The KPRs are recruited and coordinated through the Kenya police force. They (KPRs) are issued with arms and charged with the responsibility of protecting and maintaining security within the community. From one of the informants the problem is that these KPRs are not remunerated in any way for the services they provide. They are under no proper command and are ill trained. Given the harsh economic realities in the area and in many parts of the country, this opens the way for possible misuse of the KPRs initiative.

Informants observed that there has been occasional security operation aimed at disarming the citizens. This is a strategy the government has deployed with limited success because it is usually carried out unprofessionally. Very few weapons are recovered during such operations, as citizens ensure that they are safely hidden from the security personnel. In

fact, such operations only help to alienate the community from the government and from each other, given the suspicion that prevails amongst people of these two communities.

Ideally, the government has monopoly of power machinery, and is therefore, the custodian of instruments of security. Charged with this primary obligation to guarantee security to its citizenry, the government is therefore, the main stakeholder in ensuring peace in the study area. It was found out that the government has initiated various measures to curb conflicts in the study area. These measures are herein discussed under the following sub-sections.

6.2.1 Disarmament Exercise

One of the greatest challenges in curbing conflicts is the fact that there are so many illegal guns in "wrong" hands in the study area. The researcher for instance, could see young raiders or herds boys with bags on their backs. It was later discovered that some of them carried AK 47 guns in those bags. In line with this reality, the government has over the years organized for disarmament exercises in order to minimize incidents of physical aggression. In this regard, respondents reactions to the efforts by the government to disarm the people as to whether it could end the conflict or not were as follows; (98) 49.5% of the respondents disagreed, (14) 6.1% were undecided, while (88) 44.3% agreed with the statement. This is summarized in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Can disarmament end the conflicts

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	98	49.5
Agree	88	44.3
Undecided	14	6.1
Total	**200**	**100**

The table 6.1 shows that many (44.3%) of the respondent interviewed thought that disarming the raiders can end the conflict. This means that if the government can succeed in disarming the raiders, it will have, to a certain degree, have achieved some level of conflicts resolution in the study area. However, it was found out that the process of disarming the raiders is faced by many challenges. It was observed for instance, that most people that own illegal arms when they learn of disarmament exercise cross the border to Uganda where they have some relatives and where even others have second homes. This is what seemed difficult in disarming exercise otherwise if there was no movement then things could be different. Another issue was that so long as there is an inflow of small arms from the neighboring countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda, the People in the study area would still buy them. Hence, one cannot talk of mopping illegal guns in such unstrategically located area.

Listening to one Pokot politicians during *harambee(fund raising)* to help raise funds for the local schools at Kanyarkwat market, he said:

> Never surrender your guns to anybody, by doing so you will be surrendering
> your wealth (livestock) to your enemies like Karamajong, Marakwet, Turkana

and Sebei. With guns your livestock are safe, without them you are no more. Instead of surrendering the guns buy more guns for your safety. There are no police officers to take care of your security. Nobody should ask you to surrender your walking stick and if you do, he will use it to beat you up.

(A Politician at Kanyarkwat.)

This was a politician encouraging his people to have more guns for their 'safety' besides leaders, some of the respondents felt that disarming is not a solution (49.5%). With such encouragement from the local leaders some informants admitted to be having guns and others said they were looking forward to owning some soon.

Another factor that has made disarmament fail is that during the gun searching operations conducted in the past, the government used a method of not forcing the people but asking them to volunteer guns. This is because the military personnel, the Kenya Army, have done disarmament and other paramilitary officers in the conflict area coordinate and supervise by the help of the provincial administration, but with few guns having been recovered or surrendered. According to one Provincial administrator interviewed there are a lot of illegal guns both in Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot Country. However, the number of these guns is not easy to estimate. Kimenju et al, (2003:6) estimate that west Pokot alone could be having 36,937 illegal guns. As I was doing this research this number could have been higher. Although Trans-Nzoia figures are not known, it does not rule out the presence of illegal guns.

