



**CEWARN**  
CONFLICT EARLY WARNING AND RESPONSE MECHANISM

# IGAD CONFLICT EARLY WARNING AND RESPONSE MECHANISM [CEWARN]

## NATIONAL CONFLICT PROFILING AND SCENARIO BUILDING REPORT



**KENYA**  
**2021**



The workshop that informed the national early warning report was organized with financial support from the European Union through the IGAD Promoting Peace and Stability in the Horn of Africa Region (IPPSHAR) program. The content of the report does not reflect the European Union's views.

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# ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>ADA</b>	Austrian Development Agency
<b>AI</b>	Actual Impact
<b>AS</b>	Al-Shabaab
<b>ASALs</b>	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
<b>BBI</b>	Building Bridges Initiative
<b>BMU</b>	Beach Management Unit
<b>CBOs</b>	Community Based Organizations
<b>CC</b>	County Commissioner
<b>CECs</b>	County Executive Committees
<b>CEWARN</b>	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
<b>CEWERU</b>	Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit
<b>CIDPs</b>	County Integrated Development Plans
<b>CMCs</b>	Ceasefire Monitoring Committees
<b>CSOs</b>	Civil Society Organizations
<b>CVE</b>	Countering Violent Extremism
<b>DCCs</b>	Deputy County Commissioners
<b>FBOs</b>	Faith Based Organizations
<b>FGM</b>	Female Genital Mutilation
<b>GBV</b>	Gender Based Violence
<b>GIS</b>	Geographic Information System
<b>HDI</b>	Human Development Index
<b>IEBC</b>	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>IED</b>	Improvised Explosive Device
<b>IGAD</b>	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
<b>INGOs</b>	International Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>KAYO</b>	To bring together
<b>KDF</b>	Kachapin Defense Forces
<b>KDF</b>	Kenya Defense Forces
<b>LAPSSET</b>	Lamu Port -South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport
<b>MCA</b> s	Member of County Assembly
<b>MOU</b>	Memoranda of Understanding
<b>NCIC</b>	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
<b>NGAO</b>	National Government Administrative Officer
<b>NPRs</b>	National Police Reserves
<b>NRA</b>	New Red Army
<b>NSC</b>	National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management
<b>OLF</b>	Oromo Liberation Front
<b>QRU</b>	Quick Response Unit

<b>REGABU</b>	Rendille, Gabra and Burji Alliance
<b>RI</b>	Real Impact
<b>RMC</b>	Range Land Management Committees
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>SCPC</b>	Sub-County Peace Committee
<b>SMS</b>	Short Message Service
<b>TFG</b>	Transitional Federal Government
<b>TSC</b>	Teachers Service Commission
<b>TVET</b>	Technical and Vocational Education and Training

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

This is a report of a high-level workshop held over five days at the Lake Naivasha Resort, in Naivasha, Kenya. The workshop brought together 30 carefully selected professionals from the six international cross-border counties in Kenya. The participants comprised of the County Commissioners, representatives from the county governments, and representatives from non-state organisations. The purpose of the workshop was to contribute to achieving peace, security and stability in Kenya through providing a platform for peace and security actors to deliberate on causes of conflicts (proximate, triggering and so on), profile actors, persistent and emerging trends, conflict complexities and dynamics, responses and likely scenarios and strategic options—while also forecasting and predicting early warning signs and anticipated early conflict response mechanisms. The deliberations addressed the key thematic areas contained within the Integrated Early Warning and Early Response sectors and inform the IGAD members states.

## 2. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The IGAD region, of which Kenya is a member, is highly dynamic in all aspects of human security parameters such as security, economy, governance, social affairs and environment. The situation is compelling IGAD and Kenya as a Member to constantly forecast, provide insights, analyses, and scenarios illuminating issues of conflict across these domains. Generally, the geographical landscapes of IGAD are characterized by the multiplicity, complexity, unpredictability, and volatility of peace and security conditions in the region. While some of the landscapes are the source of deeply-rooted domestic and regional socio-political challenges, the changing geographical and socio-economic scope of conflict in this environment require that Kenya and its IGAD partners states profile the conflict peace and security issues by way of conducting scenario-building exercises designed to inform interventions within the countries.

Kenya conducted county peace and security profiles in 2013 in order to prepare the new county governments to put the right structures in place aimed at addressing the peace and conflict issues within their counties. In order to help peace and security actors address the emerging challenges, the Kenya CEWERU, with support from IGAD-CEWARN, held a five-day workshop in Lake Naivasha Resort to update the county profiles and present new peace and conflict scenarios. The workshop focused on the six international border-counties. The conflict profiling and scenario building exercises are prerequisite for conflict early warning operations. This approach will provide policy makers, authorities and responsible people the opportunity to prepare early and to prevent situations from escalating and becoming violent. Scenario building exercises help decision makers to anticipate and influence change, facilitate new ways of thinking, reduce future risks, help develop shared frameworks and enhance resilience.

### 2.1. OPENING REMARKS FROM KENYA'S NATIONAL CEWERU HEAD

In the opening remarks, CEWERU head and the Director CEWARN, recognized presence of the participants and welcomed them to the meeting. They both emphasized the need to constantly update the county specific profiles and the fact that peace and security were core to sustainable peace and development.



*Photo 1: CEWERU Head, Mr. Peter Thuku giving his opening remarks*

Key highlights from the remarks by the CEWERU Head included the following:

- The CEWERU head thanked IGAD for its continued support for addressing peace and security issues in the country.
- The county profiling and scenario building exercises are crucial in helping resolve conflict issues as the country nears the general elections in 2022. These exercises are particularly essential for the identification of early warning signs and detection of trends.
- The NSC had succeeded in strengthening government and civil society partnerships to jointly address emerging conflicts.

## **2.2. REMARKS OF DIRECTOR OF CEWARN**

- The Director of CEWARN, Mr. Camlus Omogo introduced the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) work as part of the IGAD's broad efforts to promote peace and security in the Horn of Africa Region.
- IGAD is one of Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and its member states are, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.



*Photo 2: CEWARN Director, Mr. Camlus Omogo giving his remarks during the opening of the workshop*

- IGAD was established to address persistent droughts in the region as IGADD in 1986.
  - It later morphed into IGAD in 1996 to encompass development as part of a structural and strategic solution for addressing drought and food insecurity in the region.
- In 2000, Conflicts were considered to be a major deterrent to development, hence the need to establish a conflict early warning and response mechanism (CEWARN) for the region was considered by the policy organs of the organization.
- CEWARN was subsequently established in 2003 by protocol as a mechanism by Member States to proactively prevent, mitigate violent and non-violent conflicts in the IGAD region.
- CEWARN started a bottom-up approach in sourcing for information by engaging peace monitors.
- Its national and regional structures comprise robust networks through the national CEWERUs, research institutions, as well as a regional level secretariat and the committee of Permanent Secretaries for Foreign Affairs Ministries as its senior regional policy/decision making organ.
- Its work currently covers conflict early warning and response initiatives around human security concerns across five sectors, namely: economy, environment, governance, security and social affairs.
- CEWARN's key contribution is sharing conflict early warning information with decision makers for action, e.g., the 2013 developed county profiles, and updating these profiles for generating related scenarios.
- Its work so far includes engagement across three cross-border clusters, more cross-border engagement, joint approach to development, while also providing opportunities to prevent conflicts along the borders.
- Key annual conflict early warning exercises to be continued, with support for member states to conduct the exercises.

## 2.3. INTRODUCTION OF CEWARN BY DR. SUNDAY OKELLO OF CEWARN

- Dr. Sunday Okello proceeded to provide further introduction on the CEWARN mechanism's structures and conflict early warning and response methodology.
- Dr Okello stated that CEWARN's mandate is to: receive and share information concerning potentially violent conflicts as well as their outbreak and escalation in the IGAD region; undertake and share analyses of that information; develop case scenarios and formulate options for response; share and communicate information analyses and response options; carry out studies on specific types and areas of conflict in the IGAD region.



*Photo 3: Dr. Sunday Okello taking participants through the CEWARN methodology*

- The CEWARN Unit is the regional office situated in Addis Ababa. Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Committees (CEWERUs) operate in each member state, with Sub-CEWERUs which are the local community based organizations that monitor peace and conflict issues at the community level, and link to local government networks. The situation room (at the CEWERU level and at the CEWARN Unit) acts as information center, and the NRIs (National Research institutes) are national NGOs/think tanks and research centres.
- On the continental level, the CEWARN mechanism is networked with the African Union Continental Early Warning System (AUCEWS).
- CEWARN collects information through CEWERUs via field monitors stationed with local CSOs and government networks. The monitors use SMS text messages to receive information from the public, and use platforms including social media. The CEWERUs makes use of GIS to source information from National and International partners, while also make use of National Statistical Bureaus to obtain structural data for analysis.
- The information is processed and shared periodically. CEWARN's main products include daily news highlights/ briefs, bi-monthly updates, monthly reports, quarterly analysis shared by NRIs, scenarios, policy briefs and finally structural vulnerability assessments (this will be functional once the CEWARN Unit is fully set up).

### 3. PLENARY DISCUSSION ON CEWARN METHODOLOGY

Some of the issues raised in the plenary on the methodology adopted by CEWARN included the following:

1. Timeliness of the information shared: Some participants were of the view that the information shared is not acted upon in good time. These participants were informed that the information is shared as received with the right actors for action.
2. Neutrality of the field monitors: There were reservations about the neutrality of the field monitors and how to verify the information they share.
3. Cross-border spill-overs; information not relayed in good time
4. Harmonizing peace structures from the county level all the way to the community level was emphasized as a necessary approach to keeping a coordinated mechanism of sharing information. It was reported that there was a disconnect as there appeared to be different leadership centers working with different structures at the county level.
5. Cultural and regional lenses of analysis missing from the whole approach. Local analysis is missing. There was a feeling that the traditional processes with big impact on peace and conflict need to be made part of the analysis.
6. Proliferation of peace committees: Peace committees in some of the counties were fragmented and polarized. Different communities have their own peace committees which are disjointed. There is therefore need to find ways of harmonizing these committees so that they do not breed divisions among different communities but promote peace and cohesiveness among the communities.

## 4. KEY CONFLICT ISSUES FROM THE 2013 CONFLICT PROFILES

Generally, there has been a good progress in resolving most of the conflicts identified in the 2013 county profiles. Creation of county governments seem to have resolved deep feelings of marginalization by some communities within the counties. Some of the notable actions taken include:

- **Creation of directorates of peace at the county levels.** These are meant to spearhead peace and security activities within the counties.
- **Disarmament of NPRs.** In the 2013 profiles NPRs were accused of taking side in conflicts and also in some other cases being directly involved in conflicts. The government has since disarmed NPRs and trained a few of them with the view to professionalize the service and centralize approaches in ensuring community safety within these counties.
- **Negotiated democracies where positions are shared among different communities and clans** to help resolve feelings of exclusion and also marginalization. The conflict between the Garre and Marehan in Mandera was resolved through sharing positions of governance at Elwak district level with Garre being given a DC position. In Marsabit County, the Borana who had been left out of the REGABU equation were brought back to the governance through distribution of opportunities among members of different communities within the county. County governments across the 6 counties have been deliberate in involving more clans into their administrations to quell feelings of marginalization.
- **Coordinated security approach** has helped address some security challenges such as clan militias. The militias have arms but inactive when there is peace and are available during active conflicts supported by clans.

### UNRESOLVED ISSUES FROM 2013 COUNTY PROFILES

- **Administrative and Electoral Border Conflict.** This seemed to be a common problem across the counties in 2013. The borders need to be harmonized to give communities a sense of belonging to a certain common administrative unit and also avert the sporadic conflicts occasioned by the unclear boundaries. In Mandera some of the standing disputes of both administrative and electoral borders include; - The Lafey-Mandera South border around Yedo, Alango Dasheg, Alango Gof, Wante, Gari, Sukela Tinfa; Lafey-Mandera North around Jabi Bar, Rhamu Town; Banisa sub county-Takaba Sub county around Burashum area; Mandera North- Mandera South around Goqaye, Qordobo area; Mandera North- Mandera South around Ireskinto, Gof, Sukela Tinfa.
- **Ex-TFG militias;** Huge number of youths trained for the support of Somalia TFG government.
- **Conflicts over resources across the counties remain unresolved.** There has been a raft of initiatives proposed and implemented across the counties such as peace dividend projects along the border water points, markets and so on but the issue seemed unresolved.

- **Proliferation of SALW remains a cross-cutting issue in the county.** There has been a number of strategies adopted and implemented across the counties such as offering amnesty to illegal holders of SALW which has borne fruits in some counties and also the disarmament of NPRs. There is need to find ways of sustaining the gains made in order to address this issue sufficiently.
- **Disputed settlements still remain a conflict issue across the counties.** The eviction of the Gare from Bute and Gurar was resolved but other issues in Basir and Masalale remain unresolved and there are constant conflict flare-ups in those areas.



*Photo 4: County Commissioners pose for a group photo during the workshop*

## 5. COUNTY PROFILES

The teams identified peace and conflict issues and proposed the likely scenarios based on the counties as shown below: -

### 5.1. MARSABIT COUNTY - CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The following were identified as the current conflict issues in the county.

- **Negative ethnicity and politics:** Just like the case in 2013, negative ethnicity linked to politics was identified as the leading contributor to most of conflicts in Marsabit County. This is fueled by mistrust and supremacy battles among ethnic communities. This sometimes leads to formation of political outfits that seek to exclude some communities. One of these interests saw the formation of the REGABU alliance which stands for Rendille, Gabra, Burji. This alliance sidelined the Borana community and caused conflicts in the county.
- **Natural resource (land):** Prolonged land disputes between Borana and Gabra has remained unresolved over the years. There is need for leaders and administrators in the region to champion for sustainable use of resources and emphasis on the need to share resources such as water and pasture.
- **Cattle rustling/ theft:** This is closely associated with poverty, illiteracy and outdated cultural practices. The communities need to be engaged on alternative livelihoods and training on entrepreneurship skills.
- **Boundary disputes:** Unclear boundary demarcation in areas such as Saku, North Horr, Laisamis and Loiyengalani were identified as triggers of conflicts in those areas. Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and the local administration need to find a way of harmonizing these borders.
- **Cross-border conflict:** Spillover of Ethiopian conflicts in Moyale, Forole, Sololo and Ileret were also raised as issues of concern. This is fueled by herders who cross their cattle into the other side of the border, drug /human traffickers and businessmen who seek to benefit from this confusion. There is need to enhance border management and security along this border points to avert future conflicts.
- **Business rivalry:** There is a booming cross border business in Moyale, Sololo, Dukana and Ileret. There is need to strengthen the chamber of commerce and licensing of business to control businesses along this border points and also control smuggling and contraband into the Kenyan markets.
- **Highway banditry:** Highway banditry that is closely linked to poverty and unemployed youth remains unresolved. This is common along the Marsabit-Laisamis-Isiolo highway. To avert this, there is need to enhance patrols, promote alternative livelihood and train the youth on entrepreneurship skills.
- **Violent extremism:** Proximity of Marsabit County to the Somali Border in Moyale makes the area an easy hunting ground for Al-Shabaab recruiters. To address this, there is need for full implementation of county Action Plan on Violent Extremism that is clear on rehabilitation and re- integration of radicalized youth and returnees and also proposes practical ways of dissuading the youth from joining the illegal outfits.

- **Human wildlife conflict:** This is occasioned by encroachment of humans into wildlife migratory routes in Karare, Sagante, Songa and Badassa. KWS needs to sensitize communities on the designated wildlife migratory routes/parks and reserves.

## SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Conflicts that are linked to one another or overlap in Marsabit county include:

1. Negative ethnicity and politics
2. Natural resources
3. Cattle rustling
4. Boundary disputes

These conflicts are driven by politics, unfair distribution of resources, incitement, limited resources and historical issues.

Political competition based on ethnicity tend to divide communities along ethnic lines.

Communities in Marsabit form political coalitions based on tribal inclinations, that is, REGABU AND KAYO. When such political outfit forms government, the rest of the communities are left out of the government.

These leads to unfair distribution of resources (employment, development projects etc.) hence ethnic tensions emerge which triggers cattle rustling, boundary disputes and fight over natural resources (water and pasture).

## CATTLE RUSTLING

Cattle rustling incidences happen between different communities in the county such as between the Rendille and Borana in Songa-Badasa, Gabra and Samburu in Gas-Arapal, Borana and Degodia in Amballo/Badan Rero – Basir (Wajir county), Gabra and Turkana in Loiyangalani-North Horr, Gabra and Borana in Dukana Kenya and Dilo in Ethiopia, Turkana and Samburu/Rendille in Sarima, Loiyangalani and Mount Kulal, Gabra and Dassenach in North Horr/Ileret.

## ACTORS

Primary actors are mostly politicians while secondary actors are supporters of these politicians and community elders.

## STATUS OF THE CONFLICT

Most conflicts in Marsabit County are persistent due to historical issues, such as the unresolved boundary disputes, unfair resource distributions however, there is an emerging conflict between Gabra of Shurr and Rendille from Logo Logo.

