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**Conflict Early Warning
among the Somali, Turkana, Maasai, Samburu, Ogiek and Endorois Communities
of Kenya**

Table of contents

Acronyms.....	4
Acknowledgement.....	5
Executive Summary.....	6
Introduction.....	7
Causes of conflict and mechanisms for addressing the root causes.....	10
Conflict early warning signs and occurrence of ethnic conflict.....	15
Communication of conflict early warning signals.....	17
Conclusion.....	25
Recommendation.....	26
Bibliography.....	27
Methodology.....	28

List of Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
DC	District Commissioner
NSIS	National Security Intelligence Services
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
NCKK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
EAPCCO	Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
TJRC	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission

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Executive Summary

Recent decades have seen an escalation of inter-community conflicts among indigenous/minority communities in the Rift region of Kenya. State action has involved military and the deployment of armed personnel albeit unsuccessful in conclusively addressing the root causes of the conflicts. The creation of the Kenyan paramilitary institutions, known as police anti-stock theft units, has had very little impact on preventing and managing internal conflicts. In short, the state has been increasingly constrained in its ability to deal with inter-community conflicts and the civil society's diplomatic approach has also been unsuccessful. Local customary arrangements namely the use of Councils of elders in different communities aimed at preventing, managing and resolving these conflicts have been constrained by scale/magnitude (the conflicts are across community, magnitude is also huge in terms of the number of people involved, the weapons etc) of the conflicts in the contemporary society.

The research focused on the Maasai, Ogiek, Somali, Turkana, Samburu and Endorois communities that inhabit arid and semi-arid areas where soil, rainfall and temperature conditions inhibit land use options. As a result, most of these communities have to keep moving in search of pastures and water. Such migratory pattern has often generated conflicts between the communities over access to limited resources or over communities claiming exclusive ownership of specific areas.

The conflicts have persisted and become more violent leading to loss of lives and perpetuated a general underdevelopment trend. Therefore, understanding early warning indicators of imminent conflict will be a significant step in developing ad hoc mechanisms to prevent and or reduce the intensity of such conflicts in the future.

The research findings exposed the early warning information and mechanisms that peace-building actors can use to better handle the clashes before their escalation to mass proportions.

Indeed, the research established that drought, the reduction in the number of livestock, the presence of footprints of perceived aggressors, the absence of tobacco in the market, the absence of young men, the onset of rites of passage lead to communities acquiring arms and to an increased political activity (local politicians bickering in the media, for example, is an indication to the community of an upcoming conflict). The research also found that the security forces rely heavily on the intelligence reports generated by the National Security Intelligence Services (NSIS) to avert conflicts. Lastly, the research pointed out the minimal structured integration of conflict early warning from the community leaders into the larger intervention strategy in use to avert conflicts.

Introduction

Recent decades have seen an escalation of inter-community conflicts among indigenous and minority communities in the Rift region of Kenya. State action has involved the military and the deployment of armed personnel; this has, however, been unsuccessful in conclusively addressing the root causes of the conflicts. The creation of Kenyan paramilitary institutions, known as Police Anti-Stock Theft Units, has had very little impact on the prevention and management of internal conflicts. In short, the state has been increasingly constrained in its ability to deal with inter-community conflicts, and the diplomatic approach of civil society has also been unsuccessful. Local customary arrangements, namely the use of councils of elders in different communities aimed at preventing, managing and resolving these conflicts have been constrained by the scale and magnitude of contemporary conflicts, as the conflicts are across communities, and large numbers of people and weapons are involved.

This study focuses on the Maasai, Ogiek, Somali, Turkana, Samburu and Endorois communities, which inhabit arid and semi-arid areas where soil, rainfall and temperature conditions inhibit land use options. Most of these communities have to keep moving in search of pastures and water. This migratory pattern has often generated conflicts between the communities over access to limited resources or over communities claiming exclusive ownership of specific areas.

The conflicts have persisted and become more violent, leading to the loss of lives and perpetuating a general trend of underdevelopment. Therefore, understanding early warning indicators of imminent conflict will be a significant step in developing ad hoc mechanisms to prevent and or reduce the intensity of such conflicts in the future.

The research findings identified the early warning information and mechanisms that peace-building actors can use to better handle the clashes before their escalation to mass levels. Indeed, the research

established that drought, reduction in the number of livestock, the presence of footprints of perceived aggressors, the absence of tobacco in the market, the absence of young men and the onset of rites of passage can lead to communities acquiring arms and to increased political activity (local politicians bickering in the media, for example, is an indication to the community of an upcoming conflict). The research also found that the security forces rely heavily on intelligence reports generated by the National Security Intelligence Services (NSIS) to avert conflicts.

Most importantly, the research showed that early warning systems from community leaders are only minimally integrated into the larger intervention strategy in use for averting conflicts.

Indigenous and minority communities occupy 80 per cent of the total area of Kenya, areas commonly referred to as Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL). They total six million people or 15 per cent of the Kenyan population, and derive their livelihoods from livestock and related products¹. Due to the harsh and uncertain environmental conditions, the indigenous and minority communities in question have mastered flexible and highly mobile lifestyles as a coping strategy.

Pastoral and minority communities in Kenya frequently experience severe conflicts over access to water and pasture; they are exposed to cattle rustling and highway banditry, which are criminal acts under Kenyan law; and, due to their isolation, they may easily be caught in the cross-fire during broader conflicts of a political nature.

In time, various early warning systems have emerged to assist national and international actors in the anticipation of and timely preparation for disasters, political destabilization and forced migration times². Early warning systems are therefore used

¹ Ekuam, D.E., unpublished paper "Conflicts, Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding: The Role of Pastoralists Women", 2004.

² Kruppenacher and Schmeidl 1999

to warn populations and governments in advance about looming conflicts or disasters, and alert the actors who have the capacity to respond to such instances, such as the government and civil society organizations.

The early warning systems used today for civilian purposes focus both on the symptoms and on the structural causes of conflicts. Similarly, early warning systems also focus on conflict triggers, such as drought, that often spark migratory movements leading to increasing tension between communities. Early warning is not only about assessing the possibility of conflict but also about identifying opportunities for intervention to promote peace³.

It is increasingly understood that early warning systems are not limited to state and inter-governmental security agencies; communities affected by conflict will more often than not develop their own indicators and response mechanisms. The warning signs become cues for communities to prepare and plan for a particular incident or an imminent conflict⁴.

International non-governmental organizations (INGOs), NGOs and the government have mounted different peace actions among these communities with minimal success. Despite the governmental and civil society efforts, the conflicts among the indigenous and minority communities continue. NGOs such as the National Council of Churches of Kenya, Oxfam GB, World Vision, and the Centre for Conflict Resolution-Kenya among others have held a number of community dialogue forums and conflict resolution training seminars, and this has led to the establishment of local structures within the community. However, it is not certain that this has translated into improved relationships between communities. One of the major gaps in the process

³ Forum for Early warning and Response (FEWER), 1999.
⁴ United States Agency for International Development (USAID), *Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa: Conflict Baseline Study Report, August 2005*.

of dealing with conflicts is the lack of coordination of various efforts, of the lack of consistency in the tools used to analyse the conflicts and their reactive rather than proactive response, and the lack of a policy framework to guide the resolution and management of these conflicts. The government on the other hand has often used the police forcefully to disarm these communities, in particular the Turkana, Samburu and Somalis, where the prevalence of small arms is high, with the hope that once these communities are disarmed they will be compelled to peace⁵. Again, the actual impact of such initiatives in terms of violence reduction has not been demonstrated. In particular, such initiatives create a climate of mistrust between security agencies and communities, thus hampering the coordination and information sharing that is necessary effectively to identify conflict risks and take preventive action.