Some informants who live at the border of Uganda and Kenya said that people who own guns have relatives across the border. A fact that implies that they hide guns across whenever there is a disarmament activity on one side. It was also revealed that at the time of operation some Pokot herdsmen from Kenya cross to Uganda after word spread that the Kenyan government would forcefully disarm those with guns. One respondent said that the issue of illegal arms is a global problem not just in Pokot or Kwanza alone. He asserted,

> There are guns in Turkana, Baringo, Marakwet, Samburu, Garissa as well as in Nairobi. Why talk of guns in Pokot. There are illegal guns in Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan among other African countries.

He therefore, implies that unless the government networks with these countries the issue of illegal arms will not end, which also means that any conflict resolution through illegal arms diarmament is a complex regional phenomenon.

An informant in Kanyarkwat location noted that disarming the Pokot alone will create more problems." He said,

> If the Uganda government is not disarming the Karamajong and Sebei, and its Kenyan counterpart is not disarming the Samburu, Turkana and Marakwet to the last gun, and then the conflict won't end.

He emphasized that their neighbours would attack the Pokot and they shall easily acquire guns from some of their neighbours immediately after the disarmament exercise. All these complexities imply that in the process of solving a problem another will be created in the same way Kamenju et al, (2003: 83) observed that

The matter gets even more complicated because you cannot disarm, those people when their neighbours in Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and even Kenya are still armed.

It was also revealed, that since these guns were bought, if the government is serious with the disarmament, then it should compensate the people for every gun surrendered. This will see many people surrendering guns. Otherwise the common practice during the disarmament is people do surrender old and unserviceable arms. This also adds to many options that the government should consider in the disarmament process. From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the government has a long way to go in realizing the real disarmament exercises not just among the Pokot, but also in all other communities with arms.

6.2.2 Provision of Security Services

Some of the informants from Kwanza reported that the measures undertaken by the government to control conflict in the area include convening public meetings, peace *baraza*,(a meeting called by area chief) to bring together conflicting communities to iron out their differences in order to live together in peace. These meetings are conducted by the area chiefs, District Officers (DOs), Deputy County Commissioner (DCs) County Commissioner (CC) and sometimes, the Cabinet Secretaries. It was also revealed that these meetings are always conducted during conflicts, when tension is very high and many people have either been killed or displaced by the conflict.

Apart from the peace meetings, the government has deployed a number of security agencies in conflict area with the purpose of bringing peace and security in the area.

There are regular police personnel, General Service units Personnel (GSU), Anti-Stock Theft Unit officers (ASTU) Kenya Army Officers and Administrative Police (AP). These security agencies are stationed in strategic places in the conflict areas for instance there are regular police patrol base at Kwanza, Kapkoi and Kolongolo (Trans Nzoia County) and Kanyarkwat and Keringet (West Pokot County), GSU camps in Kerita and Chepchoina (Trans Nzoia), AP camps are in Kanyarkwat, Naboyi and Katukomor (Kanyarkwat area), Keiyo, Kwanza, Kapkoi and Nabiswa (Kwanza area). Anti–Stock theft units are at Chekata (Trans Nzoia) and Keringet (West Pokot). The Kenya Army Camp is located along the border of West Pokot – Trans Nzoia counties near Kanyarkwat. Despite all these security officers the conflict has persisted. According to informants it is so because these security personnel lack coordination and a central command unit, which renders them ineffective. However, in separate interviews with the provincial administrators in Kwanza, they sharply opposed these claims. On their part, the problem is due to lack of cooperation from the local people. They called for cooperation and support especially in volunteering information that can lead to the arrest of perpetrators of conflict. They also asserted that the government formed Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) in 1996, from the previous structure of home guards. Later, the government realized that the services of KPR were necessary in other parts of the country, which were affected by conflict and insecurity including urban centers.

It was found that the KPR were formed to supplement the work of the Regular and Administration police officers. The KPR are recruited from among the local communities. Anybody who has attained the age of 18 years is eligible to be recruited. They should be people of good conduct. Their assistant chiefs are supposed to forward

the names of the recruits to the Officer Commanding Police Division (OCPD) who later does the vetting of KPR.