Real Impacts	Anticipated Impacts (AI)
Mistrusts between communities	Fighting among different communities
Suspicion	Loss of lives
Underdevelopment.	Displacements
	Destruction of properties.

## ENTRY POINTS IN ADDRESSING THE CONFLICT

Holding politicians accountable on the use of public resources. There is need to device mechanisms of holding political leadership of the county accountable because they seem to have the key to successful resolution of conflicts in the county. The arrest of Borana and Gabra members of parliament in 2019 brought some relative calm in the county. This is a clear indication of the power political elites have in ending conflicts in the county.

Involving traditional institutions such as the Yaa, Gadha and Nabo in conflict resolution. Communities revere some of these structures and therefore involving them in conflict resolutions could deter some people especially the politicians from triggering misunderstandings and conflicts between clans and communities.

## POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS.

- Public participation in all decision making.
- Continuous civic education on the following: people need to be sensitized on what they are entitled to and hold leaders accountable, voter education, the need to co-exist peacefully and conflict resolution mechanisms among other issues.
- Involvement of all leaders in decision making both at the county and national level.
- Multi stakeholder engagements (state and non-state actors)

## CLASSIFICATION OF INTERVENTIONS

Short-term	Mid-term	Long-term
Community dialogue	Strengthening of joint pasture committees	Public Participation in all decision making
ADR	Alternative livelihood and positive engagements for youth combatants/ women and herders.	Continuous civic education
		Involvements of leaders in decision making both at the county and national level.
		Multi stakeholder's engagement in peace process.
		Strengthening community policing.
		Clear demarcation of boundaries.
		More peace dividends projects along disputed areas.
		Implementation of all existing declarations.

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

REGABU and KAYO (Bringing together - just dropped the communities) but such arrangements lock-out some communities in governance and can easily trigger conflicts in the county.

Politicians spearhead conflicts through use of community militias such as the Oromo Liberation Fund (OLF). There is need to devise ways of stopping politicians from inciting communities against one another.

Voter and civic education are important since most people in the county are misled and threatened into voting for certain candidates, and do it for fear of being targeted for elimination.

The theory of devolution framework seems not to be understood. Implementation of this framework at the county level remains a problem. Communities need to understand that not a single project can be implemented if it is outside the CIDPs. Planning is done annually and they need to be made part of the process. Civic education on the framework of devolution is necessary for getting people discussions involved in development within their counties.



*Photo 5: Participants keenly following on workshop proceedings during the plenary*

There is need to look at gender issues and how women and men are affected differently by conflicts so as to devise ways of addressing issues separately. Most of the approaches so far adopted and implemented in addressing conflicts have not been gender sensitive. There is need, therefore, to ensure all approaches adopted take care of the different needs of both men and women.

Sololo market seems not to have taken off with little impact on communities residing in that area. According to participants, the area is inhabited by one community and therefore the project was of little impact since there are hardly conflicts between members of same community. Peace dividend projects need to be situated along the border areas of different communities.

Political brokers or individuals used by politicians in swaying different communities into voting or supporting certain individuals are also to be blamed for electoral related conflicts in the

county. Politicians control communities through the brokers, mostly the council of elders. These groups are highly revered and regarded by their communities because of the powers they hold in resource sharing and ability to influence favors from politicians.

## POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS TO IMPACT CONFLICT SYSTEMS

Possible peace and conflict scenarios were proposed based on specific conflicts as shown below:

### NEGATIVE ETHNICITY AND POLITICS

3 Months	6 Months	1 Year
<b>BBI Politics will divide communities along ethnic Lines</b>	Tension will build because of the ethnic division brought about by BBI	Political alignments will start in readiness for 2022 election.
	Politicians will start ferrying people for voter registration and transfer to their desired polling stations.	Politicians set-up/ mobilize militias to threaten and influence voting patterns.

Worst Case Scenario	Best Case Scenario.
Killings, displacement, and destruction of property due to polarization of communities based on upcoming political activities i.e. BBI and 2022 election.	BBI politics may act as a unifying factor between the warring communities and their respective political leaders.
Mobilization and arming of militia groups	Likelihood of peace and harmony in the county.

### NATURAL RESOURCES

3 Months	6 Months	1 Year
<b>Plenty of rains and adequate water and pasture. Reduced conflict incidences and cattle rustling.</b>	Depletion of resources and increased movements of livestock from place to place.	Possibility of drought and famine.

Worst Case Scenario	Best Case Scenario
Floods and outbreak of diseases may be experienced leading to displacement and loss of property.	Likelihood of peace and tranquility as a result of plenty resources.

### CATTLE RUSTLING

3 Months	6 Months	1 Year
Reduced cases of cattle rustling due to enough water and pasture Reduced cases of conflicts	Reoccurrence of attacks and cattle rustling Emergence of highway banditry	Increased cases of attacks and cattle rustling

Worst Case Scenario	Best Case Scenario
Increased cases of cattle rustling, killings and loss of livelihood. Increased armaments	Reduced cases of cattle rustling Returning of stolen/lost/ astray livestock

## BOUNDARY DISPUTES

3 Months	6 Months	1 Year
Possibility of disputes due to unclear demarcation of Boundaries	Increased tension between the warring communities	Heightened tension/mistrust/hatred due to 2022 electioneering

Worst Case Scenario	Best Case Scenario
Fighting leading to killings, displacements and destruction of properties.	Clear demarcation of boundaries. Alternative dispute resolution mechanism for a win-win outcome.

## FACTORS SUPPORTING CONFLICTS

1. Divisive politics driven by the elites and politicians
2. Perceived unequitable sharing of resources
3. Unresolved historical issues: Massacres which happened in the past have gone unresolved.
4. Unclear demarcation of boundaries: The IEBC is yet to harmonize some of the contested administrative and electoral boundaries.
5. Negative cultural practices: Cattle raiding and other retrogressive cultural practices fuel conflicts in the county.
6. Illegal arms in the hands of civilians: this has remained a factor of conflict for the longest in the county.
7. Climate change: Affected the already scarce resources such as water and pasture and thereby enhancing competition for the resources.
8. Bad governance
9. Eroded cultural values/ dishonest elders: They promote divisions among communities and used by politicians for selfish interests.

## ACTORS

- Politicians: Inciting people into taking ethnic and clan positions
- Elders: Not truthful and honest in handling conflicts
- Youth: Manipulated by politicians and used to cause mayhem

- Non-State actors: Some easily take sides
- Government institutions: IEBC not properly demarcating boundaries and causing tensions. Unresolved murder cases which were blamed for reluctance of communities to volunteer information and work closely with security organs to resolve these incidences
- Business merchants: Trading in SALW and all manner of illegal businesses are part of or fuel conflicts in the county

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Marsabit is bordered by five counties and Ethiopia to the North. This explains why the county is unique and experiences a multiplicity of conflicts. The Gabra and Borana make up the majority of inhabitants of the county. The two communities need to be sensitized on the need to co-exist peacefully. Long-term intervention can be focused on education. The government should consider putting up schools with boarding facilities and encourage all communities to make use of the facility. This will ultimately improve cohesiveness between different communities in the county.

On the role of professionals and elites in the county, there were feelings that they were still part of community narratives and were no different from their elders.

On the conflicts between the Gabra and Borana, participants were of the view that community members rarely tell the truth when called upon to identify conflict issues between them. The elders, professionals and politicians buy-into community narratives lest they lose favor and following from their supporters.

There is a growing concern in the Marsabit town arising from an influx of foreigners. The majority of the youth are unknown and can easily be used by terrorist groups and other criminal elements to cause problems in the county. This needs to be monitored.

Cattle are stolen during the dry season to inflict pain on the owners as most of the cattle are weak and may not be in a position to be moved to far places. Most of the cattle die while on transit and cause untold pain to the owners once spotted and identified.

There is need to identify the specific issue that makes it hard for the Gabra and Borana to co-exist peacefully. The two communities engage in blame games when requested to surrender information aimed at resolving ongoing misunderstandings between them.

REGABU was established in 2013 to remove the dominant Borana administration, and won all the elective seats. It fueled hatred towards Borana by other communities in Marsabit and Vice Versa. In 2017, the Rendille left the outfit and that explains why the outfit lost in 2017 general elections. This led to formation of KAYO (a Borana word meaning 'to bring together') which leaves out the Gabra community. There are fears that militia groups from Gabra and Borana in the county were arming themselves in preparation for 2022 general elections.

There is need to therefore look into the root causes of conflicts and address them in good time to avert disasters. Some people harbor bitterness over the massacre that happened in 2005, which is one of the reasons why there is a need to find ways of defusing this and other such issues before the 2022 elections.

Social community declarations worked at the community level for a short while, until politicians started narratives that scuttled the little gains that had been achieved. The proliferation of peace committees in the county was also raised as an issue, especially in regard to ascertaining the points of contacts and also in ensuring consistency in interventions. According to the participants, there seems to be an unregulated upsurge of peace committees in the county. This needs to be streamlined by the NSC in order to ensure unity of purpose for the committees.

The contribution of the diaspora to the ongoing conflicts was raised as an emerging issue in the county. According to the participants, some individuals, professionals and elites living and working far and wide from the county were raising and sending money to certain entities to sustain some narratives that are sowing seeds of division among communities in the county.

## 5.2. MANDERA COUNTY – CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The current conflict issues in Mandera County include the following:

- **Terrorism:** The proximity of the county to the Somali border makes it an easy target and hunting ground for Al-Shabaab recruiters and activities. This has led to closure of major roads, destruction of communication masts, and curtailed movement of the population. In order to address this, there is need to re-examine affirmative action for pastoralist areas to address fundamental underdevelopment issues, widespread poverty, poor social and physical infrastructure, and climate change shocks.
- **Land Contestation:** The problem of borders, both administrative and electoral, was identified in 2013 as one of the leading conflict triggers in the county. Some of these disputed borders include the Lafey and Mandera South administrative and electoral border, overlapping boundaries, unclear border demarcation, Lafey-Mandera South, Lafey-Mandera North, Burmaryo Mandera-Burmayo Wajir, Banisa Sub-County-Shobtoy, Banisa-Takaba, and Mandera North-Mandera South. These borders need to be harmonized to ensure peace prevails in those areas.
- **Political contests:** Political exclusion regarding representation, the winner takes it all approach to politics, developmental exclusion by the county government and council of elders that exist to control clan interests, all fuel political contests in the county. To address this, the county government has deliberately included more clans in the administration. Political parties, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, and clan elders need to be in the fore-front in resolving this issue and persuading communities to co-exist peacefully.
- **Cross-border conflict:** The county is located in the arid and semi-arid rangelands of Kenya's former North-eastern Province, along the country's conflict-prone tri-border boundary with Ethiopia and Somalia. Despite having a near homogenous ethnic Somali population, Mandera has experienced intermittent clan-based clashes dating back to the precolonial period. Conflicts between the clans easily lead to internecine violence, with frequent cross border spill overs. This affects the general population in the county.
- **Inter-clan conflict:** This persists from the 2013 county profiles. Existence of easy to mobilize clan militia, who are armed but remain inactive during periods of peace in the county, until becoming available during active conflicts supported by clan elders, makes this kind of conflict difficult to resolve. Currently the Gare and Murulle militia

are at odds over the Yedo conflict. These militia groups can be engaged and instead convinced to spearhead positive functions such as anti-terror work.

- **Resource distribution and exclusion:** Equitable allocation of resources remains a challenge. County Executive Committees are appointed from all communities but the funding support for their decisions is skewed. There were feelings that some CECs work receives little resources simply because they are dominated by certain communities or clans.
- **Long-term resource-based conflicts:** Conflicts between the Marehan and Murulle, and also the Gare and Murulle over access to grazing areas have persisted since 2010 and spiked again in 2013. The locust invasion has exacerbated scarcity of resources by invading and depleting pastures. Climate change has also led to more frequent droughts which intensify competition for resources such as water and pasture.
- **Small arms proliferation:** SALW proliferation in the county has made conflicts in the county more violent. The firearms find their way into the county through the porous borders and are easily availability in the county. Politicians, elders, arms dealers and clan militias are leading actors in this issue.
- **Cross-border business rivalries:** There is need to strengthen the chamber of commerce and licensing of business so as to control businesses along this border points, and to also control smuggling and contraband into the Kenyan markets. Controlling the trade route from Somalia is necessary to prevent this.

Other emerging issues identified during the discussion as points of concern included the likely impact of the withdrawal of teachers from Mandera by the Teachers Service Commission (TSC). Concerns were raised over the withdrawal as further marginalizing the region or worse still triggers resentment among the locals towards the government, which could easily play into Al-Shabaab narratives for recruiting the youth.

## SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

As already stated, the leading conflicts in the county are:

Conflict	Status
Land and land use	Persistent and active
Political related	Escalating
Inter-clan conflicts	Active
Violent extremism	Active

## REAL AND ANTICIPATED IMPACTS

- Inter-clan conflicts have contributed to stagnation of development in some zones and regions of the county
- Displacement of persons and disruption of service delivery in some parts of the county
- Destruction of property and loss of lives, such as the case of the Lafey and Elwak South clash in 2020, when two lives were lost and 20 houses burnt down.
- Human capital flight in search of opportunities. Young people who could be of value to

the county often leave to search for peaceful areas to live in.

- Stalled economic activities such as the closure of a quarry (over which the county commissioner has been sued) contributes to loss of employment opportunities
- Stagnation of construction industries owing to insecurity
- Humanitarian assistance withdrawn due to insecurity concerns
- Diversion of resources from developmental activities to security provision
- Securitization and militarization of the region.
- The marine conflict narrative contributing to economic embargo within the region (e.g., the miraa export ban)
- Skewed resource allocation; dominant clan supremacy
- Mistrust among community members affecting the cohesion and ability to co-exist peacefully

## ENTRY POINTS FOR ADDRESSING THE CONFLICTS:

Entry points identified include the following:

- **The National Government:** The existence of well-established structures across the county helps a lot in preaching peace between different communities in the county.
- **The County Government:** Doing a lot to promote peace in the county and understand community issues better.
- **Religious leaders:** The county leadership is slowly moving towards working with religious leaders as opposed to council of elders, who have been accused of taking partisan positions in conflict resolution meetings. According to the participants, religious leaders can be trusted more, and they command respect among the locals.
- **Council of Elders:** This can also be an entry point for preaching peace across the county especially among different communities
- **Collective responsibility and ownership:** There is need to involve everyone across the county in peace related issues in order to promote a sense of belonging and ownership of the peace initiatives.
- **Peace dividend projects:** There is need to encourage communities to co-exist peacefully by initiating and supporting projects benefitting a number of communities in the county.

## CLASSIFICATION OF INTERVENTIONS

Short-Term and Mid-Term	Long-term
Formation of committees such as ceasefire monitoring committees (CMCs)	Proper legislation (adequate land governance system) – Long-term
Cross-border unit peace committees	Depoliticized development
Development of peace spaces/corridors	Inclusivity in resource distribution
Recovery of stolen livestock	Effective community led CVE strategies
Diversification of livelihood	Establishment of rehab for returnees
	Multi-stakeholders’ community policing approach Effective
	Multi-stakeholders’ approach Effective community policing

## SUCCESS STORIES

- The KCSE students who were deployed to teach in 2015 had a huge impact on performance of students that year. More than 400 students qualified to join the universities. This was occasioned by withdrawal of teachers from the county by the Teachers Service Commission (TSC)
- Banisa; The man who returned stolen camels 60 years later as a result of community peace- building initiatives
- Peace agreement signed between Gare and Degodia
- Formation of Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs), peace spaces/corridors for early warning, cross border peace committee’s response unit

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Enhanced conversation and coordination between national and county government. In 2013 and 2014, 330 NPRs were supported by the county government through monthly allowances. The county government also set up a radio control system for the NPR to improve communication and coordination.

Other successes in Mandera County government include:

1. Support of police in all the sub-counties with 2000 liters of fuel every month to improve their mobility (2013-215) by the county government
2. Supported DCCs through repairing grounded vehicles and supported them with fuel
3. Constructed camps for security teams – county enforcement camps as a base for the security teams
4. Coordination – All state and non-state actors work together
5. County Peace Policy is in place and is being debated at the county assembly so as to facilitate security agencies and avoid queries from the controller of budgets on security expenditures

The county government worked with the already established Sub-County Peace Committees (SCPCs) to establish Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (CMCs). This committees are responsible for implementation and follow up of all declarations. Composed of six elders from Degodia and six from Gare. The CMCs went further and twinned villages (and created dialogue spaces for responding to warning signs within their villages). Communities that were in so much conflict are today more cohesion and animals stolen 6 years ago were even returned.

Long-lasting solutions to these conflicts and socio-economic empowerment are crucial. This will help diversify to other opportunities as opposed to traditional known occupations.

