

Cross Border-Conflict Migrants and Intra-Ethnic Conflict in East Africa: The case of the Pokot Pastoralists in North Western Kenya.

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Abstract

Cross border conflict migrants poses a challenge to the realization of development goals in East Africa's pastoralism area. The reason for this scenario is because of the presence of the non-ending cross border ethnic conflict particularly in the Kenya Uganda border. This reality of the conflict situation has been a setback to a development progress and vitiates what has already been achieved. This study examines the association between Pokot cross border conflict migrants and the presence of intra-Pokot conflict in the border ranches in Kong'elai Division of Wst Pokot District. The conclusion from this study is that the presence of cross border-conflict migrants is one major factor responsible for the prevalence of intra-Pokot conflict in ranches. The implication of this finding is that intra-Pokot environmentally induced conflict is a more multi-faceted phenomenon than has been hitherto understood. Consequently, it appears that to realize development goals in pastoralist border area in East Africa, the management of cross border ethnic conflict should be one of the imperatives of governance this 21st Century.

Key words: cross-border conflict, intra-ethnic conflict, the group ranches, the Pokot

Introduction

This paper examines the effect of cross border conflict migrants on the intra-Pokot ethnic conflict in North Western Kenya. The border area in focus is the meeting point of the Kalenjin protagonists in East Africa- the Sabiny of Uganda and the Pokot of Kenya who are also increasingly becoming numerous in Eastern Uganda, particularly in Karamoja District.

In this paper "Conflict" can be defined as an underlying issue in dispute between or among parties or communities (Okoth, 2000:1; Matui & Kwonyike, 2006). This paper conceptualizes conflict broadly to cover a range of interactions from low intensity to war as discussed by Reuveny (2005). The term cross border ethnic conflict refers to a conflict in which one or more of the protagonists cross the "dejure" or "De factor" international boundary in the process of conflict. Besides, the term Pokot cross border conflict migrants refers to a Pokot, not initially a ranch owner, but whom the cross border conflict pushes to reside permanently or temporarily in the ranch.

The area of study-West Pokot District-provides a good case study of human conflicts since it is considered the epicenter of the conflicts. This view is reached, since, apart from the international conflict that is alluded to in this paper, the district is also awash with internal conflicts (from state centric point of view) that is cross -district in character. The latter conflict pits the community against the Turkana in the North, the Marakwet and the farming community in Trans Nzoia District in the South (Kenya, 1953; Kenya, 1954; Lusha, 1987; Omonso, 2005).

A recent study (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006) establishes the presence of environmentally induced intra-Pokot conflict in Chepareria and Kong'elai Division. Indeed, this paper is a follow up to the study with the assumption that population displacement resulting from cross border

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armed conflict should be associated with the intra Pokot conflict in Kong'alai Division – a Kenyan division in West Pokot District that borders Uganda. The paper argues that:-

- Crossborder conflict migrants are associated with resource scarcity in the border ranches.
- Pokot migrants in the ranches have enhanced the intra Pokot conflict in those ranches
- Resolution of cross border conflict is critical in mitigating intra-Pokot ethnic conflict.

The paper begins with review of literature with regard to the history of the Sabiny/Pokot conflict and attempts at its resolution. Secondly, the review focuses on crossborder induced intra-Pokot conflict in ranches. In addition, the paper gives a theoretical framework on the relationship between population displacement and destination conflict problems. The paper also informs on methodology, findings and discussions. At the end a policy recommendation is given.

Literature review

The history of Sabiny/Pokot conflict in colonial and post-colonial times.

Both the Sabiny and the Pokot belong to the wider Kalenjin ethnic group whose other members include the Nandi, Tugen, Kipsigis, Keiyo and Marakwet. The conflict between the two sister ethnic groups seems to be a recent phenomenon. For instance, the colonial administration annual report for the year 1954 reports. *“The short five mile boundary with Sebei (Sabiny) has been completely free of incidence as in previous years. Infact there was no Sebei boundary file in the District office”*.