The idea of having KPRs in the first place was good, but some of the KPRs have misused the guns in their possessions. A number of them have been accused of hiring out their guns to criminals, or that they sell bullets or use the guns to commit robberies against the same people they are supposed to protect. They also lack proper military training, hence, rendering them ineffective to control the conflict. Lastly the raiders sometimes have very sophisticated weapons compared to the ones in the possession of the KPR. This implies that close monitoring of the activities of the KPR by the OCPD has been critical in order to stem some of these malpractices that do arise.

From the KPR themselves, it was observed that their work was on voluntary basis but very tedious and that they would have wished that some small token be given to them especially after recovering stolen animals. Besides the guns and ammunition the government provides them, they expressed a wish that they should be provided with boots and jackets for work.

6.2.3 Improved Infrastructure

One of the greatest challenges in the fight against insecurity is the poor state of roads observed the study area. According to government officials interviewed, the government has embarked on construction of feeder roads under the help of the Kenya Army personnel. The government has realized that the former method of calling upon conflicting communities to live in peace have never yielded much expected peace. This means, people will be engaged in economic activities that generate income hence

gradually they will disregard conflict related activities in the area. An example of this model is where the government through the Kenya Army personnel in Kanyarkwat has constructed access roads and is grading more roads to make the interior of West Pokot accessible. The area is now accessible to Uganda through Kanyorus as well as linked to Kacheliba. This has made Lories ferrying sand from Kanyarkwat to move very easily. The respondents expressed the need for more development projects. For example, they however complained that electricity produced in the County had never benefited them.

It's expected that with the opening of roads, the rate of cattle rustling is going to decrease. Police on patrol will easily move hence any stolen livestock will easily be intercepted and driven back. By implication therefore, opening up of roads will enhance communication and transport in the area. This will also enable the youth to venture into various businesses hence, thuggery and livestock raids expected to reduce. Alongside road network, the government through the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) has embarked on reconstruction of some of the schools that were destroyed in the conflicts.

Plate 15: Some Parts of Shattered Gesarati School

The above is the destroyed section of the school. However, the following picture shows it under re-construction.

Plate. 16 Efforts by the CDF in Reconstructing Gesarati School.

Plates 15 and 16 show destroyed schools, while plate 17 shows reconstruction of a school. Plate 18 shows AP camp constructed recently and plate 19 shows construction of a water dam. CDF efforts of reconstructing Gesarati School after raiders destroyed the classrooms in 2005. The new buildings were started in 2006. The new classrooms are expected to accommodate many pupils and hence increase the pupil enrolment.

Plate 17: Reconstruction of Koteng'el School

Although new buildings are being put up in the school many pupils who fled with their parents to far places for their safety are yet to return rendering the pupil population in the school low.

These pictures point to the fact that the government is intervening into the whole situation. However, an informant said that the government does not involve the local communities in conflict management, a reason why it is not succeeding in its efforts. The government seems to have ready-made solutions to the conflict. This is contrary to the theory of this study that calls for community involvement. Involving the community is a way of committing them and having them take every responsibility and above all having them own the project. For instance if they own the school, they will protect it and have their children go to the school.

Respondents also said that the government's failure in handling conflicts is because it lacks resources-human and material; inadequate early warning and response systems; lack of training particularly amongst the Kenya Police Reservists (KPR); and inadequate government presence in the conflict prone areas at the prompt moment and mainly due to the poor roads. These factors have contributed to mistrust of government agencies by the locals. This is partly why self-help mechanisms such as the locals arming themselves for security reasons have persisted. Respondents continued to reveal that KPRs whom the government is using most of the time are not remunerated in anyway for services they provided. At the same_time it was discovered that they were not under any proper command and that they are ill trained.