Ethnic distribution and age span of interviewees

In the African context, ethnic origin often determines both the way of life and people’s perceptions of various environmental issues. Members of a particular ethnic group are more likely to behave and perceive their environment in the same way. The behaviour and perceptions might not necessarily be similar to those of another group. Given the variations in conduct and perceptions among ethnic groups, any misunderstanding and lack of tolerance is likely to lead to conflict. On the whole, the communities were found to be fairly cohesive and the decision making process largely operated through the community elders.

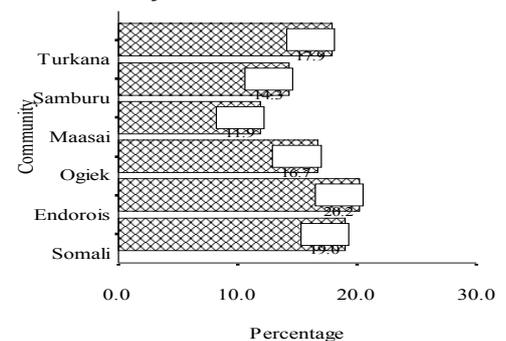


Figure 2: Ethnic Distribution of the respondents

⁵ Tanja Chopra, *Building Informal Justice in Northern Kenya, Justice for the poor, Legal Resources Foundation Trust, 2008*.

Age is a very important socio-economic factor in terms of its influence on the decision making power of, and role played by, an individual. The research classified the respondents as youths (35.7 per cent), adults (46.4 per cent) and elders (17.9 per cent). In conflict situations, each group plays a different role in the community, with different perceptions about the state of affairs, and provides different early warning information.

The study involved about 60 per cent (59.5%) men and about 40 per cent (40.5%) women. The disparity and dominance of males in the research testifies to the societal roles and expectations assigned to different genders among the minority communities. The field research targeted – among other groups - community leaders. Among the communities under study, males are clearly favoured over women when it comes to leadership positions. This therefore skewed the numbers towards male respondents to a certain extent. In addition, in most communities reviewed except for the Turkana males play a more dominant and overt role in conflicts with women supporting them logistically. In addition, women sometimes fuel the conflicts through the praise songs for those who are courageous warriors who have killed more “enemies”.

Inter-ethnic conflicts profiling - Number of conflict situations between 2007 and 2009

According to the research findings, the communities under review experienced conflicts between 2007 and 2009. 40 per cent of respondents experienced an average of three conflicts, while 31 per cent experienced 10 or more conflicts, with an average of about three conflicts per year.

			Ethnic Group						Total	
			Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali		
Number of conflict situations in the last 3 years	3	Count	0	1	5	12	8	8	34	
		%	.0%	8.3%	50.0%	85.7%	47.1%	50.0%	40.5%	
	4-6	Count	0	1	4	2	9	3	19	
		%	.0%	8.3%	40.0%	14.3%	52.9%	18.8%	22.6%	
	7-9	Count	2	1	0	0	0	2	5	
		%	13.3%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.5%	6.0%	
	≥10	Count	13	9	1	0	0	3	26	
		%	86.7%	75.0%	10.0%	.0%	.0%	18.8%	31.0%	
	Total		Count	15	12	10	14	17	16	84

Table 1: Number of conflict situations between 2007-2009 by ethnicity

The Turkana community, for example, experienced more conflicts than any other with 86.7 per cent of respondents reporting more than ten conflicts between 2007 and 2009. This is because the Turkana community borders Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia and Uganda internationally and Samburu and Pokot domestically, all areas characterized by incessant cattle rustling and conflicts over access to resources.

CAUSES OF CONFLICT AND MECHANISMS FOR ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSES

The research identified the main causes of conflicts between 2007 and 2009, including various environmental factors such as shortage of pasture, drought, and lack of potable water; and the mechanisms used by the communities to address them. The respondents had free rein in suggesting the causes of conflicts. The following figures indicate the causes as identified by the communities in the study.