Communities are increasingly working as a unit to defeat Al-Shabaab. In Lafey, communities received information that non-locals were being targeted for elimination by the Al-Shabaab. Locals came together and protected them by evacuating them for protection until plans were made to move them from the area.



*Photo 6: Participants keenly following meeting proceedings during one of the plenary discussions.*

The role of council of elders. Most of the agreements have no legal backing. Mandera initiated a way of depositing the agreements with the local courts so as to make them binding. MCAs to deliberate them at the county assembly so as to make some laws that can be binding.

National and County government nexus in security management was also highlighted as a success in the county. The good working relationship between the two levels of government has led to great improvement in security in the county. This includes support by the county government towards the welfare of the NPRs and investments into the mobility of security agencies thereby improving response time during distress calls.

## **POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS TO IMPACT CONFLICT SYSTEMS**

The following were identified as the likely scenarios for peace and conflicts in the county.

## LAND/ LAND USE CONFLICT KEY FACTORS ON LAND USE

- Land value change. Value for land has changed. There is increased demand for land especially in the town centers.
- Skewed land distribution
- Land use pattern (farmers & pastoralists)
- Illegal enclosure of land by individuals/ cartels
- Skewed development patterns and projects
- Creation of new settlements
- Unimplemented land policy acts and laws
- Land governance – unfair distribution of land

## ACTORS

Primary	Secondary	Shadow Actors
Inter/intra clan	NLC	Land speculators/brokers
Communities	National government	Cross-border communities
Elders	County government	Absentee landlords
Politicians – MCAs	Non-state actors (CSOs, CBOs)	
Political brokers		

## LIKELY SCENARIOS

Short-term 3 months	Midterm- 6 months	Long-term- 1year
Creation of new settlements	Revival of the old land use system (dry and wet season use)	Sporadic conflict over land
Possible creation of political and administrative units	More population turn sedentary	More population turn sedentary
	Tension persists between communities	Tension persists between communities

## LAND/LAND USE CONFLICT

Motivation/Factors	Best Case	Middle Case	Worst case
Land as an alternative source of livelihood	The land Act to straighten the land tenure system (title deed issuance)	Sporadic conflict over land	Inter and intra-clan conflict (clashes)
Community land Act 2016; clans and mobilizing positioning themselves	Streamlined range land resource use (settlement, development, range reserves)	Tension persists between communities	Reintroduction of tribal boundaries in place of colonial boundaries
Expansion and expulsion myth	Revival of the old land use system (dry and wet season use)	Reduced investment in the region	Influx of external population (Ethiopia, Somalia)

Creation of new settlements	More population turn sedentary	Deforestation	Deforestation
Possible creation of political and administrative units	New adaptive livelihoods strengthened	Food insecurity	Heightened insecurity
Livestock reduction			Political (clan) dominance
Access for government services and resources			Food insecurity
Need for political control			Environmental degradation

## POLITICAL CONFLICT

### Actors for Political Conflicts

Primary Actors	Secondary
Politicians	Youth
Elites	Women
Opinion leaders	IEBC
Tenderpreneurs / businessmen	Youth
Council of elders	

### Short-term Scenarios for Political Conflicts

Short-term 3 months	Midterm- 6 months	Long-term- 1 year
No heightened threat from political conflict	Situation remains same as prior 3 months	Alliance formation likely to bring peace
Tension rising from the Yedo area due politician manipulating society	If Yedo issue is not attended to clan conflict may ensure	Minorities rights may be compromised
Mobilization of youth for conflict		Tension persist between community's due competition over conflict

### Long-term Scenarios for Political Conflicts

Motivation/factors	Best Case	Middle Case	Worst Case
Numerical representation Control of county assembly and resources	Politics of inclusion	Sporadic conflict over elections	Inter and intra- clan conflict (clashes)
Political power and authority Self-Economic development	Effective negotiated democracy	Tension persist between communities	Control of politics through dynasties
Politics is power; the need to control who, how and when (political manipulation)	Elected visionary and development conscious leaders	Poor prioritization of development projects	Skewed development Tensions
Creation of wealth base	Prioritized community needs	corruption	Manipulation of masses

Democratization; the winner takes it all hence creation of class dynasties	Equity, and inclusivity, Equitable distribution of wealth and resources	Youth gangs hired by politician	Loss of lives and property Political assassinations
Ethicized competition political	Peace and tranquility		Segregated and domineering societies
Overlap of borders Admin/ elect	Cohesive and just societies		Political eviction
Self-actualization	Gender mainstreaming		Vertical and horizontal marginalization

## CLAN CONFLICTS

### Actors for Clan Conflicts

Primary	Secondary
Clan militia	County government
Boda boda operators	Youth
Council of elders	Women
Politicians	
Elites	
Herders/farmers	
Businessmen	

### Short-term Scenarios for Clan Conflicts

Short-term 3 months	Mid-term- 6 months	Long-term- 1year
No much heighten conflict at community level but isolated conflict between Murulle and Gare in Mandera south and Lafey constituency border	Situation remains same as 3 months	More peace between communities
Tension rising from the Yedo area due politician manipulating society	If Yedo issue is not attended full blown clan conflict may erupt	Conflict situations will be contained
Mobilization of youth for conflict	Clan militia will regroup	Communities have increased trust in each other

### Long-term Scenarios for Clan Conflicts

Motivation/factors	Best Case	Middle Case	Worst case
Low government response	Communities integration through settlement	Persistent clan conflict	Entrenched ethnic violence, conflict in Yedo
Exclusive Council of Elders-poor structures	Inclusive rangeland management, utilization and ownership	Unimplemented peace accords	Mass displacement and dominance
Ethnocentric agenda	Shared development projects and service delivery points	Slow completion of development projects	Death destruction and disruptions
Political and resource dominance	Increased intermarriages	Deaths and displacement	Stagnation in Development
Weakened/ Breakdown of traditional system	Enhanced social cohesion and binding accords	Corruption and impunity	Poverty and malnutrition

Many centers of power	Increased cross border trades	Protection of criminals	Entrenched hatred
	Application of Ubuntu/DNH, communities arrest criminals		Cross border mobilization for war
	Peaceful political participation and inclusion		Closed roads and markets

## TERRORISM

### Actors for Terrorism

Primary	Secondary
Unemployed youth	Taxis/ boda boda riders
School drop-outs	Overseas supporters
Militarized youth	International community
Pastoral dropouts	AMISOM/ IGAD/ AU
Radical religious leaders	County government - injustice
Security agencies	National government
Women/ girls	
Businessmen	

### Short-term Scenarios for Terrorism

Short-term 3 months	Mid-term 6months	Long-term – 1 year
<b>Heightened anti-AS activities – mobilize the community and CVE champions to undertake de-radicalization initiatives</b>	Clan militias mobilized to smoke out AS from within Mandera all along the Kenya- Somalia border	In collaboration with the community, KDF to smoke AS from their bases and hideouts inside Somalia border
<b>Reopening of Kenya– Somalia border</b>	Extra judicial killings addressed while amnesty is extended to returnees	Enhanced cross border trade
		Key drivers addressed

### Long-term Scenarios for Terrorism

Motivation/factors	Best Case	Middle Case	Worst Case
Unemployment, illiteracy youth are too handy in AS yet have no space in government programs	Key drivers addressed	Sporadic attacks from Al Shabab	More youth radicalized and depart for Somalia
Ideological narratives and failure of anti-terror groups to understand Terror groups	Enhanced cross border trade	Communal punishment	More attacks from Al Shabab, Teachers already withdrawn, security withdrawn and so on.
Extra judicial killings	Terrorism defeated HoA is in	Reduced investment in the region	Death, and disasters, economic flight from region
Contraband good competing for ready market	Reopening Kenya Somalia border of	Closure of border	Closure of schools and hospital, investor run away
Clan send youth for training	KDF withdrawn from Somalia	More war benefactors	More extra judicial killings Negotiation with Al Shabab

Revenge, Social militarization		Business rivalry on cross border	Loss of trust between population and security agency
Socialization problem Heroism			Xenophobic attacks in Kenya
Incentivized by Al Shabaab, ISIS			Cessation war starts

## ACTORS SUPPORTING PEACE

- Strong response mechanism under the Mandera Peace Actors’ forum chaired by CC and county government
- County government departmental structures for peace, cohesion, and de-radicalization by county government
- CSOs – willingness to open up programme to others and partner for better impact.
- NCIC – Peace support by NCIC with support of Interpeace with strong investment on long- term peace
- Stronger internal and cross border peace committees but needs more support
- Existence of Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs) and Sub-County Peace Committees (SPCs) to address quick grassroot actions
- Communities - Societal change in attitude on dishonesty decreasing
- Religious leaders- They are increasingly establishing themselves as the most respected and neutral actors in peace and conflict management.

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Land is becoming an emotive issue in the county. This has been brought about by devolution and increased levels of literacy in the county. It is increasingly leading to emergence of ancestral land theories that can easily lead to conflicts in the county.

The governor for the county was lauded for his role in peace and security. A case was narrated when nine members of the Gare community were killed members of the Degodia community and the governor was emphatic that it was not all the Degodia who were involved, and he requested the names of the people involved to avoid possible revenge targeted at the whole community. As a result of this, community members frog marched the suspects to the police station and the issue was amicably resolved.

Leaders were encouraged not to leave anyone behind when pursuing for criminals. A case was narrated where teachers and some spiritual leaders were found to be fueling conflicts in Marsabit county. Teachers and spiritual leaders were identified as having a strong hand/ voice in everything that happens within the counties, and they need to be targeted for dissuasion in order to desist from being actors in conflicts.

### 5.3. WAJIR COUNTY- CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The following were the issues raised as the current sources of conflicts in Wajir county:

- **Resource-based conflicts:** This happens across the county and is characterized by competition for power and resources, dwindling pasture and water as a result of prolonged droughts, depletion of grazing lands and community land ownership system which does not accommodate for the diversification of livelihoods. The search for resources sometimes leads to mushrooming of new settlement as communities move closer to these resources, causing conflicts with other communities. Devolution also brought more resources to the community level and agitated competition for these resources as communities fight for a share in the form of contracts, development projects, and so on. In order to address this, there is need for the local administration, political leadership, clan elders, women, and business community to ensure an equitable mechanism for resource sharing, upholding rule of law, establish rangeland management policies, border demarcation and raise awareness on the need for communities to diversify their livelihoods.
- **Clan supremacy battles:** This refers to rivalry among various clans to dominate the political arena at the expense of others, or to control power, decision making and sharing of resources, perceived ownership of grazing rights, and also fighting over water, pasture, grazing land. In order to address this, all levels of leadership at the county level need to ensure appointments are done on merit and to also sensitize communities on the need to be cohesive and co-exist peacefully.
- **Politically related conflicts:** Politicians rally their clans against others thus fueling conflicts for their own selfish interests. Expansionist agendas through creation of new settlements, alignment/coalitions formations also characterize politically related conflicts. This needs to be addressed through strengthening the position of NCIC and NSC at the county level, strengthen good governance so that leaders can easily take responsibility for their utterances and thereby avert would-be conflicts.
- **Boundary issues:** Politicians rally their clans against others, thus fueling conflicts for their own benefit. Expansionist agendas are advanced through creation of new settlements and alignment/coalitions formations. IEBC needs to review existing boundaries and ensure political and administrative boundaries are well aligned.
- **Youth bulge/ unemployment:** Unemployed youth are easily lured into clan conflicts through joining militia groups and violent Islamist extremists. In order to address this, the leadership needs to create spaces for the participation and leadership roles for the youth, invest in vocational training through TVETs, set up incubation centres for the youth, involve the youth in peacebuilding initiatives, ensure intergenerational knowledge transfer, set-up youth mentorship programmes, and make bursaries/ scholarships available for the youth to acquire education.
- **Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) from neighboring countries:** The presence of armed militia with sophisticated weapons triggers clan conflicts as they fight to protect their own interests. SALW also fuel banditry attacks and in some

other cases used to eliminate perceived enemies thereby fueling more conflicts.

- **Threat of homegrown radicalization:** There has been a trend where youth easily join radicalized groups after dropping out from learning institutions. There are also elements of terror groups infiltration in the county.
- **Climate change/ Environmental degradation:** This is characterized by depletion of water and pasture, large-scale charcoal burning, migration of pastoralists affecting grazing patterns, the and lack of range management. In order to address this, there is need to enact a range management Act, legislation on charcoal burning and also carry out afforestation campaigns aimed at improving vegetation cover in the county.
- **Cross-border insurgency:** Threat of infiltration by insurgent groups, spill -over of clan conflicts, long porous borders, illegal immigrants/ human trafficking, smuggling and movement of contraband goods along the borders and business rivalries characterize issues of cross-border conflicts in Wajir county.

## SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Conflict	Driving Factor	Location-Conflict	Actor	Conflict Status
<b>Resource Based</b>	Biased/unequal resource sharing; Politics; Cronyism; Clannism; Nepotism	Across the county	Primary actors: Clans; clan leaders; politicians; National and County governments; Non-state actors; Weather/ climate  Secondary actors: Business community; Power brokers; Neighboring counties and countries; Refugees	Persistent
<b>Terrorism</b>	Perceived marginalization; Corrupt resource management; Youth unemployment; Proximity to porous borders; Ideology; Poor governance	Wajir East; Tarbaj; Khorof Harar Wajir South; Habaswein	Primary actors: Vulnerable youth; Radical religious leaders; Institutions, e.g. TSC;  Secondary actors: Sympathizers; Business communities, especially contraband dealers; External/ foreign actors	Emerging in some areas (Buna; Eldas; Wajir West), while escalating in others (Tarbaj; Khorof Harar; Riba; Burder; Grille; Wajir East) Also changing face: from targeting non- Muslims alone to targeting civil servants, security personnel, NPRs, and kidnap for ransom (local contractors)

<b>Boundary Disputes (Electoral/ Administrative)</b>	Mismanagement of administrative and political boundaries; Resource inequalities; Historical injustices	Intra-county: Wajir North/Eldas; Eldas/Tarbaj; Eldas/Wajir West; Wajir East/Wajir South; Eldas/Wajir East; Wajir South/Wajir West Inter-county: Wajir/Isiolo (Merti); Wajir/Garissa (Fadhiweyn); Wajir/Mandera (Burmaya)	Primary actors: IEBC; Local; and national administration; Politicians; Clan elders; Communities [clan-related interests] Secondary actors: Non-state actors; Mainstream and social media	Persistent
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## IMPACTS OF CONFLICTS

Conflict	RI	AI
Resource-Based conflict Terrorism Boundary Disputes (electoral/ administrative)	Deaths; Socio-economic marginalization; Displacement; Loss of property; Animosity; Trauma; Disruption of social services, such as education and health	Deaths; Socio-economic marginalization; Displacement; Loss of property; Animosity; Trauma; Disruption of social services, such as education and health

## CLASSIFICATION OF INTERVENTIONS

Classification of Interventions	Resource-Based	Terrorism	Boundary Disputes (Electoral/ Administrative)
Short-term interventions	Enforce existing policies and laws, Honoring existing community accords such as Modogashe declaration, Al-Fatah Declaration, Khorof Harar Declaration	Improved information gathering between community and security agencies Improved handling of suspects Reintegration for Returnees	Rapid boundary resolution program Improved governance Uphold rule of law
Medium-term interventions	Review existing policies and laws Review declarations to cater for emerging issues	Economic empowerment	Rapid boundary resolution program Improved governance Uphold rule of law
Long-term interventions	Improved livelihood diversification e.g., embrace farming Improved infrastructures Increased economic empowerment opportunities	Socio- economic empowerment	Rapid boundary resolution program Improved governance Uphold rule of law

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

The issue of enlisting a number of members from the council of elders as advisors of the governor on peace issues was lauded as a good way of ensuring elders work hard to ensure peace in the county. The governor appointed them as advisors so as to keep an eye on their activities and use them to spearhead peace initiatives among their clans and communities.

On the role of women in peace, it emerged in the meeting that Wajir Peace were the pioneers for peace committees in Kenya and that, there exists an Al Fatah Council of Elders spearheaded by women and that the governor has lady advisors who are involved in day-to-day ADR initiatives in the county. These women are recognized by both the local and national administration in peace and security assignments. Wajir women for peace also helped their counter-parts in Marsabit County initiate peace processes after the Turbi massacre as part of a post-recovery initiative.

Conflict issues along Basir are triggering more conflicts than in other regions within the county. As per the participants, a peace meeting was held in which community members agreed in principle that anyone grazing or watering their cattle must respect norms and cultures of the Borana people. It emerged that, among the Borana, watering of cattle and goats is done separately. For goats, one is supposed to fetch water and not force them into water pans.

Community peace caravans supported by communities that are tired of conflicts and losses occasioned by the conflicts were reported to be bearing fruits in the county. There is a growing trend among the locals in taking their rightful position in security management through sharing information, resisting infiltration of criminal and terrorist groups and also taking part in peace initiatives in the county.

## POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS TO IMPACT CONFLICT SYSTEMS

Possible peace and conflict scenarios were highlighted as follows: -

### Resource-Based Conflicts

Worst Case Scenario – Short-term and Mid-term	Description
Escalation of violence pitting the dominant clans versus the minority over control of power & resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New alliances will possibly lead to demands for improved power sharing based on negotiated MOUs</li> <li>• Escalating mistrusts between different communities.</li> <li>• Approaching elections will bring-forth platforms for greater tension among leaders and between them and the citizens</li> <li>• Greater polarization such as communities advancing hate speech and negative ethnicity through social media like it has happened in the past – where hate speech take the form of poems/song particularly advanced by women. Women come up with poems and songs meant to attack other ethnic groups. This creates a cycle of insults as other communities also respond with their own versions spread on social media platforms.</li> <li>• Intra/inter county/country migration of pastoralist following unpredictable rain pattern in search of water &amp; pasture which is likely to trigger conflicts</li> </ul>

### Best Case Scenario

Best Case Scenario	Possible Options to Sustain
Cessation of violence through interventions that reduce animosity between the dominant and minority clans, such as aggressive resource re-allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regular review &amp; improvement of policies &amp; strategies</li> <li>Embracing good governance</li> <li>Equity and inclusivity in resource sharing and use of power</li> <li>Operationalization of rangeland management policies and agreed grazing patterns</li> <li>Effective monitoring mechanisms for peace structures in place: constantly monitored to ensure consistency and sustainability</li> <li>Diversification of livelihoods. Look for various ways of earning a living such as farming</li> </ul>

### FACTORS SUPPORTING RESOURCE-BASED CONFLICT

- Weak political will to implement known solutions
- Lack of capacity for operationalizing existing peace structures
- Absence of inter-country structures like joint cross border CSGs, joint grazing/ borehole management committees: without these, conflicts easily escalate for lack of measures to control or address the conflicts
- Conduct that aggravates existing grievances: Politicians using these grievances to divide communities
- Lack of rangeland management policy framework: an Act is being developed for tabling in the county assembly
- Presence of armed clan militias

Primary Actors for Resource-Based Conflicts	Secondary Actors Supporting Resource-Based Conflict
Clans	Business community
Clan leaders	Power brokers
Politicians	Neighboring counties and countries
National and County governments	Refugees
Non-state actors	Domination/supremacy
Weather/climate	Grazing rights

### Terrorism

Worst Case Scenario	Best Case Scenario
Escalation of violent attacks on security and vital installations	Reduced radicalization and recruitment to violent Extremist groups
Presence of violent extremists in perceived safe areas within the county	Re-integration of radicalized groups and sympathizers
Increased radicalization and recruitment into Violent extremism	Improved socioeconomic development

## FACTORS SUPPORTING TERRORISM

- Marginalization
- Corruption in resource management denying some people their rightful share of resources
- Youth unemployment
- Proximity to porous borders
- Ideology
- Poor governance

## ACTORS SUPPORTING TERRORISM

- Vulnerable youth; religious leaders; action by institutions such as TSC
- Sympathizers; Business communities, especially contraband dealers
- External/foreign actors
- Expansionist agenda
- Waging conflict between Muslims and Christians
- Satisfying interests of financiers/ leaders

## BOUNDARY CONFLICT

Worst Case Scenario	Factors Supporting Boundary Conflict	Best Case Scenario	Factors Supporting Best Case Scenario
Escalation of violence pitting the clans that have stake in the disputed areas	Mismanagement of administrative and political boundaries	Cessation of hostilities among warring communities over disputed areas	Balanced Resource sharing
	Resource inequalities	Improved cohesiveness and peaceful co-existence	Implementation of truth, justice and reconciliation report through compensation of victims
	Historical injustices		

## POSSIBLE OPTIONS TO SUSTAIN PEACE

- Proper demarcation of administrative and political boundaries
- Politician will display sense of patriotism and sensitize communities on good neighborhood

## ACTORS INVOLVED IN BOUNDARY CONFLICTS

- IEBC
- NCIC
- Local and national administration
- Politicians; Clan elders; Communities [clan-related interests] Non-state actors; Mainstream and social media

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Demarcation of borders – done by the colonial government. Affirming the boundaries may not bring lasting peace. Wajir East to Wajir South, the Kismayu road used to be the border – the IEBC did not clarify. Ogaden and Degodia. Wajir West and Wajir North. In 1996 Wajir North was created – demarcation done, Eldas constituency created in 2013 – Eldas trying to expand the constituency into Wajir North and some parts of Wajir South. These boundary issues need to be addressed to bring lasting peace along the border areas.

There were reports that Al-Shabaab operatives had been seen in Gunana moving around preaching about their narratives and communities were against the messaging. This was attributed to awareness creation in the county by different agencies where communities feel part of security interventions and were against attempts to sow seeds of division amongst them.

## 5.4. TURKANA COUNTY – CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The following were identified as the current sources of conflicts in Turkana County: -

- **Oil and gas extraction:** The Turkana county government wants the oil company to lease the land and the community feels that the company is not giving enough information on oil reserves and they are not being compensated appropriately.
- **Border conflicts:** Land and boundary issues between Kenya and South Sudan, Turkana county, West Pokot and Baringo have been addressed since government has given direction on governance and administrative structures and rights of any citizen staying in any part of the country. The international boundary on the Elemi Triangle (no longer a big issue as the government is addressing it) and South Sudan and Kenya in Nadapal border has been improved by the road connecting the areas thus food supplies taken to South Sudan. But the issues need to be closely monitored to ensure gains made can be easily sustained.
- **Land Conflicts:** There exist land-based conflicts within the Turkana communities themselves due to increased value of land caused by devolution. The Turkana people have started grabbing land and fighting against each other due to greed to acquire large pieces of land. This has been worsened by the LAPSSSET project earmarked for the county this has also seen influx of outsiders in need of land the Turkana county government wants the national government to lease the land or engage the leadership on all matters involving Turkana land and some people have acquired huge tracks of land in anticipation to sell to the government when the projects begin.

- **Internal conflicts:** Participation of local leaders, national governments and county government is bearing fruits in managing tensions between communities and across the border but there still exist pockets of conflicts across the county that need to be closely monitored.
- **Resource-based conflicts between Jie and Turkana, Nyangatom and Turkana, Toposa and Turkana, Dongiro and Turkana, and Turkana and Pokot in Baringo County:** These conflicts are more intense at the border areas. Over the last few years, these conflicts have reduced due to RSA signed at the community level and cross-border agreements signed between the county governments. Recently it has been raining in Turkana county and thus pastoral clans have not migrated in search of pasture and water. The government is constructing a major dam at Urum to help communities in Lokiriama and Urum on the Kenyan side access water for livestock and human to avoid crossing over to Uganda side, reducing conflict.
- **Environment conflict:** Climate change has led to sustained rains which have increased access to water and pasture, reducing the scramble for resources by pastoralists. In the case where the scenario reverts back to drought, there will be loss of livelihoods. The Lake's waters have increased and are overflowing, affecting breeding grounds and access to fish. This means less fish for the fishermen. Environmental conflicts erupt due to loss of forest cover as a result of cutting trees for charcoal burning and firewood collection, overstocking of animals in small pieces of land leading to land degradation.
- **Development induced conflicts:** These are conflicts emanating from different development projects in the county. These projects include the oil exploration by the Tullow Oil, the A1 road construction and other county funded projects in the county. Displacement of people to create space for these projects sometimes lead to conflicts as people are forced to leave their ancestral lands to occupy other spaces in which they might be unwelcome.
- **Cattle rustling:** This is currently happening between Turkana East (Kapedo, Karamojong, Turana, Napeitom, Kamuge, Lomelo) and West Pokot (Tiaty) however frequency and intensity have been reduced. There are rare incidences of livestock theft among the Dassenach and Turkana community and in such cases the livestock are returned if stolen from the neighbors which is enabled by cross border information sharing and efforts of police units deployed in the area. The disarmament of the NPRs and improved security surveillance in some of the hotspot areas especially through the several formed units stationed across the county besides the pre-existing police units has helped address this form of conflict.
- **Human wildlife conflicts:** Threats of wildlife against farm lands and human settlements especially along the Turkwel River. Crocodiles also pose a big threat to people along the lake.

## SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Type of Conflict	Description of Conflicts
Land-based conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase in value of land for development</li> <li>• Discovery of minerals</li> <li>• Growth of market centers</li> <li>• Infrastructure</li> <li>• High premium placed on land</li> </ul>
Oil and gas extractives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discovery of oil and gas</li> <li>• Demand for land</li> <li>• Development of infrastructure</li> <li>• Displacement of community</li> <li>• Environment degradation</li> <li>• Depletion of pastures – clearing land for excavations</li> <li>• Local contents issues – communities don't understand how their land inherited from ancestors should be re- possessed for excavations</li> <li>• Individual/selfish interest. Unable to agree on benefit sharing</li> <li>• Political influence</li> <li>• Corruption</li> <li>• Lack of transparency and integrity</li> <li>• Negative culture – Drilling oil well in areas for grazing their cattle</li> </ul>
Border Conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Competition for resources</li> <li>• Political incitement. Border countries with different positions on the border lines</li> <li>• National interest</li> <li>• Potential for minerals along the borders</li> <li>• Historical narratives. People's positions on the borders</li> <li>• Community identity. Community ownership of land, S. Sudanese and Kenyans laying claim to land on basis of their communities</li> <li>• Colonial legacies – Known narratives</li> </ul>
Kapedo Border Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Geothermal, pasture, water, arable land</li> <li>• Historical Turkana Pokot conflicts</li> <li>• Underdevelopment – No employment opportunities</li> <li>• Poor road network – Poor road and communication networks</li> <li>• Low educational facilities – No access to education</li> </ul>
Resource-Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Water and pasture access</li> <li>• Political incitement</li> <li>• Overgrazing/overstocking</li> <li>• Migration</li> <li>• Drought and famine</li> <li>• Traditional cultural practices</li> <li>• Lack of alternative livelihoods</li> </ul>

Environmental-Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mathenge invasion</li> <li>• Climate change</li> <li>• Mining activities</li> <li>• Charcoal burning</li> <li>• Major infrastructure projects</li> <li>• Flooding</li> </ul>
Development-Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land compensation</li> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Poor consultation</li> <li>• Political interference</li> </ul>

All the conflicts are linked and overlap since they have similar causes and driving factors which include:

- Political interference
- Demand for land
- Existence of minerals
- Competition for resources
- Lack of clear-cut boundaries and land ownership
- Cultural factors
- Ignorance

## LOCATION OF CONFLICTS

Conflict	Location
<b>Oil and gas Extractives</b>	Turkana East and South subcounty but due to the benefits related to oil extraction each community member is interested in the county
<b>Land conflict-LAPSET corridor</b>	Urban areas- because of double selling of land
<b>Border Conflict</b>	Kenya-South Sudan border
<b>Kapedo border Conflict</b>	Border between Turkana East and Tiyati Turkana- west Pokot border. Samburu Turkana border (Parakati)
<b>Resource based conflict</b>	Todonyang, Kibish, Kapedo
<b>Environmental based conflict</b>	Lokichar oil basin, Along AI road
<b>Developmental based conflict</b>	Kainuk, Lokichar, Lodwar, Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Lokitaung

## CURRENT STATUS OF CONFLICT

Conflict	Status
Oil and gas Extractives	It's an emerging conflict but currently on hold because the public participation has been stopped by Corona
Land based conflict	Its emerging and escalating due to the high premium place on land therefore everybody in the urban area is rushing to acquire pieces of Land
Border Conflict	Persistent and escalating

Kapedo border Conflict	Dissipating and government has given clarification on where the border and Pokot are to be administered from Lodwar
Resource based conflict	Persistent and dissipating due climate change since there are enough pastures and water but has a potential of escalating when drought hits
Environmental based Conflict	Persistent and escalation due to continuous invasion of mathenge, mining, extractives and infrastructure projects. Swelling of lake Turkana which has led to loss of livelihoods Threats from Turkwel dam spilling and causing floods
Developmental based Conflict	Emerging and escalating due to devolution and local contents issues, big government infrastructure

## IMPACTS OF CONFLICTS

Conflict	Impacts
Oil and Gas Extraction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Delayed delivery of the project causing tensions which could lead to destruction and loss of life</li> <li>• Costs government a lot of money for public participation</li> <li>• Scare investors in the county</li> <li>• Delayed final investments decisions</li> <li>• Loss of employment</li> <li>• Loss of property</li> <li>• Loss of business</li> <li>• Closure of the project</li> </ul>
Land Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of lives</li> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Destruction of property</li> <li>• Investors will shy away from acquiring land</li> <li>• Affects development of the area</li> </ul>
Border Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of livelihood</li> <li>• Loss of lives Disruption of trade</li> <li>• Closure of schools, health facilities</li> <li>• Disruption of development projects Increased insecurity</li> <li>• Potential for interstate conflict</li> <li>• Demand for illegal fire arms</li> </ul>
Kapedo Border Conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of lives</li> <li>• Loss of livelihoods</li> <li>• Denied development projects and services High government expenditure on security</li> <li>• Poverty</li> </ul>
Resource Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of livelihood Loss of lives</li> <li>• Disruption of social live</li> <li>• Delayed development</li> <li>• Disruption of social amenities and activities.</li> <li>• Increased insecurity leading to inaccessibility of parts of County</li> </ul>
Environmental Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Climate change</li> <li>• Land degradation</li> <li>• Pollution of water sources, air pollution and noise pollution</li> <li>• Loss of vegetation /forest cover and water sources</li> </ul>
Developmental Based Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Environmental impacts</li> </ul>

## BEST POINTS OF ENTRY.

- Engage political leaders to gain political good will
- Effective stakeholder mapping and engagement - community leaders, kraal leaders, chiefs, seers, religious leaders
- Enhance good coordination of national, county and civil society
- Formulation of policies and implementation
- Clear protocols for information sharing
- Speedy diplomatic engagement on border demarcation and delimitation
- Enforcement of laws and by laws

## CLASSIFICATION OF CONFLICTS

Typologies	Short-term	Mid-term	Long-term
<b>Oil and gas extractive</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public participation.</li> <li>• Local leaders' engagement</li> <li>• Prior informed content.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of job/employment opportunities to the youth</li> <li>• Involving youth in decision making over community projects</li> <li>• Giving community dividends/ grants for alternative livelihoods.</li> <li>• Holding annual stakeholders project monitoring activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Signing an agreement with communities on land ownership</li> <li>• Signing agreement with national and county government of compensation strategy.</li> <li>• Signing MoU with county government on the project implementation activities</li> </ul>
<b>Land conflict</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holding public participation on land act</li> <li>• Ensuring that elders are involved when one is purchasing land</li> <li>• Ensuring that ancestral land is maintained</li> <li>• Land for animals grazing should not be sold</li> <li>• Getting hold of land grabbers and take them to court</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct land survey</li> <li>• Subsidizing land prices</li> <li>• Developing laws and by laws to deal with communal land</li> <li>• Demarcation of ancestral land.</li> <li>• Educating community on side effects of land grabbing.</li> <li>• Nyumba kumi initiatives to avert crimes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Survey all the plots</li> <li>• Enactment of land act.</li> <li>• Acquisition of title deeds</li> <li>• Signing agreement with county government on LAPSET project</li> </ul>
<b>Border conflict</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holding peace dialogues in the South Sudan-Kenya corridor</li> <li>• National government engaging South Sudan government</li> </ul>		

<b>Kapedo Border conflict</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Holding peace dialogues</li> <li>• Arresting inciters</li> <li>• Engaging kraal leaders to negotiate with their counter parts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating alternative livelihoods for raiders</li> <li>• National government and county government conducting peace dialogues in the corridor</li> <li>• Formation of peace committees and training them.</li> <li>• MPs to meet and dialogue for peace</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disarmament of the two communities</li> <li>• Beefing up security</li> <li>• IEBC to give clear communication on the boundaries.</li> <li>• Signing of peace MoU between the two communities</li> </ul>
<b>Resource- Based conflict</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Negotiating for pasture access between communities</li> <li>• Holding peace dialogues</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of rangeland management committees</li> <li>• Formation of peace committees</li> <li>• Signing of resource sharing agreements</li> <li>• Reducing stock of animals kept by selling some during drought.</li> <li>• Providing of alternative livelihoods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disarmament of conflicting communities.</li> <li>• Development of projects that enhance sharing of resources</li> </ul>
<b>Environment conflict</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education of people on importance of environment</li> <li>• Anyone cutting trees should be arrested</li> <li>• Elders to negotiate with investors on community compensation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of forest committees</li> <li>• Compensation to affected communities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NEEMA should be involved to conduct environmental impact assessment of all projects.</li> <li>• Jailing of those cutting down trees</li> </ul>
<b>Development based conflicts.</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct public participation to get the needs and priorities of people</li> <li>• Fairly allocate projects</li> <li>• Employments should be advertised and done through transparent process</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of jobs to locals.</li> <li>• Ensure representation of all regions during employment.</li> <li>• Sign agreements with investors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Laws and by laws on development</li> </ul>

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Turkana County has included the issue of fodder in their CIDPs. This is to support farmers during droughts. The county government conducted benchmarking in UAE on issues of diversification, the county residents are embracing farming and also through support in form of grants from non- state actors starting small businesses. Currently there is farming happening along the Turkwel River.