The first documented cross-border boundary dispute between the two communities was reported in the year 1955/1956 (Kenya. 1955; Kenya, 1956). In this period, 12 incidents involving theft of livestock by Ugandan African was reported. The implication of this event is that in the initial stage of this cross border conflict, the Sabiny were aggressors. However, the aggression seems to have been directed more on the European farms than on the Pokot stock (Kenya, 1956). On this occasion, a total of 109 heads of cattle were stolen with one European farmer Mr. Ray Letcher whose farm was near Kanyarkwat loosing 56 heads of cattle. Later on, 80 stocks were recovered by the effort of Kenya police from Kapenguia and Endebess and 2 Sabiny tribesmen arrested.

As a result of this incident, a meeting was held in December 1956 that was attended by the District Commissioner and Police bosses from Mbale, Kitale and West Suk (West Pokot). The upshot of the meeting was that measures for improving co-operation between districts were agreed upon. It was further decided that compensation for stock stolen in 1956 and not recovered should be claimed by the Kenyan colonial government from the Ugandan counterpart, an attempt that failed (Kenya, 1957).

Furthermore, the District commissioner Kitale persuaded farmers to start branding their native type cattle to improve the chances of recovery. This view was reiterated by the District Commissioner West Suk a year later when 5 more heads of cattle were stolen from Letcher (Kenya, 1957). But it appears that there was no going back from his cross-border cattle theft. This is because the vice continued in 1958 right to the 1960s although attempts were made to recover the cattle from the Greek River area by the police patrols. Following this growing border problem, discussions were held with the object of planning a combined operation. The dwindling fortunes in the Pokot/Sabiny relationship reached a crescendo in May 1962. The event was one in Karasuk (currently Kacheliba Division) when a Ugandan police patrol accompanied by Sabiny trackers opened fire and killed 2 Pokot. This triggered a resolve by the Pokot in Karasuk to drive

out all the Sabiny living amongst them. The resolve was embraced by the Pokot on the Kenya side of the boundary (Kenya, 1962).

The consequence was that a large number of Sabiny fled from the Manyatta in the River Zone area. But after an action by the Kenya police- the General Service Unit (GSU) and the Administration Police, the Sabiny returned to their manyattas on the Kenya side and those in Uganda followed suit, albeit reluctantly. From 1963, the Sabiny living amongst the Pokot started selling land to move out of West Suk (Kenya, 1963 & 1964). This was enough proof that the die had been cast for sour relationship between the two sister ethnic communities. This state of affairs is captured vividly by District commissioner's report (Kenya, 1965) in post independent Kenya:- "Pokot are not friendly with the Uganda Sebei, there had been armed conflicts between the two".

On 19th May, 1965, the District Commissioner West Pokot tried to bring understanding between the two communities. But there was no respite in the animosity. This was the case so much so that in 1968, there was a caterwaul of complains and anguishes due to the unprecedented cattle thefts and murder of cattle owners. The foregoing evidence suggests that what started as an isolated incident involving police patrols at Karasuk triggered and precipitated a series of cattle theft between the two communities. Furthermore the problem became much more serious when the cross border conflict spurred internal raids by Pokot against alien tribesmen: Chepokos (related to Sabiny), Nandi, Luyia, Kikuyu and Teso who had lived in the area since 1914 (Kenya, 1967 & 1968). Those groups bore the brunt of Pokot hostility in Kanyarkwat, Katikomor, Kishaunet, Chesera and Mnagei (Ibid).