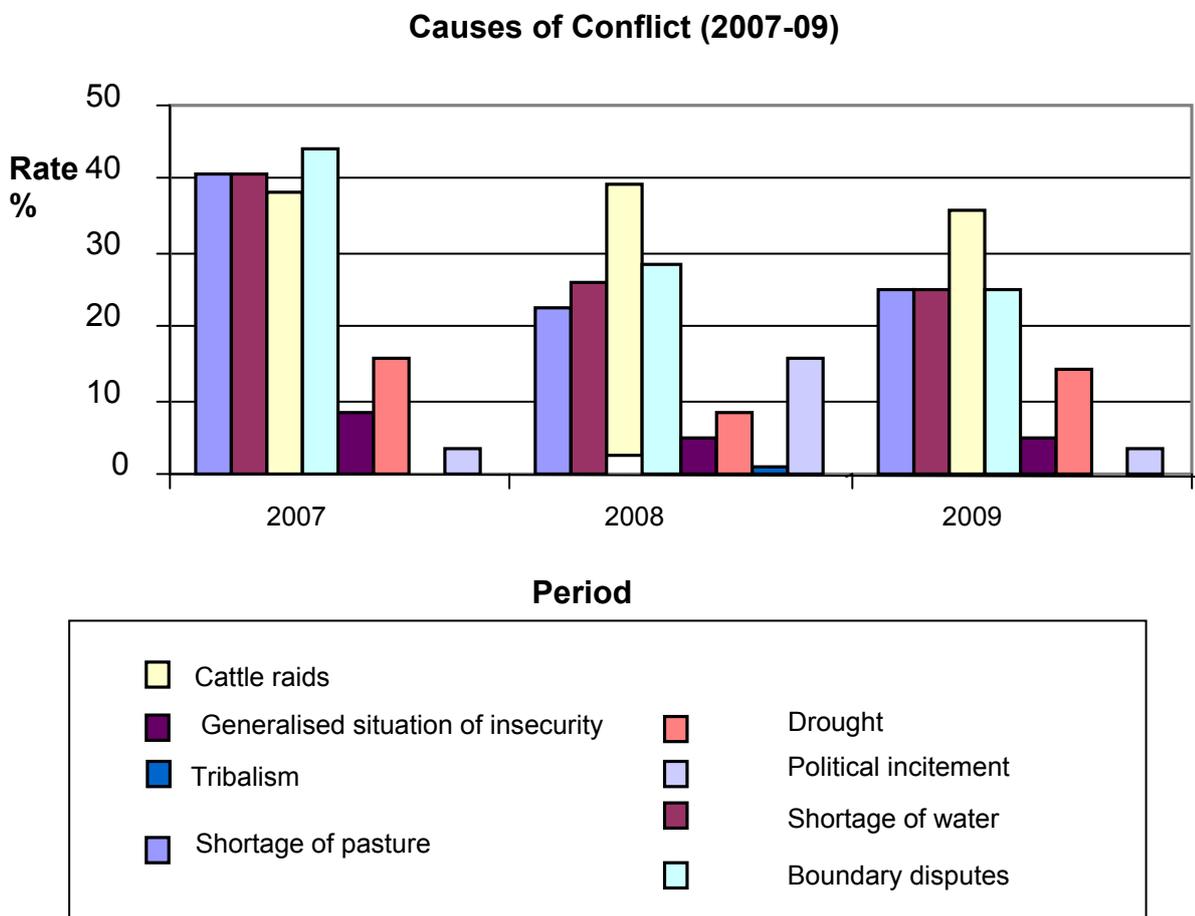


Figure 9: Causes of conflict 2007-2009

Political incitement

Politically induced conflicts have been experienced many times in the past particularly during elections' times. The findings show that political incitements contributed to 3.6 per cent of the conflicts in pre and post-election years. However, the figure of 16 per cent for politically motivated conflicts in 2007 may have been due to the heightened political activities associated with the general elections (see figure 12 for the distribution of conflicts in the pre/post and election year).

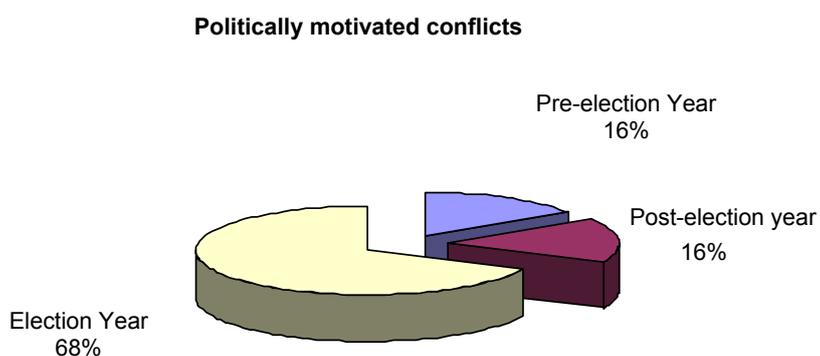


Figure 12: Conflicts during elections¹

Although latent ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley have existed since independence, violent conflict leading to forceful evictions started when Kenya

held its first multi-party elections in 1992. The main feature of political pluralism in the country has been ethnically-based political alliances. There has been a failure of political institutions to accommodate diverse ethnic interests in an equitable, constructive and transparent way. The exclusion of certain ethnic groups from access to services and opportunities has also contributed to increased tensions between those in power and the opposition. This, in combination with triggers like drought or elections, ignited violence among the ethnic groups. Ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley, that is home to many indigenous and minority communities for example, have often emerged largely as a result of political manipulation and not because ethnicity per se is a direct cause of violent clashes.

Cultural Practices that Fuel Inter-Community Conflicts

Moranism

Moranism is a traditional practice in which young men are admitted to warrior-hood after circumcision. It is considered to promote comradeship, self-esteem, courage, strength, perseverance and self-sacrifice. Traditional forms of moranism celebrate war-like activities, although this is changing⁶. Moranism is more common among the Samburu and the Maasai than the other ethnic groups under study.

Dowry payment

Dowry is a cultural requirement for marriage in use in these indigenous communities. Young men are expected to pay a number of animals before they can marry a girl. The number of animals required varies from community to community. The security officers interviewed stated that dowry payment in some communities is as high as 20 animals or even more. The young men who do not even own animals will therefore resort to cattle raiding to acquire animals for dowry payment. The practice of payment of dowry therefore leads to cattle raids, thus fuelling inter-community conflicts.

⁶ Peter Wasambaa, *The concept of heroism in Samburu moran ethos*, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Volume 21, Issue 2, 2009.

Pastoralism

Most Turkana, Samburu, Maasai and Somalis rely on livestock for their livelihood. Nomadism is an adaptive or coping strategy for these communities to be able to access water and pasture for their animals. In the processes of moving from one place to another in search of pasture, the communities interact with one another, as well as with settled, cultivating communities. The communities' interaction is sometimes characterised by tensions and conflicts. As one security officer pointed out;

“when there is no pasture and water, the communities will come to graze together and in the processes they conflict with each other over grazing lands”⁷

Initiation

The initiates especially the men test their manhood by going for cattle raids in the neighbouring communities, which often leads to conflicts. The security officers interviewed explained the two dimensions of cattle raids such as a re-stocking of animals that have been lost either through drought or raids, and the need to increase the number of cattle to enhance an individual's social status. This is because the size of the household's herd reflects its social status within the community. The other dimension explained by the security agents referred to young men who have been initiated that often test their abilities as “men” by going on cattle raids. A successful raid is considered as a sign of maturity and of one's worth for graduation into adulthood.

Conflicting parties and perceived aggressors

The research assessed the parties that have been involved in the conflicts, the number of conflicts that the communities have been engaged in since 2007, and the perceived aggressors by each community.

The Turkana community respondents identified the Samburu, Pokot, Toposa, Turkana and Karamajong as the parties that have been involved in the conflicts that they have experienced in the last three years. The perceived aggressors in these conflicts were

⁷ Interview, Police reservist in Samburu

identified as the Pokot, Toposa and the Karamajong. The Turkana community is bordered by Ethiopia to the North East, Sudan to the North West and Uganda to the west. It also borders the Pokot to the south east and the Somali community to the east. The identification of the three communities can be explained in terms of the fact that these communities border each other and they compete for access to and use of scarce pasture as they are all pastoralists. In a study of conflicts in Northern Kenya, Pkalya et al (2003) established that competition over control and use of scarce grazing lands and water, and also livestock theft to increase herd sizes, was a source of conflicts in Northern Kenya.⁸

The Samburu community recognized the Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, and Somali communities as the conflicting parties, with the Pokot considered as the more aggressive. Again, these communities boarder each other, the Samburu community is next to the Turkana in the North West, the Pokot in the southwest, the Somali and the Kikuyu in the East. All these communities practice pastoralism and therefore often compete for common resources, namely pasture and water, and they believe that they have the right to graze their cattle anywhere. The respondents from the Samburu community perceived the Pokot as their main aggressor.

The Maasai community identified the Kipsigis, Ogiek and the Ranchers (whites of British origin and some Kenyans) as the parties involved in the conflicts in the period under review. The identification of the Kipsigis as one of the parties to the conflicts can be attributed to the Maasai community in the Narok and Kajiado areas that border the Kipsigis. The identification of the Ranchers can be attributed to the Maasai community from Laikipia areas which have had conflicts over access to pasture. The ranches are fenced off; hence, particularly during droughts, the Maasai community who consider that the land belongs to them, feel cheated out of their pre-colonial land. The identification of the Ogiek can be attributed to the Maasai from the areas of the

Mau forest that have experienced conflict situations over access to and use of forest resources. The Maasai from Narok consider the Kipsigis as the aggressors, and those from Laikipia consider the Ranchers as the agressors.