Participants were of the view that the Turkana were redefining themselves by expanding their traditional dependence on pastoralism and embracing other livelihoods.

## POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS TO IMPACT CONFLICT SYSTEMS

The following were highlighted as likely peace and conflict scenarios in the county:

### OIL AND GAS EXTRACTIVES

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long Run
Signing of final investment decision where the national government, community and county government come into agreement and thus land is given to the investor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Oil drilling continues</li> <li>Revenue is generated</li> <li>Jobs are available to people</li> <li>Communities benefit from Corporate Social Responsibility projects</li> <li>Implementation of existing oil policies and laws</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Compulsory acquisition of land from the community</li> <li>Community resist</li> <li>Fighting begins between government and people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sabotage of oil drilling</li> <li>Insurgency activities</li> </ul>

### LAND CONFLICT

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long-run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Setting up land adjudication structures</li> <li>Ownership protocols</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Physical planning for lands for better use</li> <li>Tittle deeds are acquired then people can use them to access loans and thus good development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Constant quarrels over land which lead to conflict</li> <li>Continued land grabbing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Court battles.</li> <li>Wars leading to loss of lives</li> <li>Displacement of people from government owned lands.</li> <li>Disruption of social lives.</li> <li>Increased insecurity</li> </ul>

### BORDER CONFLICTS

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long-run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community dialogues on peace</li> <li>Sensitization on illegal SALW.</li> <li>Voluntary surrender of illegal arms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cessation of hostilities</li> <li>Signing of peace agreements between Kenya and South Sudan</li> <li>Boundary demarcation and delimitation</li> <li>Mineral exploitation</li> <li>Improved cross border trade</li> <li>Intermarriages</li> <li>Improved tourism</li> <li>Development (education, hospitals)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wars and raids</li> <li>Fear</li> <li>Displacement</li> <li>Denied access to essential services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Poor development</li> <li>Insecurity</li> <li>Fighting between the two countries</li> </ul>

## KAPEDO BORDER CONFLICT

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long Run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peace dialogues</li> <li>Peace education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peaceful co-existence</li> <li>Signing of peace agreements</li> <li>Clear boundary demarcation</li> <li>Communities sharing resources e.g. geothermal, pasture and water</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fights and wars</li> <li>Fear among communities</li> <li>Banditry incidences</li> <li>Killings</li> <li>Raids</li> <li>Displacement of people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Violent extremism</li> <li>Loss of lives</li> <li>Loss of livelihoods</li> </ul>

## RESOURCE-BASED CONFLICTS

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long Run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Peace dialogue meetings</li> <li>Recovery of animals</li> <li>Peace education</li> <li>Vigilant security response from security agents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Structured sharing of resources</li> <li>Signing of resource sharing agreements and effective implementation</li> <li>Peaceful co-existence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wars, raids, and killings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Escalated violent conflicts</li> <li>Underdevelopment</li> <li>Poverty</li> </ul>

## ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long Run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Environment awareness/ sensitization</li> <li>Environmental impact assessment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Availability of pasture and water</li> <li>Functional resource management committees</li> <li>Afforestation and reforestation</li> <li>Conservation of ecosystems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Air pollution, water pollution, and diseases</li> <li>Overstocking/over grazing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Food insecurity</li> <li>Floods</li> <li>Climate change</li> <li>Poverty</li> <li>Human animal conflicts</li> <li>Displacement of wildlife</li> <li>Loss of biodiversity</li> <li>Environmental degradation</li> </ul>

## DEVELOPMENTAL CONFLICT

Best Case Scenario – Short run	Best Case scenario – long run	Worst Case Scenario in the Short-run	Worst case scenario in the Long Run
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Increased money in circulation</li> <li>Increased revenue.</li> <li>Better services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved security</li> <li>Increased value for land</li> <li>Reduced conflict – impact URUM dam is likely to have</li> <li>Community empowerment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tensions, demonstrations against projects</li> <li>Sabotage and politicization of the project</li> <li>Increased crime</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weakening social bonds</li> <li>Elite capture</li> <li>Heightened corruption</li> <li>Increased dealing in contraband</li> <li>Population increase</li> <li>Social moral decay</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human capital development</li> <li>• Booming businesses</li> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Creation of jobs</li> <li>• Mushrooming towns</li> <li>• Food security</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Drug abuse</li> <li>• Terrorism</li> <li>• Radicalization</li> <li>• Pollution</li> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Speculation of land which leads to conflict</li> <li>• Pastoral drop outs</li> </ul>
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## CONFLICT ACTORS.

- Politicians
- Kraal leaders
- Youth
- Women
- Warriors
- Business community
- NPRs
- Boda Boda operators

## FACTORS CATALYZING CONFLICTS

- Inadequate security in the county occasioned by the vastness and the topography of the county.
- Corruption: People are not sincere.
- Greed and selfish interests: politicians attending meetings for the sake of it and not really interested in peace conversations.
- Negative historical narratives: young people grow and embrace existing narratives.
- Lack of clear-cut boundaries: IEBC is not clear on the boundaries, and keep giving conflicting information on the boundaries.
- Social cultural practices: Retrogressive cultural practices such as youth being forced to raid so as to raise enough goats for dowry, among the Dassenach you have to kill a man from a perceived enemy to be recognized as a man.
- Lack of implementation of policies such as land policies: Need to raise awareness on policies before implementation because some of them are new and may not be known or easily understood by the locals. Issues such as payment of land rates are new in the county and would face resistance from the locals if not well educated on their importance.
- Scarcity of resources such as water and pasture.
- Weak enforcement of laws and policies/ lack of policies.

- Weaker peacebuilding and conflict management structures.
- Poor communication protocols and structures.
- Lack of resources to implement peace projects.
- Oil and gas extraction.

## **ACTORS AND FACTORS SUPPORTING PEACE**

- Beach Management Units (BMUs) and Marine Police help resolve conflicts along the shores and also conflicts occasioned by use of Lake Turkana waters
- Range Land Management Committees (RMCs)
- Peace Committees
- County government and directorate of peace
- National government – CC office and the security team. Always on the frontline in addressing trigger and conflicts issues
- Women: women groups involved in peacebuilding because they suffer the most when conflicts are violent and lead to death of their family members. In most cases they are in the forefront preaching peace in different set-ups.
- Youth: not all youth are involved in conflict issues. Some of them have been very vocal in supporting peace campaigns in the county and can be engaged to spearhead peace initiatives in the county.
- Religious leaders and faith-based organizations
- INGOs
- Faith Based Organizations (FBOs)
- Community Based Organizations
- Reformed warriors

## **FACTORS CATALYZING PEACE**

- Existing peace structures
- Community goodwill to negotiate
- Diversified livelihoods
- Education
- Access to basic services such as health, education
- Devolution
- New opportunities (LAPSSET, Oil discovery)
- Improved climatic conditions
- New constitution
- Support from national government to negotiate on cross-border peace
- Cross-border trade such as between Turkana and Uganda (Moroto)

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Samburu move to Marsabit during dry seasons, and during rainy seasons they tend to move back along the borders with Turkana. In some cases, they move back with fishing nets or even can be found fishing on Marsabit waters. These actions often trigger conflicts along those borders.

Oil and gas exploitation are a double-edged sword, it can be both a catalyst of peace and conflict and also presents an opportunity for peace. The worst cases scenario would probably see the discovery as a curse and best case could be a resource benefit to the community. Resources in Sub-Saharan Africa are mostly a curse. Congo is full of similar resources but people live in abject poverty. Material used for mobile phones come from Congo but do not translate into economic empowerment for the locals.

Boda Boda operators are young boys who seem to have abandoned the Kraal and the embraced changing life styles that comes with young people migrating to towns. Youth from the other counties can operate their boda boda and still live with their parents but in the pastoralist communities they move far away from their homes to towns. These changes result in the diversification of livelihoods for the youth.

If Turkana came together with their fellow Ateker-speaking communities in Karamoja, the worst case scenario could be the secession of the entire region to form their own country. These are dynamics which needs to be monitored.

Cross-border trade. There is booming business across the borders. Most of products utilized in some parts of Turkana such as alcohol, maize and other commodities that originate in Moroto, in Uganda.

On the issues around the Elemi Triangle, the worst cases scenario would probably be war between Kenya and South Sudan. There is need to therefore follow up on the diplomatic gains achieved and ensure amicable resolution of all issue around the area.

## 5.5. GARISSA COUNTY- CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The following were identified as the leading conflict issues in Garissa County:

- **Inter-klan land conflict:** This was identified as the leading conflict issue in Garissa county. The county government is the trustee for the communal land but has been reluctant to put proper mechanisms in place to ensure different communities' benefit from the land. Continuous contestation of boundaries is the reason why this category of conflict has persisted.
- **Boundary dispute with other counties of Tana River and Isiolo:** This has persisted for a while because of failure by the concerned institutions to clear the issue. In 2013 county profiles, communities insisted on the removal of the claim that Somali elders had agreed on the three (3) miles strip as the boundary from the report. There is need for clear demarcation to avert further conflicts along these borderlines.

- **Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat):** There is fear of attacks from Al-Shabaab among the locals, and this remains a serious conflict issue. There is need to intensify security surveillance along the borders and establish good working relationships between the political leaders and other leaders within the county. Civic dialogue and sensitization on peaceful co-existence needs to also be intensified so that communities appreciate the value of sharing information with the security organs.
- **Illicit proliferation of SALW:** Proliferation of SALW across the county remains a conflict issue as the weapons fuel other forms of conflict. There is need to continue disarmament efforts in the county and also sensitize and discourage illicit ownership of small arms and light weapons.
- **Political leadership and governance wrangles:** Political supremacy battles among the locally elected leaders continue to fuel conflicts in the county. There is need to continually hold dialogue forums with the leadership at the county level so as to improve cohesion in the county and to ensure equitable distribution of resources and all-inclusive governance.
- **Banditry:** Banditry incidences along Modogashe – Garissa-Dadaab-Liboi-Somali road remains an issue of concern in the county. There is need for security personnel to tighten and intensify patrols along the highways to eradicate attacks.

## SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

The leading conflicts in the county area:

1. Boundary disputes with neighboring counties
2. Inter-clan conflicts over land and resources (water and pasture)
3. Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat)
4. Illicit firearms and light weapons
5. Banditry
6. Political leadership supremacy

The conflicts are linked in one way or another because of the following reasons:

- a) The driving factor is the political goodwill to address the conflict types
- b) Political leaders make decisions in parliament and take decisions on financing to address the conflicts
- c) The political leadership decides on what to do with the porous boundaries, and can in future decide to open the boundaries
- d) The government has a multiagency strategy for all security agencies working as a team as opposed to the previous arrangements where they seemed to be working in silos

## KEY DRIVING FACTORS THAT ARE INTER-CONNECTED

**a) Political leadership/power:** The disputes between clans over resources will continue because the politicians are the ones that allocate the land where the resources are, and tend to favor their clans or communities. They also delay making decisions on how the land and resources can be distributed, which also creates friction.

## KEY DRIVING FACTORS INFLUENCING ONE ANOTHER

- a) Access to illicit firearms and light weapons influences banditry and terrorism
- b) Inter clan conflicts over water and pasture resources leads to boundary disputes
- c) Inter clan conflicts influence access to firearms and light weapons
- d) Inter clan conflicts leads to access to firearms which leads to banditry

## KEY DRIVING FACTORS REINFORCING ONE ANOTHER

- a) Political leadership and supremacy reinforce inter clan conflicts over resources
- b) Political leadership and supremacy reinforce boundary disputes
- c) Access to illicit firearms and light weapons reinforces banditry
- d) Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat) makes communities seek access to illicit firearms and light weapons to protect themselves
- e) Politicians procure firearms when faced with terrorism to protect the citizens, resulting in growing numbers of firearms in the community

## ACTORS

Primary Actors	Secondary Actors
Political leaders	Religious leaders
Clan leaders	Nyumba kumi
County government leadership	Community leaders
National government	Citizens
Al-Shabaab/ Terrorists	CBO's and NGO's
	Donors

## PRESENT STATUS OF CONFLICTS

Boundary disputes with neighboring counties, inter clan conflicts on land and resources (water and pasture), banditry and political leadership supremacy are persistent while Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat) and illicit small arms and light weapons are dissipating.

## IMPACTS OF CONFLICTS

Conflict	RI	AI
<b>Boundary disputes with neighbor counties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Destruction of property</li> <li>• Mistrust among community</li> <li>• People living in fear and not confident in their daily activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creates hatred amongst counties and clans</li> </ul>
<b>Inter clan conflicts on land and resources (water and pasture)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leads to access to firearms and light weapons</li> <li>• School dropout</li> <li>• Migration from one area to another</li> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Loss of livestock/ rustling</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transhumance and movement of livestock from one place to another</li> <li>• Migration of people</li> </ul>
<b>Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Destruction of property</li> <li>• Closure of schools</li> <li>• Decline in investor confidence</li> <li>• Decline in social gatherings, such as weddings and cultural events</li> <li>• Decline in business enterprises</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Uneducated community</li> <li>• Economic decline</li> <li>• Division between government administrators and the communities</li> </ul>
<b>Illicit firearms and light weapons</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Poverty by redirecting funds to procure them instead of development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decline in governance</li> <li>• Lawlessness and factional fights</li> </ul>
<b>Banditry</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low literacy levels as children abandon schooling to become bandits</li> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Loss of property</li> <li>• Loss of livestock</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rate of literacy will decline drastically</li> </ul>
<b>Political leadership supremacy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community divisions leading to inter clan fights</li> <li>• Corruption</li> <li>• Unfulfilled promises lead to mistrust by citizens</li> <li>• Loss of life</li> <li>• Resource misappropriation</li> <li>• Skewed resource allocation/ lack of equity in service delivery and development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of unity between clans and larger community</li> <li>• Poor implementation of government programmes</li> </ul>

## POINTS OF ENTRY TO ADDRESS THE CONFLICT SYSTEM

- 1. Boundary disputes with neighboring counties:** County governments to sit together and resolve the boundary problems in consultation with the elders, religious leaders, and the National Land Commission
- 2. Inter-clan conflicts over land and resources (water and pasture):** Engaging elders of the warring clans together with the chiefs and religious leaders
- 3. Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat):** Identify the sympathizers and influence them to abandon their support for terrorism
- 4. Illicit firearms and light weapons:** Offering blanket amnesty to those with firearms to voluntarily surrender them

- 5. Banditry:** Engage youth and parents to stop, and offer them alternative skills and gainful employment opportunities
- 6. Political leadership supremacy:** Approach elders to reconcile the leaders for community harmony by sharing available political positions equally among the clans

## POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS TO ADDRESS CONFLICTS

Conflict	Short-term	Mid-term	Long-term
Boundary disputes with neighbor counties	Public sensitization to share resources	Land registration	Land adjudication and titling
Inter clan conflicts on land and resources (water and pasture)	Dialogue between the warring clans on how to use the resource together	Elders to create peace and pasture committees	Building Access to water and pasture points in each area
Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat)	Barazas on how to identify terrorists and radicalized youth	Give youth alternative skills and alternative employment	
Illicit firearms and light weapons	Awareness meeting to persuade communities to voluntary surrender illegally held SALW	Offer amnesty to return of the firearms	
Banditry	Offer alternative sources of income to the youth who may become bandits	Training youth with relevant skills	Soft loans and employment
Political leadership supremacy	Reconciliation efforts through elders and religious leaders	Sharing of positions	Have a unity programme in the community that is negotiated decisions

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS:

Water and grazing committees need to be strengthened especially in negotiating for use of resources. This will help avert conflicts when herders move cattle from point A to B.

New entry points to inform new interventions. All security agencies used to operate in silos, currently the government has a common approach in addressing conflict issues. The security teams sit and discuss the issues, strategize together and go out as a team to address the issues. The KDF helping with use of drones and choppers in insecure areas.

Enlisting services of experts within the security organs to help in identifying and detonating IEDs to clear way for the pursuit of Al-Shabaab in Garissa County has helped a lot in reducing the number of fatalities during operations.

In deradicalizing the youth, the County government set up and equipped TVETs aimed at imparting skills to the youth. Giving amnesty to returnees allows them to be absorbed back into the communities.

Amnesty for voluntary surrender of SALW. The September amnesty month declared by the African Union also helps to encourage communities to voluntarily surrender SALW.



Photo 7: Participants keenly following meeting proceedings during the workshop

## POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND STRATEGIC INTERVENTIONS TO IMPACT CONFLICT SYSTEMS

The following are the possible scenarios based on leading types of conflicts in Garissa County.