Plate 18: New AP station at Maliki

6.3. Role of Civil Society Organizations

During the study, it was observed that there are numerous Civil Society Organizations involved in peace building, conflict management, human rights monitoring, security research, development, humanitarian assistance and legal support among other activities. The interventions have attempted to put in place institutions and structures that promote dialogue and relationships in communities at Kwanza and Kanyarkwat locations that have been plagued with conflict since March 2005. This means that most of the civil society interventions have focused on reconciliation and building new relationships amongst the conflicting communities. Such activities included negotiation, mediation and problem solving workshops.

6.3.1 Role of Individuals

Individual effort was also cited by some of the informants. It was found out that the Tecla Lorupe Peace Foundation has an annual peace race that targets youth in the study area. This involves bringing together communities, which have been involved in the conflict both in Kenya and Uganda. The peace race mainly focuses on the pastoralists who have been involved in cattle rustling as a cause of conflict. Tecla Lorupe Peace race is an

annual athletic event that has attracted international recognition. The event has also transformed many warriors into good citizens who are able to preach peace in their own villages. It is the hope of many that such effort will not go to waste but rather that it will transform the young people in the two conflicting locations into good loving citizens of the entire nation.

Professor Lonyang'apou who is currently the Senator of West Pokot County, is another person who has initiated various projects in the study area with the intention of eradicating conflict. Some of his projects are the construction of water dam to control the Pokot animals from entering Trans-Nzoia. He has also embarked on constructing Kerengere secondary school, the first and the only one in Kanyarkwat location. Plate 20 shows a complete Kerengere secondary school. This is an effort to eradicate illiteracy in the area and occupy the potential raiders.

Plate 19: Construction of water dam in Kerengere. Thanks to the Senator

Plate 20: Kerengere secondary school

According to a field officer who was one of the informants working with World Vision, which is an international NGO operating in the area, World vision in collaboration with other NGO, have organized cultural activities bringing together communities living in Trans Nzoia, Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, Baringo, Samburu and Keiyo District. The cultural events are meant to focus on the need to live in peace and the communities, which have been involved in conflict to see each other as brothers and sisters. These communities are encouraged to compose songs, poems and organize dance in praise of their neighbours or each other and express the need for peaceful co-existence. One such event was held in December 2005 at Turkwel Gorge Sports Ground. These cultural events are considered to be long-term processes in transforming conflict into peace.

Religious organizations, particularly the National Council of Churches for Kenya (NCCK) and Catholic Secretariat through Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), have also been involved in peace broking activities in the study area. According to informants, these organizations carry out peace building and conflict management programmes in both West Pokot and Trans- Nzoia Counties. They have been providing humanitarian aid/assistance in form of relief suppliers for the affected families. This aid

takes the form of food and non-food items like blankets, utensils, building materials and tents.

Catholic Justice and Peace Commission attempted to resettle conflict victims in both Maliki (Kwanza) and Kotengere villages (Kanyarkwat). The organization constructed a ten-iron-sheet house for every affected family and for only those who were ready to resettle back to their farms or homes. This was carried out in the 2004-2005. Although this was a good project, it lacked proper co-ordination because most of the beneficiaries were not involved in the planning. Consequently, this project contributed to other conflicts in the month of March 2005. The potential beneficiaries complained that their members did not benefit as expected, which resulted into quarrels and then conflicts. Most of the houses were vandalized during the conflict and iron-sheets taken away. It was noted that the project was good but the only problem was that the local people were not fully involved in its planning, thus they did not own the project.

Plates 21 and 22 below show some of the houses constructed by the catholic peace and justice which were vandalized.

Plates 21: House destroyed after CJPC provided iron sheets for recon

Plates 22: House destroyed after CJPC provided iron sheets for recon

Plate 21 and 22 are houses destroyed after CJPC had provided iron sheets for reconstruction

6.3.2 Media engagement

Mass media channels were also cited as important in informing the world about incidences of conflicts and the situation on ground, as well as measures that have been taken in its resolution. The major media houses in Kenya have on several occasions reported the conflict through print and electronic channels with the purpose of drawing the attention of those concerned to take the necessary action to prevent its escalation. Therefore, ranging from the NGOs to individuals and finally the media initiatives, it is clear that the civil society has also been actively involved in the process of conflict resolution in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations.