The Ogiek community respondents identified the parties that have been involved in the conflicts in the last three years are the Ogiek, Maasai and the Kikuyu communities. The identification of the Kikuyu and the Maasai can be attributed to the conflicts that have occurred around Keringet and Kuresoi areas over the use of forest resources. The Ogiek community perceived the Maasai and the Kikuyu as the aggressors. This can be explained in terms of the fact that the Ogiek inhabit the Mau forest areas and believe that they have both traditional and legal rights to live in and be custodians of the forest; interlopers are seen as threatening Ogiek livelihoods by destroying forest resources.

The Endorois community is one of five Tugen clans that also include the Aror, Lembus, Pokor and Samor. The Endorois have over 20 sub-clans, including the Gabon, Gumoi, Kobil, Moge, Samak, Sogom, Talai, Tarkok, Terik and Tungae⁹. The Endorois live in Arabal, Muchongoi and in Baringo in the Rift Valley neighbouring Nakuru. They inhabit a semi-arid area and keep a minimal number of livestock. The Endorois community identified investors, the Pokot, the Ilchamus and the Turkana as parties to conflicts involving them. The perceived aggressors were identified as the Pokot and investors; the Pokot are also pastoralists and thus often compete for the same resources; the investors are notably those who are keen on investing in the Baringo areas where there are wild animals and springs.

The Somali community of Wajir, Isiolo, Moyale, Marsabit and Mandera is largely from two dominant clans in the district, namely the Ajuran and Degodia, with lesser numbers from the Ogaden, Garre, Murle and other smaller sub-clans¹⁰. The Somali

⁸ *Op. cit.* Pkalya et al (2003).

⁹ M.O. Makoloo, Kenya -minorities, indigenous peoples and ethnic diversity, Minority Rights Group International, London, 2005.

¹⁰ Pkalya, R., Adan, M., Climate change, a cause of conflict between

identified some of the sub-clans of the Somali which are involved in conflicts (Murule, Ajuran, Degodia, Garre), and also other ethnic groups such as the Borana, Turkana, Pokot, and Samburu. The community indicated that these communities border each other, and are fighting over the same resources; at various times, these communities can be either aggressors or victims.

60.7 per cent of respondents indicated that they were aware of imminent conflicts thanks to both indigenous communities' traditional and modern knowledge and use of conflict early warning indicators.

	Ethnic community						Total
	Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali	
Respondents indicated that they were aware of forthcoming conflicts	53.3%	83.3%	100.0%	64.3%	76.5%	6.3%	60.7%

Table 2: Awareness of an imminent conflict by community

Within all ethnic groups except for the Somali, at least 50% of respondents indicated that they had an awareness of forthcoming conflicts (see Table 2), as over time these communities have developed their own mechanisms of detecting conflicts before their occurrence.

Before disaster strikes: preventive action taken by the communities

Respondents were asked what action they take when they become aware that a conflict is imminent. Table 3 shows some of the response mechanisms identified as a means to either prevent or reduce the magnitude of the conflict.

<i>Action</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Organized counter-attacks for self-defence and revenge	9	17.6
No action since decision are made by elders	9	17.6
Appealed for calmness through peace committees	8	15.7
Reported to relevant authority - security agents	21	41.2
Supported elders to initiate dialogue	4	7.8
Total	51	100.0

Table 3: Actions taken in response to potential conflicts

41.2 per cent of respondents stated that they reported warnings about a forthcoming conflict to the security officers in areas where they are deployed locally (see Table 3). For instance, in the Amaiya (a Samburu area) the chief office is located over 20 km away from where clashes between the Samburu and Pokot often occur. 15.7 per cent of respondents indicated that they had confidence in the role played by peace committees, 7.8 per cent in dialogue initiated by community elders, and 17.6 per cent did not take any action since decision-making is left to the elders. Through the District Commissioners and various agencies, such as the National Council of Churches of Kenya and Oxfam, the government has established peace committees in some areas to help promote peaceful co-existence amongst communities. The members of the peace

pastoralists in the semi-arid and arid regions of Wajir, Kenya? Universiteit Gent faculteit Politieke en sociale wetenschappen Els Van Lier, 2003; Pkalya, R., Adan, M. & Masinde, I. (2003). Conflict in Northern Kenya: a focus on the internally displaced conflict victims in Northern Kenya. United Kingdom: Intermediate Technology Development Group, Practical Action.

committees are selected community elders. The committees' foster peace by educating the community on the need for peace, and receiving information about potential conflicts and preparing conflicting parties to engage in a meaningful dialogue.

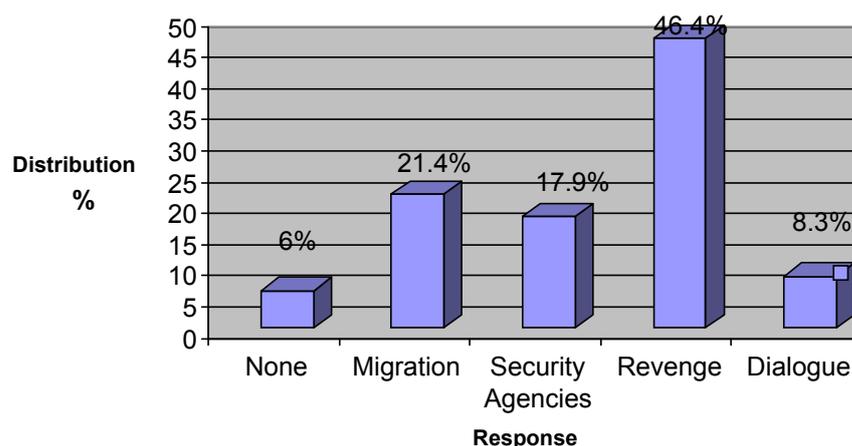
			Ethnic community						Total	
			Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali		
Action taken in response to impending conflicts	Organized counter-attacks for self-defense and revenge	Count	3	3	1	0	2	0	9	
		%	37.5%	30.0%	10.0%	.0%	15.4%	.0%	17.6%	
	No action since decision are made by elders	Count	0	3	3	2	0	1	9	
		%	.0%	30.0%	30.0%	22.2%	.0%	100.0%	17.6%	
	Appealed for calmness through peace committees	Count	0	1	1	3	3	0	8	
		%	.0%	10.0%	10.0%	33.3%	23.1%	.0%	15.7%	
	Reported to relevant authority - security agents	Count	5	3	5	4	4	0	21	
		%	62.5%	30.0%	50.0%	44.4%	30.8%	.0%	41.2%	
	Supported elders to initiate dialogue	Count	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	
		%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	30.8%	.0%	7.8%	
	Total			8	10	10	9	13	1	51

Table 4: Action taken in response to impending conflict

When faced with conflicts, communities react in different ways. For example, the Turkana community appear to favour immediate action, with all respondents indicating either that they report it to the relevant authorities for action (62.5%) or plan for counter attacks (37.5%). Among the Somali community however, the strong influence and authority of the clan elders seems recognized as the only institutions that can sanction any action in times of conflict.

When under attack – how communities respond

When under attack communities react differently by migrating, alerting the security agencies, undertaking revenge attacks or initiating dialogue with their counterparts. 46.40 per cent of interviewees indicated that revenge attacks were the most common action taken by communities, followed by migration to safer areas (21.4 per cent), engagement with security agencies (17.9 per cent), and initiating inter-community dialogue under the stewardship of community elders (8.3 per cent).