### BOUNDARY DISPUTES WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTIES

Best Case Short Run Scenario	Best Case Long Run Scenario	Worst Case Short Run Scenario	Worst Case Long Run Scenario
Communities in good terms and engagement of community dialogue Community living with one another and stakeholders' engagements	Boundary matters resolved by the elders and the boundary commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People start crossing other communities' boundary in total disregard of existing boundaries</li> <li>• Leadership incite the citizens on each side of the conflict</li> <li>• Use of disrespectful words against another</li> <li>• Isolated criminal cases</li> <li>• Disagreement over the position of the boundary</li> <li>• Conflict between pastoral Somali and farmers Pokomo and Malakote over grazing points and water corridors</li> <li>• Non adherence to laid down community agreements</li> <li>• Illegal utilization of land by the different factions of the conflict</li> <li>• Use of ridiculous language among different factions of the community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community members of each side fight over the land</li> <li>• Cattle rustling start</li> <li>• Cross county revenge and killings</li> </ul>

## TERRORISM (AL-SHABAAB THREAT)

Best Case Short Run Scenario	Best Case Long Run Scenario	Worst Case Short Run Scenario	Worst Case Long Run Scenario
<p>Community sensitization on dangers of terrorism and they are receptive of the information.</p> <p>-People able to speak openly about the ills of terrorism</p>	<p>Community able to turn in Al-Shabaab adherents to the administration NGAO's</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth lured to join the group</li> <li>• Promises of well-paying jobs after a short training</li> <li>• Enticement of sympathizers with gifts by Al-Shabaab</li> <li>• Livestock and milk bought at very high prices to ensure their support</li> <li>• Penetration into the Prayer centers such as mosques</li> <li>• Engaging in illegal business such as contraband goods</li> <li>• Payment of Zakah by the faithful for protection</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Radicalization training by Al- Shabaab on terrorist activities</li> <li>• Trainees posted to conduct terror activities</li> </ul>

## ILLCIT SALW

Best Case Short Run Scenario	Best Case Long Run Scenario	Worst Case Short Run Scenario	Worst Case Long Run Scenario
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community sensitization on access to illegal firearms by NGAO well-received by the people</li> <li>• Community start giving information on availability of firearms</li> </ul>	<p>Holders of firearms start surrendering them</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Failure of government to provide security to citizens compels them so seek alternative security.</li> <li>• Procuring of firearms for self-defense and for protection of their livestock.</li> <li>• Disagreements with the NGAO's and other security agencies</li> <li>• They may decide to source firearms from security agency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alliances created by various violent groups based on common security interests</li> <li>• Activities conducted in secrecy from the police and other NGAO's</li> <li>• Secret oathing exercises conducted to bind the group together</li> </ul>

## BANDITRY

Best Case Short Run Scenario	Best Case Long Run Scenario	Worst Case Short Run Scenario	Worst Case Long Run Scenario
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community receptive on the information on peaceful existence between them</li> <li>• NGAO are able to report increased enrollment of youth and children to school and TVET and are able to be retained</li> </ul>	<p>Dividends of peace are experienced in the community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Irregular school attendance</li> <li>• Children drop out of school</li> <li>• Drug abuse in society</li> <li>• Illiteracy levels start being high</li> <li>• Petty crimes begin in the community</li> <li>• More unemployed youth are in community</li> <li>• Many young men running away from home</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gangs formed and strategically position themselves in hotspot areas</li> <li>• They engage in hit and run attacks on vehicles</li> </ul>

## POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SUPREMACY

Best Case Short Run Scenario	Best Case Long Run Scenario	Worst Case Short Run Scenario	Worst Case Long Run Scenario
Leaders talking to one another Leaders work together	Leaders are one people and serving similar interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Disagreements between opposing leaders</li> <li>Incitement of community by leaders seeking self-glory</li> <li>Disagreements become loud between the leaders</li> <li>Political gangs formed with support from youth groups</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Public clashes between leaders leading to destruction of property and loss of life</li> </ul>

## FACTORS SUPPORTING CONFLICT

- Poverty: Leads many community members to seek alternative sources of income and pasture leading to conflict
- Climate change: Pasture and water becoming inadequate, intensifying competition for the meagre resources which aggravates conflict in the county
- Lack of land adjudication has created loopholes for people to own and purchase land anywhere
- Porous borders: Leads to more contraband goods and illegal aliens including terrorists coming into the county. This is a recipe for more conflict in the county.
- Lack of policies to secure land by the county government
- Illegal business involving contraband goods
- Land grabbing mainly by politicians encourages other people want to follow suit and acquire private land. For the most part the land is held for speculative purposes and denies communities land for pasture especially during the dry seasons

## ACTORS SUPPORTING CONFLICT

- Politicians:** They grab land and involve communities in supremacy battles between them which in most instances leads to conflicts and mistrusts between communities.
- Youth:** Majority are unemployed and can easily be radicalized or recruited into criminal and terrorist groups
- Security agencies:** Some are corrupt and this explains why terrorism remains a threat
- County Government:** The county government is delaying legislation of laws on land adjudication and their enactment. This increasingly leads to conflicts over land ownership. They also issue fake documents on land ownership, fueling contestation among the locals

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

The National Government created Quick Response Units (QRU) to enable security agencies quickly respond to tensions and conflicts in perceived unpoliced areas. This has improved government presence in these spaces.

Tana River is in Tana River County and Garissa County. There are three Tana River County administrative units that are situated in Garissa County. This issue has persisted for a while and need to be addressed to avert conflicts.

The simmering misunderstanding between the residents and KenGen as a result of the parastatal's activities that seem to be causing flooding downstream was highlighted. According to the participants, the floods are destroying their farms and houses, and needs to be addressed before it escalates to a bigger conflict.

Timber logging in Boni forest which is a shared resource between Garissa and Lamu was highlighted as an issue which needed to be monitored closely.

Proposed LAPSET projects in the county were reported to be hiking the value of land with some political leaders buying land for speculative purposes, with an eye on receiving compensation from the national government when the projects finally begin.

The several refugee camps in the county were reported to be negatively affecting the value of land through desertification. The huge number of people who live as refugees in the county and cannot take part in voting and have no national identity cards, yet are expected to benefit from government resources was reported to also be putting pressure on the resources allocated to the county.

Politicization of the youth fund was reported to be diluting the motive behind the starting the fund. According to the participants, most of youth believe that the money is not meant to be refunded, and when leadership changes the youth accuse the new members of parliament of malice when they reach out to recover the money. This leads to misuse of the funds.

## 5.6. WEST POKOT COUNTY – CURRENT CONFLICT ISSUES

The following were identified as the leading conflict issues in West Pokot County: -

- **Cattle rustling/ Stock theft:** This is common between West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot and Turkana, and West Pokot and Uganda and involves the moran warriors, livestock traders, community members, and laibons. In order to address this, participant proposed that the administration should criminalize cattle theft and put tough punitive measures in place on individuals, and also initiate ways of branding cattle as per the counties.

- **Boundary dispute:** This is along the Pokot/Turkana. There is need for IEBC, county government, the National Land Commission and other concerned parties to harmonize the borders and ensure the border is clearly known to ease tensions along the border zone. This can be done through review and affirmation of boundaries. Communities need to be encouraged to co-exist peacefully, and community inciters should be arrested and punished.
- **Land conflicts (ownership):** Land ownership wrangles are most common in Kanyerus, Riwo and Kanyarakwat. This happens when buyers or sellers renege on terms. The communities need to be sensitized to understand value of land and also the recommended guidelines for the buying and selling of land. Communities also need to be sensitized on the need to co-exist peacefully. ADR mechanisms at the community level also need to be strengthened, and communities encouraged to diversify livelihoods.
- **Scramble for mineral exploration:** This is happening in Ortum, Kalumwayi, and Pokot north. Community member are likely to lose their land rights to investors when there is a dispute. The conflict resulting from such disputes can discourage investors from investing in the county. To address this, there is need to uphold community and individual land rights, while putting in place clear formulae for sharing benefits from natural resource exploitation and ensuring community participation in mineral exploration.
- **Gender based violence/ early marriages/ early pregnancies/ FGM:** This is a growing concern across the county that needs to be addressed. This can be done through awareness creation on the need to desist from such acts and also enforcement of existing laws by concerned government entities.
- **Political groups/ factions:** Political alignments based on Tangatanga and Kieleweke camps are already happening in the county. Political leaders are already championing for certain directions on the Building Bridges Initiative (BBI). This is likely to be a source of conflict especially with the rise of community militias in the county. The government needs to decisively dismantle these factions and encourage tolerance among leaders.
- **Human wildlife conflict:** This is common along the Turkwel/ Kerio valley corridor. It leads to loss of lives and injuries by community members and also losses by farmers as wild animals invade their farms. Communities need to be educated on the need to preserve forests and desist from encroaching on wildlife conservancies. The government needs to carry out a proper mapping of wildlife-human settlements and enforce relevant laws aimed at deterring encroachment into the forests and also killing of animals.
- **Deforestation and land encroachment:** This is more pronounced in Pokot Central and South. There is need to put mechanisms in place aimed at controlling this menace as it will impact on communities livelihoods over the long run. These mechanisms may include forceful removal of those who encroach on forests, reforestation of degraded areas, ensure clear cut-lines on protected land, and enforcement of laws.

## 6. SYSTEMATIC CONFLICT ANALYSIS

### THE LEADING CONFLICTS ARE: -

1. Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)
2. Cattle rustling (raids and counter raids)
3. Historical grievances & injustices
4. Political disagreements and supremacy battles
5. Electoral and administrative boundary disputes
6. Gender based violence

### LINKED/ OVERLAPPING CONFLICTS

Conflict	Driving Factor	Location- Conflict	Actor	Conflict Status
<p>Cattle rustling (raids and counters raids)</p> <p>Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)</p> <p>Historical grievances &amp; injustices</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Negative cultural practices</li> <li>• Youth unemployment</li> <li>• Lack of economic opportunities due to poor economic development policies</li> <li>• Climate change and imbalance in natural resources (water and pasture)</li> <li>• Availability of proliferation of illegal firearms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Turkwel corridor, between Central Pokot and Marakwet county, North Pokot and Loima sub-counties, West Pokot county and Uganda border, Uganda /Kenya border (black markets)</li> </ul>	<p>Primary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raiders/youth, laibons</li> </ul> <p>Secondary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community elders</li> <li>• Elites/politicians</li> <li>• Women</li> <li>• Security agencies</li> </ul>	Dissipating
<p>Political disagreements and supremacy battles</p> <p>Electoral and administrative boundary disputes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Imbalanced distribution of national and county resources,</li> <li>• Inadequate security provision</li> <li>• Youth unemployment</li> <li>• Poor enforcement of campaigns and electoral/security laws</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban centres</li> <li>• Turkana/West Pokot county</li> </ul>	<p>Primary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politicians</li> <li>• Youth</li> <li>• IEBC</li> </ul> <p>Secondary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security agency</li> <li>• Local elites</li> <li>• Community elders</li> <li>• Community members</li> </ul>	Escalating

## National Conflict Profiles and Scenario Building- Kenya

<p>Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing fields, forest etc.)</p> <p>Electoral and administrative boundary disputes Boundary disputes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant institutions lack capacity to formulate adequate laws to govern access, control and management of natural resources</li> <li>• Population pressure and lack of livelihood diversification</li> <li>• Greed by the elites amidst lack of awareness by the locals</li> <li>• Corruption at the ministry of natural resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kalumuayi</li> <li>• Ortum</li> <li>• Kambi karaya</li> <li>• Turkwel corridor</li> <li>• Uganda/West Pokot county border</li> <li>• Tranzoia/West Pokot county</li> <li>• Kamatira forest</li> <li>• Kamolokol forest</li> <li>• Chemurongit</li> </ul>	<p>Primary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multinational mineral exploration</li> <li>• Individual local businessmen</li> <li>• Community</li> </ul> <p>Secondary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politician</li> <li>• Government agencies</li> </ul>	<p>Escalating</p>
<p>Gender Based Violence</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Retrogressive cultural practices which view wife battering as normal</li> <li>• Youth unemployment</li> <li>• Drug abuse</li> <li>• Early school drop outs, marriages and pregnancies</li> <li>• Marginalization of women in resource access and control of resources;</li> <li>• Weak laws to protect</li> <li>• General ignorance of right and privileges</li> </ul>	<p>All over the county</p>	<p>Primary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Men</li> <li>• women</li> <li>• youth</li> </ul> <p>Secondary actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• elders</li> <li>• law enforcement agencies</li> <li>• SCOs</li> </ul>	<p>Persistent and escalating</p>

## IMPACTS OF CONFLICTS

Conflict	RI	AI
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cattle rustling (raids and counter raids)</li> <li>2. Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)</li> <li>3. Historical grievances &amp; injustices</li> </ol>	<p>Loss of lives, livelihoods, displacement of families</p> <p>Increased social tensions/unrest/fear</p> <p>Counter raids</p> <p>Loss of self esteem</p>	<p>Increase in poverty</p> <p>Decrease in population</p> <p>Undermines the relationship between citizens and government</p> <p>Political instability</p>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Political disagreements and supremacy battles</li> <li>2. Electoral and administrative boundary disputes</li> </ol>	<p>Injuries and death</p> <p>Displacement</p> <p>Disenfranchisement</p> <p>Marginalization in decision making</p> <p>Poor service provision</p>	<p>Marginalization in development</p> <p>Poverty</p> <p>Corruption</p> <p>Political instability</p>

<p>1. Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, water, forest etc.)</p> <p>2. Electoral and administrative boundary disputes</p>	<p>Injuries and death</p> <p>Displacement of people</p> <p>Land degradation and pollution</p>	<p>Marginalization in development</p> <p>Poverty</p> <p>Corruption</p> <p>Political instability</p> <p>Undermines the relationship between citizens and government</p> <p>Climate change</p>
<p>1. Gender based violence (FGM, wife bartering, forced &amp; early marriages)</p>	<p>Injuries and death</p> <p>Social stigma</p> <p>Low self esteem</p> <p>Shattered dreams</p> <p>Suicide</p>	<p>Marginalization in development</p> <p>Poverty</p> <p>Social unrest and social disintegration</p>

## BEST POINTS OF ENTRY

Conflict	Entry Point
<p>Cattle rustling (raids and counter raids)</p> <p>Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)</p> <p>Historical grievances &amp; injustices</p>	<p>Traditional leaders (repeal of cultural laws)</p> <p>Youth and women</p> <p>Research institutions</p> <p>Media</p>
<p>Political disagreements and supremacy battles Electoral and administrative boundary disputes</p>	<p>Religious leaders</p> <p>Community elders</p>
<p>Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)</p> <p>Electoral and administrative boundary disputes</p>	<p>Political leadership and local elites</p> <p>Youth</p> <p>Elders</p> <p>Women</p>
<p>Gender Based Violence</p>	<p>Religious leaders</p> <p>Community elders (repeal of cultural laws)</p> <p>Youth (male)</p>

## POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS

Conflict	Short-term interventions	Mid-term interventions	Long-term interventions
<p>Cattle rustling (raids and counter raids)</p> <p>Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)</p> <p>Historical grievances &amp; injustices</p>	<p>Recovering stolen livestock and giving them back to their rightful owners</p> <p>Enhancing security provision</p> <p>Punishing individual raiders by criminalizing cattle raid</p> <p>Forceful and voluntary disarmament</p>	<p>Branding livestock according to counties</p> <p>Community sensitization on negative effects of cattle rustling</p>	<p>Livelihood diversification</p> <p>Community empowerment through equitable distribution of resources</p> <p>Compulsory and free basic education</p>

Political disagreements and supremacy battles	Arresting and punishing perpetrators	Community sensitization on their rights, roles and responsibilities	Equitable distribution of national and county resources
Electoral and administrative boundary disputes	Affirming and upholding both electoral and administrative boundaries	Community sensitization on the need/benefits of peaceful co-existence	Empowering youth in these communities
Dispute over access, control and management of natural resources (mineral exploration; grazing land, forest etc.)	Arresting and punishing perpetrators Defining and upholding individual and community land rights Dismantling existing cartels	Community sensitization on their rights and privileges  Formulating appropriate land policies	Fair distribution of benefits accruing from natural resource exploration by formulating a fair just formula of sharing benefits from natural resource exploration
Electoral and administrative boundary disputes	Forceful eviction of those encroaching on protected land	Empowering relevant agencies in charge of land and natural resource exploration	Livelihood diversification to reduce overdependence on land
Gender based violence	-Punish perpetrators of gender-based violence -Proper law enforcement -Counselling of the victims of gender- based violence	-Community sensitization on the negative effects of gender-based violence.  -Formulation of proper legislation on gender-based violence policies to enhance deterrence	Equitable distribution of resources and opportunities.  -Equitable access to formal education and training, and other economic opportunities

## SCENARIO BUILDING FOR WEST POKOT COUNTY

The following were highlighted as the possible scenarios for peace and conflict in the county:

### EMERGING POLITICAL FACTIONS AND TENSIONS-PERSISTENT AND ESCALATING

#### WORST CASE SCENARIO

**a) Short-term:** The two political factions (such as tangatanga and kieleweke) are going to be more pronounced due to the on-going conversations around BBI hence more tensions.