It is clear that the cross-border conflict was becoming insurmountable by 1967. Consequently, an international border conference was convened in early 1968 –on 21st February in West Pokot. The conference was attended by Kenyan and Ugandan delegates. Notable in attendance was D.T. Moi, the Vice-President of Kenya (currently the retired President) and Daniel C.N Moss, the Member of Parliament for Mt. Elgon and Assistant Minister for Power and Communication. The attendance of Moss, a Sabaot politician (Sabiny and Chebokos are Subgroups of Sabaot) revealed that the conflict had attracted attention from far including the Sabaot political leadership. After deliberations, the conference closed with the following resolutions: 1) Cattle raids and killings were immoral and retarded development hence, must be shunned by all communities in the border; 2) Security forces and chiefs should work together and report all stock thefts to the authorities concerned; 3) hot pursuits on stolen livestock should be escorted by police and should be allowed for up to 50 miles across the international border; 4) Chiefs should be made responsible and answerable for disappearance of track marks; 5) Cattle recovered should be impounded and news circulated for the owners to come and identify them. Those deliberations, noble as they were, seemed to have not worked, for raids continued unabated (Kenya, 1968, 1969, 1972 & 1973); and the worst crisis had matured not just in the name of cross-border conflict but also in the relationship of the Pokot with the "alien" ethnic groups in West Pokot.

The 1980s and 1990s can be said to be the time when leaders in West Pokot woke up to the reality of the crisis in their midst and at the border. For instance in 1981, Kenya African National Union (KANU) leaders resolved to cooperate by reporting to the police and relevant authorities all cattle rustlers in the area. At the forefront of the campaigns were party Chairman Jacob Perklea and 3 elected members of parliament (Kenya Times, July 20, 1981). In 1987 (Standard February 13, 1987) a West Pokot Member of Parliament Mr. William Sindano chided the Pokot for engaging in cattle rustling. He argued that the raids by the Kadem Pokot had

provoked a retaliatory mission by the Sabiny on Kanyarkwat and Adrokoit Pokot areas. He called upon the elders and other peace loving people to report individuals who imported guns into the area, as they were the ones involved in cattle rustling.

Another Member of Parliament in West Pokot, Mr. Christopher Lomada, picked the same refrain. The MP cautioned the Pokot against engaging in cattle rustling. He complained that some Pokot in Kacheliba Division had crossed the border and stole cattle from the Sabiny. During the raid, he informed, one person was killed and this came only a few days after a peace meeting. Earlier on (Daily Nation April 27, 1998) the Sabiny raiders had struck at Adrokoit, Napaoi, Katikomer, Serewa and Kanyerus, stole about fifteen hundred livestock (1478) and killed eight people. Much earlier in the year (Daily Nation January 29,, 1988) the Kenyan President D.T Moi had complained that cattle rustlers from Uganda (read Sabiny) had killed five people and stolen 700 heads of cattle in West Pokot.

The conflict was taking a heavy toll on development activities in the District in 1990s. For instance in December 1990 (Kenya Times, Dec 1, 1990) three primary schools closed due to cattle rustling. Earlier on in the year, in October (Standard, October 1, 1990), six guns and ammunitions were recovered in the district by security forces. The guns are suspected to have been used to attack a bus of Igana Bus Company in Sekerr area (Kenya Times, September 13, 1990; Daily Nation May 15, 1990). This catalogue of incidences point to a crisis beyond proportion that was made worse by the thriving trade in illegal guns. For instance in June 10, 1991, a suspected firearms and ammunition dealers in West Pokot from Uganda was shot dead by unknown people in Chepareria Trading Centre (Standard June 17, 1991).

The border conflict still rages on in this new millennium. For instance in January 2005, the Sabiny raiders took away 559 animals from Kanyarkwat area in which the Pokot abducted a four year old girl from the Sabiny Community to force the Sabiny return the cattle. Added together to the Karamojong-Pokot conflict, the Kenya Uganda border has seen 62,388 people displaced by this conflict (ITDG-EA, 2003). In short, the Pokot/Sabiny conflict can be said to be a recent phenomenon. However after the conflict started, it has become difficult to manage it because of revenge feelings and presence of illegal guns. It also appears that agreement to stop the conflict has not always been supported by all the community. For example one side of the Pokot would make an agreement with the Sabiny only for some members of the community elsewhere to violate the agreement. With the presence of this conflict and the attendant population displacement it is expected that some migrants would easily settle in ranches permanently or temporarily.