CONFLICT EARLY WARNING SIGNS AND OCCURRENCE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

Community representatives were asked which early warning indicators they use to identify potential inter-ethnic conflicts. The indicators cited included phenomena such as lack of food, pasture and water, that are indeed elements that contribute to the manifestation of imminent conflicts amongst the communities reviewed. This is particularly true for the Maasai (100 per cent) and the Somali (81.3 per cent) pastoral communities that rely heavily on livestock for their livelihood. In some communities, elders or diviners (shamans) read the intestines of slaughtered animals to predict looming conflicts.

			Ethnic community						Total
			Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali	
Indicators signalling the presence of an impending conflict	Reduced number of livestock	Count	6	2	0	1	1	1	11
		%	40.0%	16.7%	.0%	7.1%	5.9%	6.3%	13.1%
	Limited food, pasture and water	Count	7	7	10	8	8	13	53
		%	46.7%	58.3%	100.0%	57.1%	47.1%	81.3%	63.1%
	Political instability	Count	1	0	0	2	3	1	7
		%	6.7%	.0%	.0%	14.3%	17.6%	6.3%	8.3%
	Presence of members of other warring communities	Count	1	2	0	1	2	1	7
		%	6.7%	16.7%	.0%	7.1%	11.8%	6.3%	8.3%
	Presence of illegal arms	Count	0	1	0	2	3	0	6
		%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	14.3%	17.6%	.0%	7.1%
Total			15	12	10	14	17	16	84

Table 5: Early warning signals of an impending conflict by ethnic community

To reinforce the validity of the perception that food, pasture and water limitation signal potential conflict, the research sought to pinpoint peace indicators (for example, the presence of certain goods and items), that when present, indicate the likelihood of peace among the different communities (see Table 6). Conversely, the absence of these indicators, among others, can be a pointer to an imminent conflict. For example, the Samburu and Turkana communities indicated the absence of tobacco in the market as problematic when the Morans buy the commodity in bulk to use whilst planning for raids.

The absence of the young men in the villages, as they gather for planning in the bush before raids or counter attacks, was also identified by the respondents as an early warning indication of conflict. Finally, the communities use footprints as a means to recognizing the movements of aggressors. The Samburu, Turkana and Maasai communities have uniquely designed sandals (made out of vehicles' tires). The communities can then determine to which community the footprints belong.

			Ethnic Group						Total	
			Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali		
P e a c e Indicators	Rainy season - availability of water and pasture	Count	10	12	9	7	15	16	69	
		%	66.7%	100.0%	90.0%	50.0%	88.2%	100.0%	82.1%	
	Intermarriage, association and interaction among communities	Count	3	0	1	4	2	0	10	
		%	20.0%	.0%	10.0%	28.6%	11.8%	.0%	11.9%	
	Presence of tobacco in the market	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	
		%	13.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.4%	
	Political stability	Count	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	
		%	.0%	.0%	.0%	21.4%	.0%	.0%	3.6%	
	Total			15	12	10	14	17	16	84

Table 6: Indicators of peace by ethnic group

Some level of uniformity on issue of availability of rain as a pointer of peace has been established as can be seen in Table 6. A total of 82.1 percent of the respondents identified rain as an indicator of peace. This can be attributed to the fact that most of these communities are pastoral (see Table 6), hence availability of rainfall signals more pasture, water and food hence limited migration (relocation) from one place to another. Further, it can be observed that political stability was seen as a peace indicator. This is can be attributed to the fact that, with Kenya coming out of post election violence, any perceived or real political difference between the Party of National Unity and the Orange Democratic Party (which form the coalition government) can spark conflicts.

COMMUNICATION OF CONFLICT EARLY WARNING SIGNALS

The research indicated that mobile phones (59.5 per cent) and leaflets (40.5 per cent) are the main conduits used to communicate an imminent conflict amongst communities, preceding traditional means of communication such as word of mouth, horn blowing and smoke signalling (see Table 7).

Medium	Freq	% of 84
Leaflets	34	40.5
Phones (SMS/calls)	50	59.5
Radio	21	25.0
Other medium including word of mouth, horn blowing and smoke	20	23.8

Table 7: Medium used to signal an impending conflict

In addition, for example, leaflets' messages mainly aim at targeting the population at large (32.4 per cent), minority communities and their elders (20.6 per cent). The findings further indicate that SMS messages are used to raise the awareness of an entire community (38 per cent) and political leaders (26 per cent) about a looming conflict. The same can be said of FM radio stations that are generally used to inform whole communities (47.6 per cent) and their elders (42.9 per cent) about an upcoming conflict (see Table 8).

Target	Leaflets	SMS	FM radio
Community elders	20.6	18.0	42.9
Anonymous	32.4	6.0	0
Political leaders	11.8	26.0	9.5
Entire community	20.6	38.0	47.6
Youth	14.7	12.0	0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 8: Sectors targeted by the various communications methods (percentages)

In terms of reliability of the medium of transfer of conflict early warning information, the respondents considered FM radio (1.71 mean rank) as the most reliable source of information (see Table 11), followed by word of mouth and the others (1.95 mean rank). In the focused group discussions the respondents stated that they rely on the FM radios and word of mouth to obtain early warning information as both means of communication have a wide coverage in the country and are relatively accessible to the communities.

Media	Ranking				Mean rank
	1	2	3	4	
FM radio	42.9	42.9	14.3	0.0	1.71
Other medium – word of mouth, horn blowing and smoke	47.4	31.6	0.0	21.1	1.95
Short messages service	36.0	20.0	32.0	12.0	2.20
Leaflets	26.5	29.4	2.9	41.2	2.59

Table 11: Reliability of source of information of an imminent conflict

Sources of information of emerging conflicts

Indigenous and minority communities can bank on various sources of information to predict an emerging conflict. Respondents were first asked which actors most commonly provide information about impending conflicts. They reported that the most common sources were political leaders (91.2 per cent), followed by

community elders (84.5 per cent).

Table 12: Sources of information on impending conflict

Agencies	Freq	% of 84
Political leaders	77	91.2
Community elders	71	84.5
NGOs	59	70.2
Security agencies	58	69.0

Respondents were then asked to rank the sources of early warning information according to their credibility.

	Ranking				Mean rank
	1	2	3	4	
NGOs	71.2	18.6	3.4	6.8	1.46
Community elders	40.8	40.8	15.5	2.8	1.80
Political leaders	13.0	19.5	32.5	35.1	2.90
Security agencies	5.2	22.4	36.2	36.2	3.03

Table 13: Credibility of source of information of an emerging conflict

The indigenous and minority communities find the NGOs the most credible source of information (with a mean of 1.46), followed by the community elders (mean of 1.80). The amount of trust accorded to the information given by the NGOs can be attributed to local communities' respect and acceptance of such organizations, especially in consideration of the fact that government agencies have been slow in their response to the early warning signs of conflict. The strong acceptance of the community elders can be explained in terms of the respect and influence that elders have in their respective communities.