**b) Mid-term:** Each of the two political factions linked to BBI (tangatanga and kieleweke) will consolidate more besides attracting militia groups as we approach the referendum in the next six months. As a result, tensions will heighten characterized by intimidation and violent confrontation during referendum campaign resulting into injuries and death, destruction of properties and even boycott of referendum by one of the factions.

**c) Long-term:** Winners of referendum will emerge stronger and bolder. The perceived loser of the referendum will be marginalized from decision making, resource allocation, some fired or asked to resign or be dismissed from their government jobs. Some may be arrested and prosecuted on various ground, some genuine, some flimsy. As a result, tension will escalate resulting into more divisions, fights and death and even internal displacement.

## BEST CASE SCENARIOS

- a) **Short -term:** Views of the tangatanga are incorporated in the BBI document leading to reduced tension.
- b) **Mid-term:** Diffused tensions and non-contested referendum. This will reduce possible violent conflict during referendum campaigns.
- c) **Long-term:** A non-contested referendum result, a more unified country gearing a peaceful election in 2022.

## LAND BASED CONFLICTS AND BOUNDARY DISPUTES-ESCALATING WORST CASE SCENARIO

- a) **Short-Term:** Heighted tension in contested areas resulting into violent confrontations.
- b) **Mid-Term:** More fights, destruction of property, cases of death, and displacement of affected persons.
- c) **Long-Term:** The disputes spill over across the border. Either Uganda or Kenyan will protest that their territory is invaded thus the crisis escalates to both national and regional level. The Pokot in Uganda will be attacked and evicted by Ugandans in retaliation leading to massive internal displacement across the border. In such a situation there is the possibility of the Uganda government trying to reclaim West Pokot county based on historical circumstances.

## BEST CASE SCENARIO

- a) **Short-term:** Two conflicting parties and their respective administrative units addresses the matter amicably.
- b) **Mid-term:** Fighting stalls, people live harmoniously, and there is no displacement.
- c) **Long-term:** Peaceful co-existence between the two countries. Cross-border business thrives, roads between the two countries are improved, intermarriage occurs, and life in general is good.

## TENSION OVER SCRAMBLE FOR MINERAL EXPLORATION AND EXTRACTION-ESCALATING

### WORST CASE SCENARIO

- a) **Short-term:** Influx of people into the mining areas results in more tensions between the locals and the 'outsider' miners.
- b) **Mid-term:** Escalating of tension continues, disagreement over mining rights, fights break out, confiscation of mining equipment/machineries by locals occurs, foreign miners are chased away; security officers arrest and beat up the locals resulting into more tensions.

**c) Long-term:** If the situation persists, population pressure increases, cases of criminality and social deviance emergence; massive environment degradation, case of death, disease. Disagreement over collection of tax between two counties over disputed boundaries. Cases of school dropout leads to more conflicts

## BEST CASE SCENARIO

**a) Short-term:** Regulated mining mediated by consultative dialogue between local community, investors, and government to avoid tension

**b) Mid-term:** There are clear laws and regulation and formula for sharing benefits accruing from the minerals

**c) Long-term:** Mining goes on, the benefits are felt by both miners and locals in form of business opportunities, infrastructural development, social corporate social responsibility. There is peaceful co-existence, social integration due to well established clear conflict and dispute resolution established and working

## PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

The Tecla Lorupe foundation brought all the warring communities together to discuss conflicts and ways of co-existing peacefully. This brought about the reformed warriors, government picked-it up from there and have been rewarding warriors who have abandoned criminal activities and engaging in peace activities.

The potential of the county for mineral and other extractives has remained speculative. There are pockets of excavations of petroleum, limestone and minerals. There are no clear guidelines or arrangement for exploration and excavation of the minerals.

'Lami nyeusi' remains a contested area, although there were suggestions that the land has a title deed for a group ranch. West Pokot county reported that the issue had been resolved and some constructions were ongoing.

Political formations. The local leadership seem to have taken positions on BBI. Militia groups such as New Red Army (NRA), Kachapin Defense Force (KDF) and the Third Force can easily be used.

Influx of people is now being seen as a conflict issue. Mining is a sensitive issue when people move in with machines and equipment, and the locals feel like they are being sidelined. This issue needs to be cautiously managed with more involvement of communities.

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Different speakers lauded the organizers for the successful forum. The following were highlights of closing remarks by different speakers:

- Leaders present were encouraged to hold a post meeting follow-up with local security agencies to discuss and to begin strategizing on ways of dealing with the issues raised in their counties. This includes the need for government leaders to craft better ways of working with non-state actors, and the need to mobilize peace actors and resources for bigger impact interventions.
- The forum was lauded as a learning forum for the county security teams.
- Formation of County Peace Forums (CPFs) in the run-up to 2017 General Elections was lauded as a good move in ensuring peace during electioneering periods. Participants emphasized on the need to revive such forums as there was a high likelihood that communities will be more divided as we move towards the 2022 general elections.
- The need to restructure TVETs and other vocational training centers which require some level of education to join was emphasized. Young pupils who have never been to school are easy targets for radicalization. This defines a huge group of young people across the counties.
- Leaders were encouraged to work with the many NGOs operating within the counties in supplementing government interventions. NGOs were lauded for their unique role in spearheading peace across the counties.
- The scenarios building and profiling of peace and security issues within the counties will help prioritizing issues for interventions as the country moves towards the 2022 general elections.
- County security leaderships were encouraged to work together in resolving intra-county conflicts because that is likely to have a bigger impact.
- NSC was challenged to keep pushing for the completion of the National Peace Council bill as a way of operationalizing the already passed National Peace Policy.
- County leaders were encouraged to develop a matrix of activities based on the issues identified in the workshop. This will help in ensuring consistency in interventions by different actors and also help in fundraising for different interventions.
- CEWARN reported that they had revived the Rapid Response Fund (RRF). This is meant to support small activities as a catalytic fund. The RRF should not be seen as supporting longer term plans, but for supporting short-term early warning interventions.
- The Rapid Response Funds (RRF) by CEWARN need to be released urgently when issues which need urgent interventions are raised. This will help in responding to early warning signs before they escalate into fully blown conflicts.
- The forum report needs to have a provision for signatures for ownership from the participants of the forum.
- The draft report will be shared for enrichment and inputs by the participants and NRIs before being finalized for wider circulation.

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS

Improved coordination is needed to resolve identified conflicts. The need for different actors to work together in resolving identified conflict issues was emphasized. Participants were encouraged to look for homegrown solutions from within the community in order to ensure sustainable peace. Peace agreements supported by local communities last longer. There is therefore need for actors seeking to bring peace, and to ensure their approaches speak to the local issues.

Positive experiences should be replicated and circulated to other counties that share similar issues. Some of the good practices within some counties need to be replicated elsewhere and there is need for documentation of successes, pros and cons for some of these practices such as negotiated democracies.

Embrace innovative ways of solving conflict issues. Those crazy ideas lead to answers to most of problems at the community levels. Having fought Al-Shabaab for so many years, talking to them could be a solution to the problem.

Vocational training is important for diversifying existing livelihoods. Most conflicts identified can be resolved by providing training for the diversification of livelihoods.

Land registration in Marsabit which was reported to be in the offing could solve most of the issues in the county. A case of Maasai and Kipsigis who were fighting over land was highlighted. The Maasai took their case to court and the judge ordered Kipsigis to vacate the contested land. That ruling help quell conflicts elsewhere in the region.

Natural resources such as water and land need to be properly managed in order to manage some of the conflicts raised in the counties. Environment issues raised in the discussions included conflicts driven by access to water and pasture, which featured in all the counties, human wildlife conflict, politicians and elites buying land in some of the areas for speculative purposes thereby denying locals land for pasture and water, and also environment destruction such as charcoal burning leading to loss of vegetation cover affecting the water catchment areas.

Participants were challenged to integrate health and education into peace conversations. Education is key in addressing most of the conflicts highlighted from the counties.

Benchmarking across the counties so as to learn from one another and enhance peace in the counties and the entire country was also emphasized.

Improve and diversify sources of livelihood in Northern Kenya. In resolving conflicts in Northern Kenya, there is need to look at the livelihood situation in the region. Mostly, we compare countries through use of the Human Development Index (HDI) which is measured in three key areas, that is, life expectancy, income, and education. The level of awareness in other parts of the country is higher than the people of Northern Kenya. There is need to address the underlying issues such as poor immunization for children, health services, water issues, road network and communication in order to elevate the livelihoods of communities in Northern Kenya. This will

easily change narratives such as inadequate water and pastures that push communities into conflicts. Farming supported by irrigation for crops such as onions and melons which do well in ASAL areas need to be encouraged. There is need to train youth from these counties on farming and other forms of livelihoods.

Civic education. There is need to raise awareness among the locals to know what they are entitled to and make demands on the leadership for transforming their livelihoods. Kenya's Vision 2030 blueprint had indicated that there will 30 slaughter houses in the Northern Kenya, but only 3 have been set-up. Communities need to be aware of what they are entitled so that they can in position to hold key institutions accountable in implementation.

Comparative analysis. The need to conduct a comparative analysis on peace and conflict interventions across the counties was emphasized. This will help in picking out the best practices and highlighting failures for counties to learn from one another.

In dealing with terrorism, it is important to clearly define the role of communities. It is good to be clear about interventions targeting issues of radicalization and approaches for combating the menace. This is because some of the interventions can be counter-productive.

The need to begin implementation of the County Action Plans on Violent Extremism developed in close collaboration with the National Counter-terrorism Centre (NCTC) was emphasized. Counties could consider adopting a harmonized approach and develop an implementation matrix that can help in prioritizing interventions and also monitoring implementation of activities. Deradicalization programmes needs to also be set up and implemented. There is need to have clear modalities of persuading children to leave the terrorist groups and re-integrate them back to the communities upon return.

On proliferation of peace committees across the counties, participants noted that there was need to harmonize most of the groups and come up with an integrated one at the county level. This unit should bring on board different communities living in that group so as to have a unifying committee.

The Peace Actors Forum in Wajir and Mandera were lauded. Participants emphasized on the need to have inter-county structures or a system that can deal with issues affecting different counties.

Establishment of County Policing Authorities (CPAs). Entrenched in the NPS ACT of 2011. Most counties advertised, recruited and gazette their teams but operationalization of the authorities stagnated. This is a good opportunity to involve county governments in security issues and therefore discussions on having the authorities in place need to be revived. NSC need to follow up on the issue.

The need for socio-economic approach in addressing multiple dimensions of conflicts highlighted was also emphasized. There is need to appreciate how most of the conflicts are inter-related and therefore ensure all conflict issues are sufficiently analyzed to avoid causing more conflicts as you strive to resolve others.

## ANNEXES: PRESENTATIONS

### ANNEX 1: KEY CONFLICT ISSUES FROM 2013 COUNTY PROFILES

Conflict Issues	Action Taken/ Implemented		Outcomes	Success Stories/ Challenges
<b>Marsabit County</b>				
Negative ethnicity and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fair, impartial and neutral county government leadership</li> <li>Conduct audit of county recruitment and development.</li> <li>Establishment of the directorate of peace and cohesion in the county government of Marsabit.</li> </ul>		The directorate was established and active in conflict management in partnership with other non-state actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Objectivity still lacking in allocation of development projects and employment</li> <li>Political formations that exclude others such as REGABU, ABAGADDA</li> <li>Political Suspicion and mistrusts still there</li> <li>Creation of 35-member peace committees representing all the ethnic communities in Moyale sub county</li> </ul>
Livestock theft, rustling, raiding and SALWs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhance response and recovery of stolen livestock</li> <li>Strengthening KPR</li> <li>Increase police presence and infrastructure</li> <li>Water for peace projects; Forole Aldere and Mude dams, 2 boreholes</li> <li>Pasture and grazing committees</li> <li>Consultative workshops</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Success in recovery was short lived. Theft and lack of recovery still persists</li> <li>KPR disarmed because theft and killings increased. Weapons used to protect their kin</li> <li>Projects on water ongoing</li> <li>Grazing committees in few areas functional</li> <li>Moyale active and part of Marsabit</li> <li>Minimal consultative workshops due to lack of consistent support Support mostly from NGOs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cattle theft reduced after disarmament</li> <li>Voluntary surrender of illegal weapons slightly over 351 surrendered</li> <li>Specialized police units</li> </ul>

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Cross- border conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhanced border security management</li> <li>Enhance sustainable cross border dialogue among local government</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Border management security in place.</li> <li>Cross border peace dialogue at national and local governments in both Kenya and Ethiopia.</li> <li>Erection of security barriers and digging of trenches along the border to curb illegal goods/drugs and human trafficking.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arrest of many human traffickers/ aliens/nabbing of illegal fire arms and drugs</li> <li>Intensified crime detection and apprehension</li> </ul>
Natural resources (water and pasture)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Form and train pasture and grazing committees</li> <li>Stakeholder involvement and inclusive community representation and participation in decision making processes at all levels</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The committees were formed but still not trained</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sustainability of the committees.</li> <li>Mistrust among the different ethnic communities</li> </ul>
<b>Mandera County</b>				
<b>Conflict Year(s) Causes</b>	<b>Proposed Responses</b>	<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Success stories</b>	
Community Conflict Garre- Murulle 2003-2008 Dispute over overlapping electoral boundary at Alango Dasheg of Elwak and Alang of Lafey villages	Religious and community leaders led the reconciliation process Conflict cooled off through coercion by military operation	-Sheikh Umul Accord but not implemented - Latent peace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Existence of strong response mechanism under the Mandera Peace actor's forum chaired by CC and County government</li> <li>Strong departmental structures for peace, cohesion and de-radicalization by County government</li> <li>Long-term peace support by NCIC- Interpeace with strong investment including the establishment of a regional peace, cohesion and heritage center</li> </ul>	

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<p>Gare-Marehan 2004-2005</p> <p>2010-2012</p> <p>- Conflict over control of Elwak district administration Somalia at cross border</p> <p>Terror related attacks in Mandera town but backed by Marehan, over forceful acquisition of IDs, economic power, killing of Chief, settled on borderline</p>	<p>- Resolved by sharing positions of governance at Elwak district level with Gare been give DC position</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reconciliation between elder,</li> <li>• element of inclusion and reintegrated in Mandera</li> </ul>	<p>- Inclusive administration</p> <p>- External Al Shabab threat became unifier</p> <p>- No active conflict</p> <p>- Marehan got access to ID through other means corruption, political alliance etc.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cohesion and heritage center</li> <li>• Stronger internal and cross border peace committees but needs more support</li> <li>• Existence of Ceasefire monitoring committees (CMCs) to address quick grassroots actions</li> <li>• Animal returned to owners so far over 400 camels returned in Banisa</li> <li>• Cross border protocols that are not fully implemented and resourced</li> <li>• Recordtime ceasefires effected in Banisa, Yedo, Qoqaye, Burmayo etc.</li> <li>• Successful piloting of community led Anti-terror programming- KYN (Know you neighbor) principle</li> </ul>
<p>Garre-Degodia 2007-2015</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Worst case was 2012-2014</li> <li>• Conflict started in Ethiopia, through Mandera, passed Wajir and ended in Mandera</li> <li>• In Mandera it is over Politics of Mandera Northconstituency, land ownership, historical issues,</li> <li>• Malka Mari National Park/ District</li> <li>• Fueled by myth of Expansionist and Displacement ideologies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NCIC led by Chairman Francis Ole Kaparo's did ceasefire</li> <li>• NCIC with support from Interpeace did a long-term peace building programme</li> <li>• County and national government dedicated personnel, resources and political good will</li> <li>• Political contest over Mandera North still unresolved</li> <li>• Great stride in community reconciliation effort by all peace actors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defunct Banisa Accord</li> <li>• Ole Kaparo's ceasefire that propelled long term peace building efforts</li> <li>• Stronger county department dedicated to peace</li> <li>• Close collaboration between all peace actors</li> <li>• Existence of community peace infrastructures like CMCs, Dialogue space member</li> </ul>	

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<p>Murulle- Corner tribe 2008- now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict over land, political domination, and</li> <li>• coercion of minority Corner tribe in Khalalio</li> <li>• Creation of location</li> <li>• Diminishing land for the Corner tribes</li> </ul>	<p>Still Unresolved</p>	<p>Not settled</p>	
<p>Resource-based Conflict Marehan -Murulle 2010- now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to grazing area in Kenya on the border area</li> <li>• Cross border conflict</li> </ul>	<p>Unresolved, sporadic conflict incident</p>	<p>Suspicion and blame games on any violent incident always turning as fresh trigger of another conflict</p>	
<p>Gare-Murulle 2003- now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grazing area and Water competition in Mandera South sub county</li> <li>• Environmental depletion through overgrazing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• County Commissioner issued conservatory order on development projects in border area</li> <li>• No approval of borderline conflict</li> <li>• causing project</li> </ul>	<p>IEBC to resolve border disputes</p>	