Group Ranches

Group ranches in Kenya are private land registered to a group of people under the land (Group Representative Act) Act-Chapter 297 Laws of Kenya. The act was first implemented in Kajiado and Narok Districts in the early 1970's. Currently group ranches have been registered in arid and semi-arid Kenya where land adjudication has been applied. In Wet Pokot, Kong'elai Group Ranch in Kong'elai Division was the first to be registered in 1971. A ranch committee elected by the owners of respective ranches manages the ranches. The committees manage these ranches as per the provisions of Cap 297 laws of Kenya. For instance, once a year the committee is required to call an Annual General meeting to discuss the development agenda, register new members to the ranch as the need arises; and resolve any dispute among the members (Matui, 2004:16).

Intra-Pokot Conflict in Ranches

A previous study by the authors of this paper (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006) has revealed the presence of intra-Pokot conflict in group ranches of Chepareria and Kong'elai Division. This conflict manifests itself in two major ranch behaviours. First, there is forceful occupation of land, and secondly, competition over grazing land; although the conflict is not as violent as inter-ethnic conflicts elsewhere in Northern Kenya, where the Pokot, the Borana, the Samburu and the Turkana are involved in bloody skirmishes (ITDG, 2004).

Furthermore, this conflict mainly occurs during the long rainy season of April to August (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006), implying that the conflict is season driven. The reason for the occurrence of the conflict is mainly competition for renewable land based natural resources. For instance, the conflict was attributed to the sprouting of grass and presence of pasture. Some others mentioned that ploughing of land and cultivation of crops reduced grazing land. Still others blamed fencing of land in the season and restricting animal movement. Besides, other ranch dwellers informed that in the long rainy season, cattle are moved from dry season grazing in Uganda, highland areas of West Pokot and Trans Nzoia District thus increasing the stock numbers in the ranch which lead to competition and forceful attempts to secure pasture. The conflict is aided by plenty food in the season.

From the foregoing, it is crystal clear that the intra-Pokot ranch conflict is environmentally induced due to the following observations; 1) The conflict is rainy season driven i.e. the season is a trigger of it; 2) the season brings plenty which allow people to concentrate on their perceived violated rights; and 3) the presence of renewable resources: pasture, water and crops add value to an otherwise resource scarcity and semi-arid land (ibid). The upshot of this fact is that the intra Pokot conflict in ranches is different from the inter-ethnic pastoralist conflicts in Northern Kenya which is acute during the dry season (Mkutu, 1999, ITDG-EA, 2003; Matui & Kwonyike, 2006).

A number of factors are known to be associated with this intra-Pokot conflict. First is the increase in human and livestock population (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006). These increases set in motion a *demand-induced scarcity* of renewable resources (Homer-Dixon, 1991; Matui & Kwonyike, 2005) that encourage resource capture by majority of ranch inhabitants, which flares the conflict. Lack of routes is another factor stoking up the conflict (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006). This lack of routes has been interpreted to lead to environmental discrimination or restriction in access to natural capital (Productive renewable resources) relative to others (Bachler & Spillman, 1998), or what Homer-Dixon (1994) calls structurally, generated scarcity because had rotational grazing been in existence this scarcity could be absent.

Interference by ranch officers was also cited as a rolling mill for the conflict, although this interference should be understood as a label to the ranch officers by majority of members who are also involved in resource capture; and who therefore loathe the legitimate intervention of the ranch officer to prevent resource capture. Last but not least, the study revealed that selling of land to non-ranch members was a critical factor fueling the conflict. This is particularly the case since majority of ranch owners resent the buyers of land in the ranch.