It is also of interest to note that political leaders are the most common source of information, but are ranked as one of the least credible. That is a warning sign and testifies to the negative role that such leaders can play in fanning conflicts, for example, by disseminating false information, whether knowingly or not. The fact that they are the most common source means that their voice will be heard and is likely to have an impact, no matter how lacking in credibility they are perceived to be. This phenomenon was reported as a significant factor in the post-election violence of 2008.¹¹

It is furthermore of significant concern that security agencies are ranked lowest on both counts – as a likely source of information, and in terms of how credible that information is. This indicates that security agencies need to work much harder to strengthen their relationship with conflict-affected communities, and improve their capacity for collecting information and taking preventive action regarding inter-ethnic conflicts.

Correlation between indicators and occurrence of conflict

An analysis of the link between the indicators and occurrences of conflict showed that 83.3 per cent of the respondents had experienced conflicts after long periods of drought. Such droughts occur mainly at the beginning of the rainy season when herders return from areas to which they temporarily relocated in search of better pasture. When on their way back the herders' raid other communities' natural resources, in turn generating retaliation.

¹¹ Kenya: Deliver Justice for Victims of Post-Election Violence: Human Rights Watch press release (August 3, 2009) <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/08/02/kenya-deliver-justice-victims-post-election-violence>

Ethnic group	Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali	Total
Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	29.4%	87.5%	83.3%

Table 14: Experienced conflicts after long droughts by ethnic group (percentages)

All the communities other than the Endorois reported having experienced conflicts after long droughts that constituted a threat to their living. This can be explained for pastoral communities such as the Turkana, Samburu, Maasai, and the Somalis, that depend on pasture and migration for their livelihood and migration – moving from one place to another generates tensions between communities in competition for the same resources, therefore increasing the potential for conflict.

Ethnic group	Turkana	Samburu	Maasai	Ogiek	Endorois	Somali	Total
Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	92.9%	100.0%	85.7%	95.7%

Table 13: Experience conflicts over pasture after long drought by ethnic group

Table 13 indicate that 95.7 per cent of conflicts occur after long droughts over pasture accessibility, required by indigenous and minority communities for their animals. The higher the number of cattle, the higher the pressure on the communities to finding grazing lands for their animals.

Main socio-economic activities

The identification of some of the common activities that communities engage in during the year helps in identifying the times when they are more likely to experience conflict situations.

Activity	%	Time of the year
Initiation, especially circumcision	61.9	December and August
Marriage	51.2	All the year round
Pastoralism	45.2	All the year round
Crop farming	35.7	Rainy season- End of March or early April
Moranism	14.3	December and August

According to 61.9 per cent of respondents, the major annual socio-economic activity is initiation (which is related to moranism). Conflicts in the pastoral areas are difficult to predict, as this activity takes place all year round, but are likely to increase during dry periods.

Respondents were further asked what kinds of conflicts could be triggered by the various types of socio-economic activity (table 14).

Activity	%	Consequences
Initiation, especially circumcision	50.0	Cattle raids to confirm bravery and signal successful initiation
Pastoralism	45.2	Cattle raids to replenish stock and/or generally increase herd size. Common when there of shortage of water and pastures
Marriage	36.9	Cattle raids for bride price
Crop farming	34.5	Invasion into farmland by pastoralists and/or invasion into grazing land by farmers Land boundary disputes
Moranism	13.1	Cattle raids to confirm bravery

Table 14: Socio-economic activities that fuel conflict

Initiation within a community is one the major social activities that fuel inter-ethnic conflicts among groups. The findings indicate that in August and December, cattle raids take place which are a test of bravery as part of the initiation process, commonly leading to conflict situations between one or more communities.

“Moranism allows people to carry out cattle raids to confirm their graduate status”¹².

“All the communities are pastoralist and they depend on livestock as their source of livelihood. Because of their belief in herd size and drought conditions of the areas, they constantly engage in cattle raiding to increase their stock and/or revenge”¹³.

Similarly, both the initiation process and marriage frequently entail cattle raiding to sanction a man’s bravery and pay bride price. Generational graduation among men – graduation from one age group to another – is demonstrated by one’s bravery and courage through raiding and counter-raiding; as such it is very common for young Maasai and Samburu men aspiring to be morans.

33.3 per cent of the respondents noted that there is no time when conflicts are avoided, whereas 15 per cent of them stated that during the religious holy month conflicts are avoided, as in the case of the predominantly Muslim Somali minority. Equally, the rainy seasons, when the raids have subsided and all the communities have adequate grazing grounds, seem to be the best times to start peacemaking activities as conflicts are avoided as much as possible. In addition, the communities are relatively settled during rainy season hence would be more available to engage with each other for peaceful co-existence.

Period	Per cent
None	33.3
During special community ceremonies like circumcision	32.1
During rainy season	16.7
During religious holy month of Ramadhan, Idul-fitri, Idul Mubarak	15.5
January to July	2.4
Total	100.0

Table 15: Moments/periods when intra-community conflicts are avoided

¹² Statement by a security officer in Turkana.

¹³ Statement by a security officer interviewed in Samburu.

Ways of addressing the root causes of conflicts

Indigenous and minority communities favour the minimization and prevention of intra-community conflicts. Due to the large number of conflicts resulting from land disputes, uncertainty over land ownership and boundaries, a majority of respondents suggested conducting official reviews to determine boundaries. Many recommended dialogue initiatives to promote peaceful co-existence among communities. Others also stressed the importance of the provision of essential services such as water, but also poverty alleviation intervention, and boosting security in the affected areas as key resolving factors. Given the increased pressure on land and water resources due to increasing populations both in cultivating and pastoralist communities, it was advised by community members to improve water supply through irrigation, and to foster resource sharing initiatives, in order to reduce conflicts arising from competition over grazing lands and watering points, and to diminish cattle raids associated with restocking after long droughts (it should also be noted that, according to some research, pastoralism is the most appropriate form of livelihood for certain arid eco-systems¹⁴). This multifaceted approach to inter-ethnic conflicts would have the benefit of inclusiveness of different players being called to act upon.