6.3.3 Role of elders

It was also asserted that some NGOs working in this study area have discovered the role-played by the elders in conflict escalation. They have however started involving them in

conflict resolution. Traditionally both communities had away of solving conflicts. For instance the Pokot among themselves had the *Lapai* punishment, which they still, practice and in this an aggressor is punished heavily and sometimes expelled from the village for a certain period of time. The Luhyas on the other hand had what they called *Omukulo* (a joker) in it they introduce the conflicting parties into a joking activity where by the conflicting parties end up in friendship and have a great respect for one another. If these two ideas were combined may be conflict might come to the end in this study area.

In a nutshell, it is clear that various efforts have been made by the government, non-governmental organizations and individuals in the study area to counter conflicts. However, it is evident that much needs to be done. Currently, the main shortcoming in these efforts is the fact that the locals are not involved especially during the identification, planning and implementation of conflict management strategies by the concerned stakeholders. This denial makes the noble efforts alien and non-sustainable and that is partly why they are not offering a lasting solution to the inter-ethnic conflict between the Pokots and the Luhyas.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The overall objective of this study was to highlight the inter-ethnic conflict along the border of Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations of West Pokot and Trans Nzoia Counties. This chapter gives the summary of the findings, conclusion, and recommendation and suggests area of further research. Basing on the set objectives and the findings that have been discussed, below is the summary that was made.

7.2 Summary of the Findings and conclusions

One of the specific objectives of the study was to investigate the causes of the inter-ethnic conflict between the Luhya and the Pokot living in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations. The findings showed that there are various causes to the conflict. Among the major causes are cultural practices, political incitement and the struggle for basic resources. However, the cultural practice of cattle rustling among the Pokot Community and the contentions of historical land allocation among the residents of the study area were seen as the main causes of conflicts.

Based on the first specific objective, the researcher concluded that the inter-ethnic conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations is resource-based. The conclusion answers the first research question of the study, which was: "What are the causes of the conflict between the communities living along the Trans Nzoia and West Pokot border?"

With reference to the first objective, it is recommended that:

1. Cultural practices that tend to enhance hatred among communities in the study area should be discarded. Consequently, there is need for educational fore in order to enlighten the local Pokot community about the importance of cultural dynamism in worldviews regarding cultural elements like cattle rustling.

2. The Kenya government and the civil societies should correct and harmonize the existing historical land issues raised by the respondents. This will go a long way in enhancing peaceful co-existence, respect of property and increase utility of land for production purposes.

The second objective of the study was to asses the impact of the inter-ethnic conflict on development among the people living in the Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations. The findings showed that despite the fact that the area is rich in agricultural production; a lot has not been used because of fear for destruction as a result of the conflicts. It was also found that conflicts destabilize the family institution through displacements, deaths, and even separation of family members. In education, schools have been destroyed, teachers and pupils threatened and very few schools are in session despite interruptions due to security lapses. Because of insecurity, people are least involved in business or livelihood activities. Thus, many of the respondents did not have jobs and had low-income at the household level. It was also found that the effect of conflicts also affected development, infrastructural, religious, and cultural and security institutions in the study area.

Accordingly, the researcher concluded that the persistence of the conflict in the area has had devastating effects on the people and on development in general. This answers the second research question: "What consequences have resulted from the conflicts in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations of Trans Nzoia and West Pokot?"

With reference to the second objective, the researcher recommends that:

1. There should be awareness to the people of Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations, in form of education so as to make people recognize the importance of a cease-fire. This should be undertaken by all the stakeholders.

2. The Kenya government and civil societies should come up with awareness program for the communities in the study area in order to address human and religious moral values, especially on the dignity and rights of human beings. In these awareness programs, people would be taught on how to live and to promote the moral values of equality, cooperation, trust, acceptance and respect for one another.