In short, the intra-Pokot conflict in ranches in the division of Chepareria and Kong'elai has been attributed to the phenomenon called resource capture (Homer-Dixon, 1994). The phenomenon is as a result of two coinciding circumstances in the ranch. The first is water and pasture degradation. The second is human and stock population increase. The pasture and water degradation is in part due to failure in group ranch as an intervention because of collapsed rotational grazing system (Dietz, 1987). The resultant circumstances produce what is called

degradation-demand-induced scarcity. This acute scarcity leads to a serious poverty situation among the pastoralist Pokot people in the ranches. In the process, majority of ranch owners develop apathy towards the ranch and become involved in the resource capture spree mainly of renewable land based resources which climaxes in the rainy season which is a trigger of the conflict.

This conflict, although less violent compared to the inter-ethnic conflict, is nevertheless associated with the poverty of ranch inhabitants. This implies that to achieve development goals-Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) included, this conflict problem should be addressed. It has been recommended (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006) that to resolve this conflict, the following should be done. First pasture degradation should be dealt with. Second, restoring rotational grazing system, and mobilizing more resources for ranch development should be done to address the scarcity problem. In addition, subdivision of ranches should be allowed where it will not jeopardize land productivity. Equally the sheep, camels and goats that utilize a wide range of forage has been suggested as one viable route of addressing this conflict. Besides, infrastructure development particularly availability of routes has been thought as one strategy that will reduce scarcity that arises from discrimination in access to common pasture and water.

Theoretical Framework

An environmental refugee is a term that has been used to denote people forced to leave their homes temporarily or permanently due to environmental problems that risk their lives and quality of their lives (Reuveny, 2005). On the other hand, the term “environmental migrants” was suggested to denote migration due to environmental and non-environmental factors working together (Reuveny, 2005). In this study, the assumption is that the people are environmental migrants. To understand the genesis of environmental migrants and the effect on their destination, this paper makes use of the Standard Migration Theory (SMT). The theories distinguish between pull, push and network forces in addressing factors in migration studies. Push forces are said to operate in location A and promotes migration from A to B. Pull forces operate in location B and attract migration from A to B. on the other hand, Network forces are said to assist in the move (Ibid).

According to Reuveny (2005) the pull, push and Network forces are economic and socio political in nature. The scholar informs that economic pull forces include unemployment, low wages, high population density, economic decline and under development, while socio-political push forces includes war, persecution, discrimination and expulsion. On the other hand, economic pull forces are high wages, attractive jobs, and presence of prosperity and high level of development; while socio-political ones include peace, family and cultural unification and preferential treatment. With regard to network forces, examples of economic ones are information and financial assistance, while socio-political are legal help (e.g. obtain work permits) and illegal help (e.g. smuggling of people across the borders).

The theory further informs that environmental migration can cause conflict in the destination through four channels (Reuveny, 2005). First the arrival of migrants, particularly with the rise in population, can burden the destination’s economy and natural resource base. This is said to promote native-migrant competition for natural resources especially when these resources are scarce at the migration destination. With the presence of high pressure, people may attempt to secure scarce resources by force in situations where there are underdeveloped property right institutions.

Secondly, when environmental migrants and residents belong to different ethnic groups the arrival of many newcomers over a relatively short period of time may upset a precarious ethnic balance. For example if migrants have brethren in the destination, residents may consider the combined bloc a threat. Third, environmental migration has been known to exacerbate international tension. For example the migrants' origin country may suspect that the receiving country accepts migrants in order to upset the ethnic balance in the origin country. On the other hand, the receiving government may suspect that the migrants wish to oppose its rule and enable penetration by the origin country. Fourth, the conflict could follow existing fault lines. For example pastoralists and farmers may compete over jobs. Environmental migration from rural to urban areas- another fault line-presents competing effects. Political entrepreneurs in urban area may exploit rural migrant frustration and poverty and mobilize them to challenge the state. Threatened, the state may respond with force.