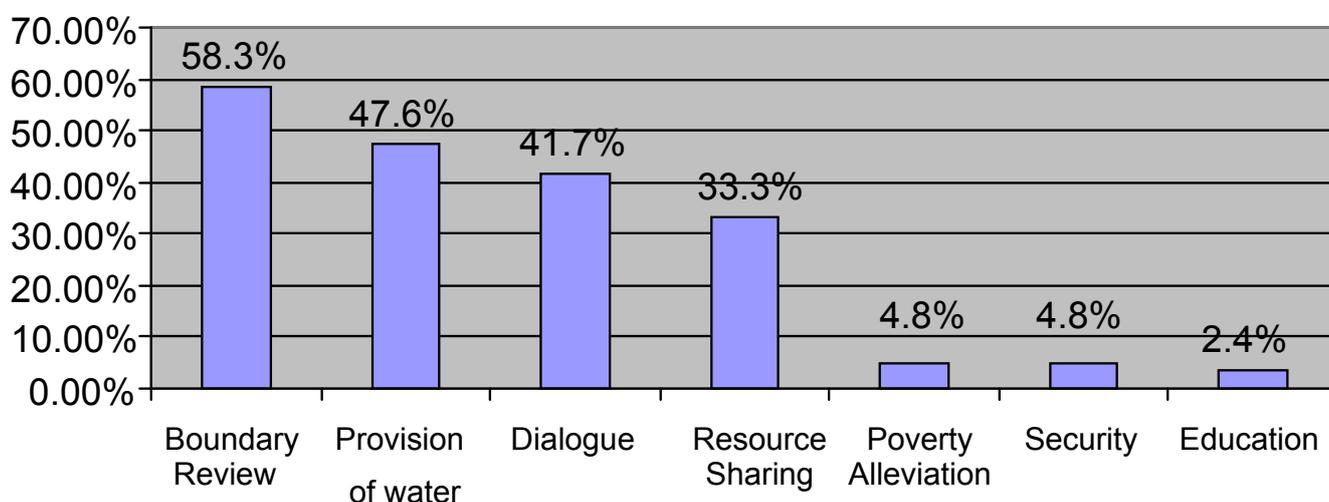


Figure 17: Recommended ways of addressing the Conflicts

The community representatives interviewed were also asked to consider each root cause (as identified in Figure 9) and make specific recommendations for dealing with them. These are detailed as follows:

Land and boundary disputes: boundary review by the government and dialogue with the communities

Shortage of water: construction of dams and bore holes to ensure that communities are more settled, thus reducing tensions that arise from migratory patterns in search of water

Cattle rustling: those holding illegal fire arms be disarmed; cattle be branded to show which community they come from; perpetrators of cattle rustling to be arrested and prosecuted; elders continue facilitating communities dialogue forums

Shortage of pasture: boundary review; sharing of resources using traditional negotiation mechanisms

¹⁴ For example, *Survival of the Fittest: Pastoralism and Climate Change in East Africa*, Oxfam Briefing Paper no. 116, August 2008

Security agents and conflict early warning

The security agents working among the community under study were interviewed to provide insight into the issue of early warning. The table below shows the area of operation of the security officers who were involved in the study.

Area of Operation	No. of security agents	Communities present
Turkana	2	Turkana
Samburu	2	Samburu
Narok	1	Maasai, Kalenjin, Kikuyu
Kajiado	2	Maasai, Kalenjin, Kikuyu
Baringo	1	Kalenjin, Endorois
Kuresoi	2	Ogiek, Kalenjin
Garissa	1	Somali
Total	11	

Table 18: District of operation of the security officers

The research sought to establish whether security agents among the target communities were aware of the early warning signs identified the communities, and whether the security agents adopt early warning systems that would enable them to avert the conflicts that often arise. The security agents in this research included chiefs, assistant chiefs and the administration police in the areas surveyed (as indicated in Table 18), but no criminal investigation officers¹⁵. Nevertheless, the role of security agents vis-à-vis community early warning signs is not clear. There seems to be mix of intelligence gathering and early warning information sharing. In some instances, the study could not establish adequate information for security reasons, where information was classified or kept confidential on state security grounds. Nevertheless there were cases where the authorities acknowledged the existence of conflict early warning mechanisms and information sharing.

Knowledge of imminent conflicts by security agents

The study sought to establish whether the security

¹⁵ The chiefs and their assistants are the officers with express constitutional mandate to ensure that law and order in their areas is maintained. The administration police were involved in the study due to the fact that they are the ones who are often engaged by the chiefs to intervene when there are conflicts.

agents had knowledge of impending conflicts. The findings indicated that all the security agents had always been aware of imminent conflicts before they occurred. However, the source of conflict early warning information according to the security agents was intelligence reports provided to them by the National Security Intelligence Service. In addition, they indicated that they were aware of the local conflict early warning signals such as drought, absence of the neighbouring communities around the borders, absence of tobacco in the market, absence of young men in the markets, interpretation of the intestines of sacrificial animals, unusual footprints (shown by the type of sandals which are specific to each community), and increased acquisition of small arms.

The security agents noted that they rely heavily on intelligence reports to predict and respond to conflicts. However, after the post-election violence, the Ministry of Provincial Administration and Internal Security and instructed all provincial administrators to create peace committees. One of the key responsibilities of the peace committees is to provide early warning information to the provincial administrators and to coordinate actions for peace. Provincial administrators depend on peace committees and village elders to obtain early warning information that is often passed on by word of mouth to the chiefs and their assistants for a reactive response. However, the committees do not have any legal backing or capacity to deal with conflicts. The establishment of the committees is at the sole discretion of the existing District Commissioner (DC); they can change as frequently as the DCs are transferred. The research found that government officials do not have any structured conflict early warning frameworks.

The responses to the early warning information received are often through the use of force such as disarmament, though in some occasions the security agents have engaged the elders to pacify the communities. Forceful interventions have often seen the mobilization of the police with increased

patrols and also provided a buffer between the communities ready to enter into conflict. The engagement of community elders in dialogue and negotiations has sometimes yielded positive results as the communities have refrained from initiating conflicts.

The study notes that the major impediment to the inclusion of community early warning information in conflict management and peace building in these communities is the perception that when community members provide an early warning information to the security agents, they are often treated as suspects, are interrogated for a long time and sometimes even locked up in police cells. In addition, in some cases, the community members have reported the early warning information to the police, but the conflict fails to occur. The individual is branded a liar and the police will no longer listen to him. When they report and the conflict does occur, the police come looking for them to question them how they knew the conflict was going to occur.

Integration of early warning mechanisms

The establishment of peace committees is a positive move in addressing the incessant conflicts that the communities of the Rift Valley experience. The committees have been instrumental in addressing inter-community conflicts. However, there has been limited attention paid to how community early warning information may be integrated into state agencies' conflict prevention initiatives.

The study proposes that the provincial administrators need to have formal ways of having access to the communities' early warning information. For instance it should be clear to the elders and peace committee members that they collect early warning information and report it to the assistant chief, who then records the same. The administrator would then initiate the process of verification of the information immediately. Once the information has been verified, the elders from the likely conflicting communities are engaged in dialogue before a full blown conflict

erupts. In addition, the provincial administrators need to facilitate the establishment of grazing committees who would be involved in negotiating for grazing space during droughts, as was the case in the tradition of the Samburu and Turkana. The grazing committees are composed of elders who own large herds of animals and negotiate with their neighbours who have grass before the herdsmen move with their animals.¹⁶ This will go a long way in averting potential drought-related conflicts.

Policy gaps

National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management

Since 2004, Kenya embarked on the development of a National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management geared towards providing a framework for peace building, conflict prevention and management. The policy has since been developed, though it has not been presented to the cabinet or parliament for approval or enactment¹⁷.