3. There is need for disarming most of the residents who possess illegal firearms. This should be done by the security personnel in collaboration with the local leaders who know those having the fire arms.

The third objective of the study was to investigate measures taken by the various stakeholders to resolve the conflict in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations. The findings showed that many people have so far been involved in trying to stem or mitigate conflicts in the area. The Kenya government has played a major role especially in providing security and in disarming those who possess illegal firearms. With the C.D.F, many schools and health centers are now being renovated and new ones constructed. It was also

found out that individual persons have also come out strongly to help control the conflicts. However, in all these efforts, little emphasis was placed on local people's participation, a fact that is blamed for failure of some peace initiatives.

From the findings in this third objective, the researcher concluded that various efforts have been made by a number of stakeholders with an aim of controlling the conflicts. The conclusion therefore, answers the third research question: "What have been the opportunities and solutions offered by the stakeholders to the conflicts in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations?"

With reference to this objective, the researcher recommends that:

1. There should be a strong involvement of the locals in conflict management:

   i) The elders: They have the history of the area and can be used as mediators. They area also opinion leaders. They should however, be made to learn to instill values that create peace and the well-being of all people.

   ii) The youth: they should be encouraged to abide to cultural values that promote mutual interaction between them and other people. They should be made to discard all political incitements.

   iii) The women: they are the first victims to suffer these conflicts. They are better placed to educate their children and let them know the root causes of the problems.

2. The conflicts in Kanyarkwat and Kwanza locations are multi-purpose in nature and therefore they require a multi-disciplinary approach.

3. There is need for the re-numeration of the Kenya Police Reserves, to avoid the misuse of the firearms in their possession. This way they shall maintain peace and not create chaos.

4. All stakeholders should come together and assist one another in the improvement of infrastructures. They should join hands with the government in the construction of roads, dams and schools so as to provide essential services to the entire community.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher suggested that further research should be done on:

1. Ethnography of the Pokot people. This will be crucial in understanding the centrality of cattle and cattle rustling among the Pokot, and thus provide appropriate advice on alternative practices.

2. The networks that exist among the Pokot and Luhya communities living in the study area in relation to their neighbours in other districts and even across the border in Uganda. This is important in understanding the complexities surrounding disarmament efforts and other conflict resolution strategies in the area.

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APPENDIX 1

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

RESIDENTS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Dear Respondent,

I am a student in the Department of Anthropology at the school of Art and Social Sciences. Moi University, taking a Master of Philosophy Degree in Anthropology. I am carrying out a study on "Inter-Ethnic Conflicts along the Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot Counties' Border. The Case of Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations," in fulfillment of the above studies. I therefore, request for your assistance in responding to questions here in all the response will be dealt with **confidentially.**

Yours sincerely,

James Khaemba.

Part 1. Demographic and Socioeconomic Data

1. Location? …………………………………………..

2. Sex of the respondents? 1. Male   2. Female

3. How old are you?

1. 15-20   2. 21-25   3. 26-30

4. 31-35   5. 36-40   6. Over 40 years

4. Level of Education?

1. None   2. Primary   3. Secondary   4. Tertiary – polytechnic/college

5. University

5. Marital status of the respondents?

1. Married   2. Not Married

3. Widow/widowed   4. Divorced/separated

6. Which of the following categories best describe your occupational status?

1. Government employee   2. Private sector employee

3. Businessman/Woman   4. A subsistence farmer/pastoralist

7. Household size of the respondent?

1. 1-3 members   2. 4-7 members

3. 8-11 members   4. Over 11 members

8. Which of the categories below best describe the average monthly income (in Kenya

Shillings) for you and your spouse?

1. Below 2000   2. 2001-4-000   3. 4001-6000   4. 6001-8000

5. 8001-10,000 6. 10,000-12,000   7. Over 20,000

Part II: Causes of the conflict

9. a) For how long have you lived in this location?

   1. Less than 1 year   2. 1-5 years   3. 5-10 years   4. 10-15 years

   5. Over 15 years

   b) Do you own the land on which you live?