Data and Methodology

The data analyzed here is derived from a three month research study carried out in 2002 in all the registered group ranches in Kong'elai Division in West Pokot District. The guiding methodologies for this research are consultative participation that incorporated 103 structured questionnaires for respondents and 12 for key informants. Information sharing workshop was carried out with chiefs and other stakeholders including the land adjudication and settlement office. The questionnaires targeted specially the pastoralists Pokots in Kong'alei Division. All the registered ranches in the division: Kong'alei, Kanyarkwat, Nakwijit and Chesra were picked for study. The ranches comprised about twenty-Nine percent (28.6%) of the total ranches in the district.

Results: Socio-economic status of Respondents

The area study reveals a serious poverty situation. For instance, about thirty four percent (34.3%) of the inhabitants of ranches were cattle poor when the situation is examined against the local district poverty lines of 6.2 numbers of cattle. In addition, about thirty three percent (33.3%) were goats/sheep poor when a poverty line of 11.7 numbers of goats and sheep is used (Matui, 2004:13). Besides, sixty-eight percent (68.0% were livestock sales poor when analyzed against a mean monthly income of Kshs 774.60 as the poverty line (Matui, 2004:13).

Worse still, about ninety six percent (96.1% are crop sales poor when a mean monthly income for the area of Kshs 3894.40 is put into consideration (Ibid). this finding is expected since the area is a semi-arid region, where even if crops are grown not much is left from subsistence for the market. What these findings reveal is that the area is characterized by resources scarcity. Much more serious, the data revealed that majority of the respondents (87.3%) depended on firewood for lighting and cooking. Only a small percentage (12.7% used paraffin together with firewood. Besides, only a paltry fraction (2.9%) used water from protected springs and wells dug in the area. These findings reveal that the inhabitants of these ranches live precarious lives that have not been touched by meaningful economic development. Consequently, the presence of cross-border conflict migrants should be exacerbating the scarcity problem in the ranch.

Cross Border Conflict Migrants

Analyzed data reveals that about Seventy Seven Percent (76.5% of respondents informed that migrants of cross-border conflict had settled in these border ranches of West Pokot District.

This preliminary finding reveals that the major push factors in this conflict are socio-political. On the other hand, the pull factors to the ranch are also socio-political mainly the presence of relative peace and family ties. The pull factors could also be economic. In the area of study controlled and rotational grazing was in existence to the 1970s (Dietz, 1987). Hence the presence of pasture must have motivated the migrants to move temporarily or permanently into the ranch. Moreover, the perception that ranches are not private but community property for any Pokot to subsist on could be an important socio-political network that facilitated the movement to the ranch. This scenario portends the possibility of migrants-ranch native conflict because of the scarcity in the ranch.

Indeed this seems plausible since about seventy eight percent (77.7%) complained that these migrants increased human and livestock numbers. Additional others (51.2% lamented that these migrants increased land conflicts. Still others (27.4%) were unhappy on account that these “refugees” claimed land from them in the ranch. This finding confirms the assertion of the Standard Migration Theory on the effect of migrants on generation of conflict at the destination. As this study has shown, cross-border conflict can cause population displacement that can result to more pressure on group ranch resources thus triggering migrant-ranch native competition.

Presence of Intra-Pokot Conflict

Analyzed data reveals that intra-Pokot conflict exists in the ranches. For instance, about forty eight percent (48.3%) of the respondents claimed that competition for grazing land and water existed in the ranches. This findings suggests that with the inflow of migrants to the ranches, due to cross-border conflict, resources in the ranch become more scarcer (Reuveny, 2005), and this scarcity becomes a trigger for the migrants-ranch naive conflict which is intra-ethnic in nature since both migrant and ranch natives are Pokot by ethnicity.