The draft policy recognizes the central role of early warning mechanisms and responses in conflict prevention. It discusses the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) Protocol on the Establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism that "seeks to strengthen Kenya's mechanisms for conflict early warning and early response"¹⁸. These mechanisms are mainstreamed within the provincial administration and are complementary to existing intelligence systems¹⁹. The draft policy establishes peace committees in all the districts in the country. The peace committees are split into the provincial,

¹⁶ Kenya: *Building resilience to drought in the Karamoja cluster of East Africa, Practical Action, September 2009* (<http://reliefweb.int/node/324288>); *Grazing Committee Formed to Resolve Dispute in Isiolo, Nairobi Star, 21 September 2011* (<http://allafrica.com/stories/201109211260.html>)

¹⁷ *Office of the President, Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict management (Final version) September 2009* <http://www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Programmes/EWER/I4P/6.%20FINAL%20VERSION%20OF%20PEACE%20POLICY-KENYA.pdf>

¹⁸ http://www.cewarn.org/attachments/058_The%20CEWARN%20Protocol.pdf

¹⁹ *Final draft National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management 2009 3.2.3. Conflict Early Warning.*

district, divisional, locational and sub-locational levels. In these levels, the committees are answerable to Provincial Commissioner, District Commissioner, District Officer, Chief and Assistant Chief respectively. One of the core functions of these committees is to provide conflict early warning information to the various levels of government. In theory, therefore, the various government officials can rely on conflict early warning information to respond to imminent conflicts.

From a gender perspective, the draft policy acknowledges that “men and women experience conflict differently. The role of men and women in peace building shall be strengthened and their involvement in decision-making improved. Further, women and men, girls and boys in conflict areas have different perspectives, needs, interests, roles and even resources reinforced by class, economics, politics, ethnicity or age”²⁰.

The policy recognizes the usefulness of judicial mechanisms in settling conflicts²¹. It recognizes the critical role of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms such as community declarations and social contracts, and it will facilitate the harmonization of traditional conflict resolution procedures with basic international human rights standards and in particular with the Constitution, and with respect of and protection for human rights.

The policy recognizes that “most frequent and often violent conflicts in Kenya are found in the pastoralist environment and cross-border regions in North Rift, North Eastern, and parts of Eastern and Coast provinces. These areas are characterized by unpredictable climatic conditions leading to periods of drought and famine, migration in search of pasture and water which increases competition with host communities for these resources. These conflicts are aggravated by social and political alienation, economic marginalization and the proliferation of small arms emanating from conflicts

²⁰ - *Op. cit.* p. 12

²¹ - *Op. cit.* p 18, 3.2.4 Judicial System.

in the Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda. This leads to increased banditry that makes commercial raids of livestock more viable”. However, the policy does not suggest specific measures for addressing these conflicts in the pastoral areas.

Nevertheless, the draft policy focuses more on CEWARN, a regional protocol geared towards early warning of cross-border and international conflicts, as opposed to focusing on the local or national level.

Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) - Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa

The 2008 Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa was developed in recognition of the negative social, cultural and economic consequences of cattle rustling; its role in the destruction of livelihoods; and the part it plays in exacerbating internal and cross border violent conflict in the region²².

The protocol aims at promoting peace, human security and development in the region by preventing, combating and eradicating cattle rustling and related criminal activities in the Eastern African Region through the identification of livestock and maintenance of a record keeping system. State parties are expected to educate the public through awareness raising programmes and to enact the necessary legislation by treating cattle rustling as a criminal offence under domestic law. The regional focus of the policy is an issue in that despite the public awareness programmes and legislation used to prevent cattle rustling occurring at the national level, enforcement is largely undertaken by Interpol, sub regional bureaux and intergovernmental organizations.

²² EAPCCO Protocol on the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa, August 2008. <http://www.iss.co.za/uploads/CATTLEPROTFINAUG08.PDF>

CONCLUSION

This study has established a number of key findings:

- community representatives have a sophisticated understanding of the processes and dynamics that lead to conflicts in their areas;
- the indicators of conflicts used by communities are closely adapted to the types of conflicts arising;
- communities are able to identify the times of year when conflict is more or less likely;
- communities use context-specific indicators such as footprints left by sandals worn by other communities with whom conflict can arise;
- these early warning systems are firmly embedded within the communities and they have indicated imminent attacks with high levels of certainty; as a result the communities have a great degree of faith in them;
- communities also use external sources of early warning information but these are not all trusted to the same degree; for example information from political leaders is very widely disseminated, but is considered to have a low

degree of credibility;

- officials of security agencies identify many of the same indicators as those cited by the communities;
- however, information sharing between communities and security agencies is very poor; in many cases, there is a low level of trust, hampering information sharing;
- national and regional policy frameworks for conflict prevention are either insufficiently developed, or reveal gaps with regard to addressing local-level conflicts.

Society's contemporary embracing of modernity without reference to the communities' rich knowledge has achieved little in terms of conflict prevention among the minority communities. Supporting existing community conflict early warning mechanisms which have been proven over time to be successful, and linking them better to formal security frameworks, is one of the avenues that should be explored in order better to prevent the incessant conflicts among the minority communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Kenyan Government:

1. The Government should maintain an up-to-date database of the frequency levels, intensity, locations, and types of conflicts in areas prone to conflicts over livestock, water access and grazing rights;
2. The Government should initiate a consultation with representatives of affected communities, including youth, elders and women, on how to improve coordination between communities and security agencies on early warning methodologies, and allocate sufficient resources to implementing recommendations resulting from the consultation;
3. The government should consider developing community policing methods for areas affected by conflict over land, water or livestock, with a specific focus on improving levels of trust with communities;
4. Local government and police should develop a system allowing community members to communicate warnings of impending attacks, anonymously if necessary;
5. The governments should work to improve links between initiatives such as the Truth Justice and Reconciliation commission (TJRC), National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), and communities;

To communities affected by land, water, or livestock related conflict:

6. When communities' early warning systems identify a potential conflict, peace meetings should be initiated, and peace-keeping committees organised involving women, elders and youths;
7. Peace meeting should also be organised in "quiet" periods, as a preventive mechanism, and in order better to identify risks of future conflicts;

To donor governments, national and international NGOs:

8. Alternative livelihoods should be piloted in some areas where conflicts are caused by livelihood-related issues, drawing on, for example, the experience of the Tecla Lorupe Peace Foundation, a success story in West Pokot and other parts of East Africa;
9. Donor governments should share good practice from their countries and others regarding community policing and other conflict-sensitive security sector reform initiatives;
10. NGOs should provide increased support for communities' peace initiatives, and support participatory research on how to involve women and youths in conflict prevention and management;
11. Cross-border conflicts present a specific challenge and require support from national and international NGOs for peace initiatives;

To the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation:

12. The EAPCCO Cattle Rustling protocol should provide early warning and early response mechanisms at the local and national level, and not only at the regional level. Incorporating capacity building elements for the peace committees to enable them effectively to detect early warning signals and therefore prevent conflicts before they occur should be considered.

The protocol should also recognise the importance of indigenous early warning mechanisms as used by the communities, and propose frameworks for coordinating these with formal security frameworks.

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METHODOLOGY

Stratified random sampling and purposive sampling were used to select the study sample. Data was collected through interviews, focus group discussions and content analysis. The data collected was analysed using descriptive methods and the findings reported in narrative and visual formats. For the research, structured and unstructured questionnaires were the primary

tool for collecting information and data from the communities reflected in this report. In-depth interviews with community elders and security agencies were carried out to complement the questionnaires' results. In addition, the study used focused group discussions and key informants to substantiate the findings. Interviews were held separately with NGOs engaged in conflict prevention and peace building processes. Review of relevant literature was also used to support the data collected.