   1. Yes   2. No

   c) How big is your family land?

   1. Less than 1 acre   2. 1-3 acres   3. 4-7 acres   4. 8 acres and

above

   d) Do you keep livestock?

   1. Yes   2. No

10. a) have you ever heard about conflicts between the Luhya and Pokot people in this

     area ? 1. Yes   2. No

   b) If Yes in 10 a. above. How frequent are the conflicts?

   1. Monthly 2. Annually   3. 2-5 years   4. Any time (spontaneous)

   c) Which season is prone to conflicts?

   1. Rainy season   2 Dry season   3. Both dry and rain seasons   4. Any season

d) Give reason for the presence of conflict in the above mentioned season?

……………………………………………………………………………….

11. Tick the major sources of conflict in this area, by ranking them from the main to the

Least source using numbers1, 2,3,4,5.

a. Population pressure   ☐

b. Competition over land and related resources (including boundaries)   ☐

c. Poor relationship between the affected communities   ☐

d. Cultural practices like cattle rustling/raids. Etc   ☐

Part III: Effect of Conflicts

12. a) has your family been affected by conflicts in this area?

1. Yes   2. No

b) If Yes in 12 a. above. How?

1. Loss of human life   2. Loss of property like livestock   3.displacement

4. Both loss of life and property 5. Other (specify)……………………

c) How would you rate the following statements? (**Use strongly Agree (S.A), Agree**

(A), Undecided (U), Disagree (D) and strongly Disagree (S.D|), to rate your

Responses in each of the statement)

STATEMENT	S.A	A	U	D	S.D
a. There is relationship between conflicts and lack/low level of development in this area					
b. It is worthy to fight for your own people and culture than lose it to others					
c. Our community has lost many peoples lives,					

livestock, and have been displaced due to conflicts				
d. We live in fear and feel insecure in this area				
e. This area has many resources, but is poor because of insecurity due to interethnic conflicts				

Part IV: Conflict Resolution

13. How would you rate the following statements in relation to conflict resolution in this area? **(Use strongly Agree (S.A), Agree**

(A), Undecided (U), Disagree (D) and Str ongly Disagree (S.D|), to rate your

Responses in each of the statement)

STATEMENT	S.A	A	U	D	S.D
a. The government is not committed to end these conflicts					
b. Efforts by the government on disarm the Pokot people cannot end the conflicts					
c. The conflicts experienced in this area have persisted for long and cannot be resolved at this time					
d. It is mainly the concerned communities through their elders that can bring to an end these conflicts					
e. It is the other community not mine, which pursues conflict in this area					

14. What measures do you suggest that may effectively and efficiently resolve and manage conflict in Kanyarkwat area?

1. …………………………………………………………………………………
2. …………………………………………………………………………………
3. …………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for participating in the study

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear Informant,

I am a student in the Department of Anthropology at the school of Art and Social Sciences. Moi University., taking a Master of Philosophy Degree in Anthropology. I am carrying out a study on **"Inter-Ethnic Conflicts along the Trans-Nzoia and West Pokot County's Border. The Case of Kanyarkwat and Kwanza Locations,"** in fulfillment of the above studies. I therefore, request for your assistance in responding to questions here in. all the response will be dealt with **confidentially.**

Yours sincerely,

James Khaemba.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the nature of conflict in Kanyarkwat Location?
2. What are the causes of this conflict along the Trans-Nzoia/West Pokot border?
3. What consequences have resulted from these conflicts in Trans-Nzoia/West Pokot County?
4. What have been the solutions offered by the stakeholders to the conflict along the Trans-Nzoia/West Pokot border?
5. For how long has these incidences of conflict been witnesses in this area?
6. Why do you think conflict between the Pokot and Luhya communities in this area have persisted for that long?
7. Which segment of the population is most affected by the conflicts?
8. Which community is most affected by the conflicts?
9. How do people affected survive in times of conflict?
10. In your opinion what are the measures to be put in place to enhance a lasting peaceful co-existence?