Apart from the foregoing manifestation of the conflict, forceful occupation of land is another problem as reported by forty six percent (46.0%) of the respondents. This scenario should still be attributed to scarcity in the ranch due to the inflow of migrants. About fourteen percent (13.7%) of the respondents reported that the conflict manifested itself in destruction of houses; while about seventeen percent (16.7%) claimed that their livestock were injured by those they were in disputed with when the animals entered the disputed land. The conflict however had less manifestation with regard to loss of human life. This is because only a small percentage (2.0%) complained that loss of human life was a problem. The same can be said with regard to detaining of livestock, which affected only about eight percent (7.8%). This finding goes a long way to explain that in North Western Kenya, Intra-ethnic conflict is not a bloody conflict as is the case with inter-ethnic conflict in the area. This should be attributed to the presence of intra-communal system of discipline that discourages murder even when an intense disagreement exists in an intra-ethnic setting.

Discussion

The result of chi-square test indicates that the presence of cross border conflict migrants in the ranches has contributed to intra-Pokot conflict behaviours (Table 1).

Table 1: Cross Tabulation with Independent Variable: Cross Border Conflict Migrants

Dependent variable	Value	df	Sign level	Correlation
Destruction of houses	7.0	2	0.07	0.17
Competition over pasture	10.8	3	0.02	0.06

Detaining livestock	7.0	3	0.07	0.18
Forceful occupation of land	7.4	3	0.06	-1.12

Besides, destruction of houses, completion over grazing land, detaining of livestock all have a positive correlation. The implication of this is that an increase in the presence of cross border conflict migrants would bring about an increase in the presence of this conflict behavior in the ranch. This finding has therefore led to more understanding of intra-Pokot conflict in ranches. Increase in human and sock numbers, ranch officers, lack of routes and rotational grazing system are all responsible for the presence of environmentally induced intra-Pokot conflict (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006).

However as this study has shown, in some ranches, particularly those closer to the scene of cross-border conflict, the presence of cross border conflict migrants may contribute significantly to this problem that climaxes in the long rainy season of April to August (Ibid). The migrants contribute to this problem by increasing the human and livestock numbers in the ranch. Because of the resultant demand induced scarcity (Homer-Dixon, 1994: Matui & Kwonyike, 2006), the ranch dwellers and the migrants will attempt to secure resources by force (Reuveny, 2005) or what is called resources capture (Homer-Dixon 1994). In addition, due to the presence of migrants, the conflict in these border ranches at times may take the existing fault line- the migrant ranch native dimension where some ranch natives loathe the existence of the migrants whom they blame for scarcity of pasture and land in the ranches. For instance in Kong'alei Group Ranch some respondents said "the rotational grazing system collapsed because migrants swamped the ranch and erected houses everywhere making nonsense of the rotational blocks".

They also gave an account of how the ranch migrants killed the chairman in the 1970s because he was hostile to the presence of the migrants in the ranch. Besides, during the incident, the title deed of the Ranch got burnt when the chairman's house was razed down. The behavior of forceful occupation of land had negative correlation with the presence of cross border conflict migrants. This seems to suggest that with increase in cross border conflict migrants, then forceful occupation of land would decrease. The explanation for this scenario is that the long stay of migrants in the ranch leads to the "legitimization of their presence" which gradually transforms them to "ranch natives" with individual "territories" that come to be respected by even the ranch native. This, ironically, reduce the migrant – Ranch native conflict but at a cost. This is because the large population that results brings to an end the operation of the group ranch concept.

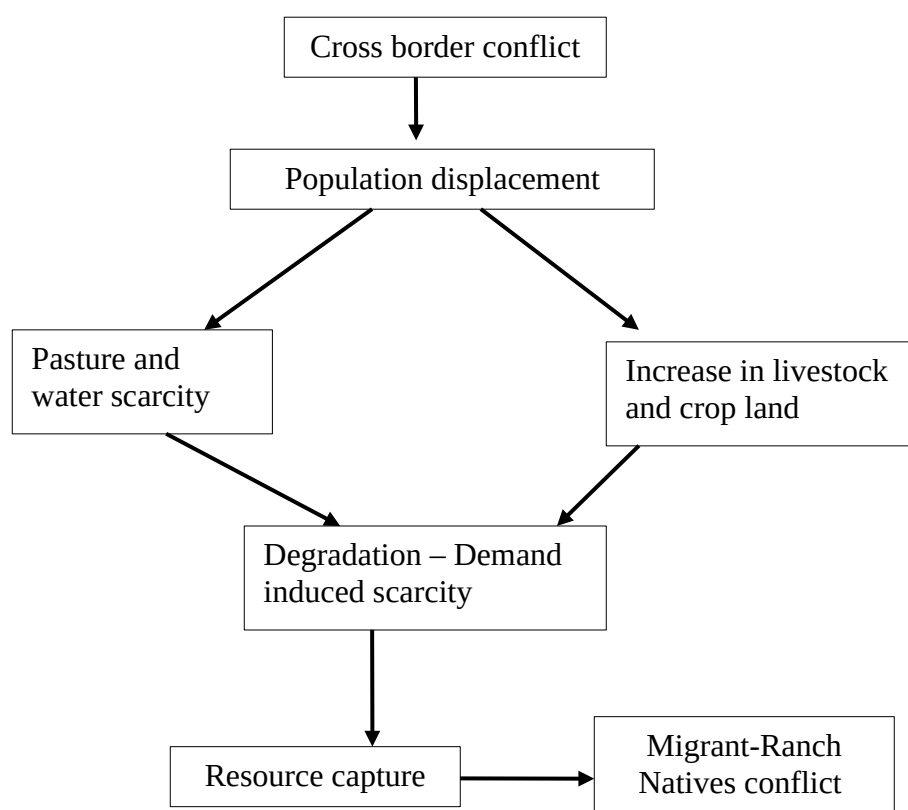
Conclusion

This study made use of the Standard Migration Theory as a theoretical framework. The main thrust of the theory has been to explain the origin of migrants and the channels through which they contribute to the conflict problems at the destination (Reuveny, 2005). In group ranches of West Pokot, the problem of resource capture due to *degradation-demand induced scarcity* is what underlines the intra-Pokot conflict (Matui & Kwonyike, 2006). Degradation-demand induced scarcity is as a result of two coinciding circumstances in the ranch. The first is Water and pasture degradation. The second is increase in livestock and human numbers (ibid). Pasture and water degradation is in part due to failure in group ranch as an intervention because of collapsed grazing system which has been attributed to drought (Dietz, 1987).

However, as this study has shown, rotational grazing also collapsed due to increase in population, and one contributor to this is the presence of cross border conflict migrants, who

hundred the operation of grazing blocks. Hence, one factor of *degradation demand induced scarcity* is the cross border conflict migrants. It is this acute scarcity that bestows to the ranch members the apathiness towards the ranch leading to forceful capture of resources exhibited in this study. In the process of resource capture, some degree of environmental discrimination is created (Bachelor & Spillman, 1996). This occurs when fencing and cultivation block routes of access to common pasture and water. The study being located in a group ranch- a land property whose rights are not fully developed imply that migrants can easily conflict evenly with natives of destination when land rights are not fully developed. Figure 1 illustrates the interplay of factors to produce the migrant-ranch native conflict.

Figure 1: Interaction of factors to produce migrant – Ranch native conflict in border ranches of West Pokot.



Public Policy Recommendation

In the 21st Century, the policy goal with regard to the Kenya Uganda border should aim to minimize the prospects of cross border conflict. Due to this fact, two policy making audiences come to mind: the governments of Kenya and Uganda. These two governments have to co-operate in a more substantive manner to implement effective trans-borderland governance. This will include implementing development policies that will stifle cross border animosity.

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