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<p>Administrative and Electoral Border Conflict Gare-Murulle 2013-now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict over Lafey and Mandera South administrative and electoral border</li> <li>• Overlap of borders</li> <li>• Lack of clarity of the border demarcation</li> <li>• Conflict exist in all these areas</li> <li>• Lafey-Mandera South</li> <li>• Lafey-Mandera North</li> <li>• Burmaryo Mandera - Burmayo Wajir</li> <li>• Banisa sub County-Shobtoy</li> <li>• Banisa-Takaba Mandera</li> <li>• North- Mandera South</li> <li>• Mandera</li> <li>• North- Mandera South</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Active conflict on the ground with recent death of 3, burnings and agitations</li> <li>• Ceasefire agreement signed, No development in the area</li> <li>• IEBC to review and move to the ground</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IEBC to address border issue with speed</li> <li>• All other forms of conflicts are rekindled by these political conflict</li> </ul>	
<p>Political Conflict Gare-Degodia 2013-now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political exclusion on matter of representation</li> <li>• Winner takes it all</li> <li>• Development exclusion by County government</li> <li>• Council of Elder created to control clan interests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• County Governor's deliberate inclusion of more clans in government</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politics of alliance bring more peace</li> <li>• Council of elder to be inclusive</li> <li>• County government has been inclusive</li> </ul>	

<p>Murulle- Corner Tribe 2013- Now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict over Khalalio Ward</li> <li>• Coercion to make CT submissive to support Murulle in Mander East Creation of Dar Salaam Location in Khalalio</li> </ul>				
<p>Clan Militias Gare, Murulle, Degodia 2003- now</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existence of easily mobilizable clan militia by</li> <li>• community elders</li> <li>• They have arms but inactive during peace</li> <li>• Available during active conflict and supported by clans</li> <li>• Currently the Gare and Murulle militia exist for the Yedo conflict</li> <li>• Can be used for positive issues if engaged for anti-terror work</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surveillances by security agencies</li> <li>• Deployment of security agencies</li> <li>• Improved relations with community</li> <li>• Quick response to other conflict</li> </ul>	<p>There is improved response mechanism for conflict due to increased collaboration between actors</p>		
<p>Ex TFG militias 2008</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Huge number of youths trained for the support of Somalia TFG government</li> <li>• Unaccounted youth mostly maimed, killed and traumatized lot</li> <li>• Existence of TFG</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No Action though few may have been absorbed as NPR</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unresolved</li> </ul>		

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Stock Theft Gare-Degodia 2010-now Cross border livestock theft across Kenya- Ethiopia border	Rapid recovery efforts Deployment of CMCs to resolve issues as they arise	From 2019 over 400 camels returned to owners Community led approach bearing fruit		
Terrorism • Cross border Al- Shabab attacks 2008- now • Presence of active cells of AS in Mandera county • Closure of major roads, destroying mast etc. • Curtailed movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue security surveillance</li> <li>• Community involvement</li> <li>• Deployment of specialized units</li> <li>• Use of community elders, religious leaders, etc.</li> <li>• Need for youth to be positively engaged to fight CVE</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CVE action plans</li> <li>• Pilot community own led CVE eradication programme which was highly effective</li> <li>• Peace Champions</li> </ul>		
<b>Wajir County</b>				
<b>Key Conflict Issues from 2013</b>		<b>Proposed Responses Actors</b>	<b>Interventions Implemented</b>	<b>Outcomes</b>
Clan and boundary-based conflicts				
<b>A) Degodia and Ajuran</b>		Meeting of political leaders Political leaders	Meeting unsuccessful in resolving problem	
• Water pan		Move water pan 3 kms from contested area Political leaders; National and County governments	No initiative	Dispute outstanding
• Disputed settlement in Basir and Masalale		Apology and compensation for burnt houses Degodia political leaders	Before compensation and apology, retaliation caused further arson, etc. Ajuran displaced so dispute unresolved: occasional flare ups	Persistent tensions; occasional flare ups
• Small arms and light weapons		No commitment N/A	Pronouncements on disarmament but no actions	Arms persist
B) Degodia/Ogaden dispute				
• Dispute over colonial boundary between Wajir East and South over Wajir Bor administration		None None	None	Persisting tensions
C) Degodia/Garre dispute				
• Dispute spillover across the border with Mandera		None	None	Persisting tensions
D) Garre/Ajuran				

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Eviction of Garre from Bute and Gurar</li> </ul>	<p>Resettlement of the Garre in Gamadha villages</p> <p>National and County governments; NSA</p>	Issue resolved	Resettlement achieved in Gamadha villages
E) Ajuuran/Ogaden			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Boundary conflict at disputed area locally known as Baghdad</li> </ul>	<p>Local administration banned new settlements in the area</p> <p>Local Administration issue police bond to leaders to keep the peace Administration; political leaders; clan elders; CSOs</p>	Intervention implemented	While seeming peace, persistent flashpoint
Resource-based conflicts			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Competition over scarce water and pasture</li> </ul>	<p>Dialogue on resource sharing Administration; political leaders; clan elders; CSOs</p>	Dialogue held	Need for ongoing dialogue as need arises
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Proximity to Somalia</li> </ul>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Spill-over conflict from neighboring Somalia</li> </ul>	No proposals		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Proliferation of small arms and light weapons</li> </ul>	No proposals		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Influx of refugees into Wajir/Border porosity: pressure on local resources</li> </ul>	No proposals		
<b>West Pokot County</b>			
Key issues identified in 2013	Response	Outcome	Recommendations
Cattle rustling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Disarming NPR</li> <li>Training and enumeration of NPR</li> <li>Enhancing community nyumba kumi and community policing</li> <li>Coordinated disarmament</li> <li>Community peace dialogue</li> <li>Capacity building of county policing authority</li> <li>Increased budget allocation for peace and security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>it was done successfully</li> <li>Training partially done two groups taken to Manyani (40 NPR). They are currently getting stipend of ksh. 500 per month though not regular</li> <li>Nyumba kumi done in each village though they are not adequately trained.</li> <li>Coordinated disarmament fruitful but somehow biased.</li> <li>Community peace dialogue on going and fruitful</li> <li>County policing authority not established yet</li> <li>Budgetary allocation decreasing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>All NPR to be all trained</li> <li>Stipend to be enhanced and paid regularly</li> <li>Nyumba kumi capacity to be built</li> <li>Continue with the disarmament to cover the entire region and done consistently. It should be compulsory/forcefully where necessary not voluntary.</li> <li>community peace dialogue to be continuous</li> <li>County policing authority should be established to help both national and c county government to find a platform for engagement.</li> <li>Increase budgetary allocation</li> </ul>

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Inadequate policing and inadequate state security	Refer above	Refer above	
Land issues (boundary disputes)	Organize high level leaders and professional forum on Turk well Gorge benefit sharing.  Train West Pokot and Turkana county land boards to help with renegotiations  Formalize agreement with relevant judiciary and IEBC and national land commission on boundary land resolution	Has not been done  No land control boards in Turkana because it is a county government unlike West Pokot where there are group ranches with titles.  IEBC to mark the boundary to avoid dispute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We need to encourage our communities to co-exist.</li> <li>There is need for a concerted effort by leaders to spearhead this peaceful co-existence;</li> <li>We need an alternative means to address the ambiguity</li> </ul>
Sense of marginalization on sharing resource and benefits from Turkwel Gorge Dam and KVDA	No specific response proposed in the report	Sense of marginalization is still persistent	KVDA should establish an irrigation scheme along the river Turkwel spread the benefits; and other benefits from these projects
Human wild-life conflict	Last report did not capture response	Conflict still persistent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kenya wildlife to control the existence of human and wild lives; educate communities to co-exist with wildlife besides establishment of conservancies so that they benefit; enhance</li> <li>compensation for those affected by the conflict.</li> </ul>
Turkana County			
Key issues identified in 2013	Response	Outcome	Recommendations /Successes/ Challenges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Internal Conflict Issues</li> <li>Turkana- West Pokot Corridor</li> <li>Turkana- Samburu Corridor</li> <li>Turkana- Baringo Corridor</li> <li>Turkana- Marsabit Corridor</li> <li>Intra-communal conflicts</li> <li>Tension between Ng'ibilae and Ng'isonya</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Effective coordination of security operations (New strategies implemented by Regional and County Security and Intelligence Committees).</li> <li>Deployment of special units (with RDU with APC vehicles) resulted in rapid response and reassuring security patrols in previously volatile areas (such as highway and boundaries except Turkana-Baringo Boundary);</li> <li>Sustained peace initiatives by the National and county government with the support of Civil Society.</li> <li>Improved road infrastructure has opened up and contributed to peaceful co-existence.</li> <li>Disarmament of KPRs and communities (disarmament of NPRs over 400 fire arms recovered in the last one year, earlier own the voluntary registration of illegal arms generated 750 that were later recovered during the NPR disarmament).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There has been a peaceful co-existence between Turkana and Pokot for the last one year</li> <li>Nairobi- Lodwar became a busy and preferred air route with six airlines operating the route (Fly540, Skyward, Silverstorn, FlySax, Tristar, Safarilink, and Private Charters)</li> <li>Increase local tourist visits to sample Turkana County as a preferred tourist destination.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Highway banditry in Lodwar-Kitale highway has been rooted out.</li> <li>Peace building initiatives between Turkana and west Pokot</li> <li>Tarmacked road from Kainuk to Nadapal border</li> <li>Improved Safaricom network leading to increased early warning information sharing</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sharing of benefits of the Oil exploration project</li> <li>• Tension between Ng'ikamatak of Loima Sub County and Ng'iwoyakwara clans of Turkana West Sub County</li> <li>• Tension between Ng'ikwatela and Ng'iyapakuno</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased communication network (e.g., Safaricom network) encouraged incident reporting for quick response (early warning and early response)</li> <li>• Increased political good will in the North Rift (Peace Outreach/Caravans, Leaders meetings to chat strategies for peace building and conflict management. The recent being the meeting on Friday last week that brought Governors, Senators, Regional and County Security Committees, MPs, MCAs and peace actors from Pokot, Turkana, Baringo, West Pokot, and Elgeyo Marakwet. A follow up meeting will take place on Saturday in Kapedo for Turkana and Baringo Leaders.</li> <li>• Establishment of a County Peace Directorate, Office of the Advisor Peace, Security and Borderland Initiatives.</li> <li>• Joint undertaking of Peace Sensitization of communities by national and County Government Administrators at the sub county and Ward levels.</li> <li>• Leveraging on culture to build cross border peace and enhance</li> <li>• Community cooperation and collaboration with security agencies, county government and peace actors on conflict issues (this is because communities have enjoyed peace for the last one year and are not ready to relapse to violence. They take responsibility to report illicit arms and peace spoiler activities amidst themselves to the security agencies.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daily arrivals by air exceeded those of Lamu and Ukunda before covid- 19</li> <li>• Increased trade between Turkana and other counties and neighboring countries (e.g., Lodwar- Moroto)</li> <li>• New centers have emerged especially along the highway</li> <li>• The food prices have reduced and access to food has increased due to a better Kitale-Lodwar road and uninterrupted public transport</li> <li>• The value of land has increased due to road infrastructure and improved security</li> <li>• Artisanal mining increased bringing Turkana and Pokot communities due to peace and improved security</li> <li>• A booming transport sector seizing the benefits and opportunities from peace and security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Additional security deployment especially formed units.</li> <li>• Disarmament of NPRs and community</li> <li>• Tobongu lore festival</li> <li>• Lokiriama peace accord</li> <li>• County and national governments joint delimitation dialogues</li> <li>• Information sharing by communities, agencies</li> <li>• Inter-county peace initiative.</li> <li>• County peace resettlement camps</li> <li>• Infrastructure development through devolution (water, health, education, agriculture, livestock)</li> <li>• Community peace sensitization.</li> <li>• Partnership that enhance peaceful development (Dr DIP, KISDEF, county government and national government)</li> <li>• Conflict sensitive development</li> <li>• Community peace committees</li> <li>• More children enrolled to schools to reduce youth actively involved in conflicts</li> <li>• Animal recovery is being achieved at a rate of 100%</li> </ul>
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<p>Cross Border Conflict Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Turkana-Karamoja Corridor</li> <li>• Turkana- Toposa Corridor</li> <li>• Turkana- Nyang'atom-Dassenach Corridor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subnational intergovernmental engagements with Karamoja Districts, Kapoeta, and South Omo Administrations</li> <li>• Participation in Kenya- Uganda, Kenya-South-Sudan and Kenya- Ethiopia Cross Border MoUs.</li> <li>• Tobong'u Lore is a regional peace and cohesion building annual event for the region.</li> <li>• Shared peace dividend projects (Urum Water Reticulation project, joint livestock vaccination campaigns, border livestock markets, health dispensaries, etc.)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased movement of people, goods and services amongst neighboring counties and countries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cross border engagement</li> <li>• Kenya South Sudan border demarcation and delimitation MoU</li> <li>• Kenya Uganda MoU for peace and development for Turkana, West Pokot and Karamoja border lands (Namoniangikaala dam)</li> </ul>
Garissa County			
Key issues identified in 2013	Response	Outcome	Recommendations/ Successes/ Challenges
Boundary disputes with neighboring counties	Efforts made to bring different clans to negotiate matters on land ownership and land use for peaceful co-existence.	Boundary disputes have reduced	Dispute not addressed due to lack of political goodwill
Interclan conflicts over land and resources (water and pasture)	Cooperation between security agencies and local community in a multiagency strategy to improve safety of people and property	Good partnership between security agencies and communities has contributed increased investments and new markets in the county. New market emerged along Garissa- Dadaab-Kulan and Liboi creating business enterprises for the people	Most of the land belongs to community and no ownership documents exist because the county government (who are the trustees) don't have the goodwill to help in adjudication of land (unwillingness of leaders to have land matters resolved due to personal interests) County government not developed the land use plan to give focus to land ownership and utility

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Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat)	Improved information sharing/ intelligence between locals and security agencies to help identify Al- Shabaab sympathizers	Reduced cases of Al-Shabaab attacks and increased safety of communities in the county	Literacy levels and unemployment among the youth very low, who can only access semi- skilled job opportunities and remain recruitment targets for Al-Shabaab
Illicit SALW	Persuasion of communities to voluntarily surrender illegally held firearms Government amnesty meant to encourage voluntary surrender of SALW	Reduced cases of Al-Shabaab attacks and increased safety of communities in the county	Literacy levels and unemployment among the youth very low, who can only access semi- skilled job opportunities and remain recruitment targets for Al-Shabaab
Banditry	Banditry persists along the major roads such as Modogashe – Garissa- Dadaab-Liboi-Somali		
Political leadership, that is, supremacy battles between elected leaders.	Additional constituencies such as Balambola and township created to balance clan leadership Vis-à-vis population Reconciliation efforts between the political leaders		Reconciliation efforts between the elected leaders (Governor and MPs) have not borne fruits

## ANNEX 2: EXISTING CONFLICT ISSUES

Current Conflict Issues	Ranking of Issues	Actors	Proposed Interventions
<b>Marsabit County</b>			
1. Negative ethnicity and politics 2. Natural resource (land) 3. Boundary disputes 4. Cattle rustling /theft 5. Cross border conflict 6. Proliferation of SALWs 7. Highway banditry 8. Violent extremism 9. Business rivalry 10. Human wildlife conflict	1. Mistrust among ethnic communities/ethnic supremacy 2. Prolonged land disputes between Borana and Gabra 3. Cattle rustling – outdated cultural practices 4. Proliferation of SALWs – porous border, social, cultural, economic and political issues 5. Boundary disputes – unclear boundary demarcation (Saku, North Horr, Laisamis and Loiyangalani) 6. Cross border conflicts –spill over of Ethiopian conflicts (Moyale, Forole, Sololo, Ileret) 7. Business rivalry – Booming cross border business (Moyale Sololo, Dukana and Ileret)	1. Politicians, community elders, youths 2. Politicians, land commission, county government department of land 3. Community elders, morins/ youths 4. Merchants, politicians, community leaders/elders. 5. IEBC, local authorities i.e., chiefs 6. Herders, drug /human traffickers, businessmen 7. Businessmen/wo men 8. Youths/morans chiefs 9. Radicalized youths, religious extremists 10. KWS, herders, farmers	1. Equitable sharing of both national and county resources 2. Entrenched public participation and civic education 3. Sustainable use of resources, dialogue on resource sharing 4. Alternative livelihood, training on entrepreneurs hip skills 5. Enhancement of border management security, sensitization on effect of SALW 6. Concern institutions to FastTrack demarcation of boundaries 7. Enhancement of border management security 8. Strengthen the chamber of commerce, licensing of business
	8. Highway banditry-poverty and unemployed youth leads to highway banditry (Marsabit- Laisamis-Isiolo highway) 9. Violent extremism – proximity to Somali border (Moyale, Marsabit) presence of recruitment centers 10. Human wildlife conflict-human encroachment to wildlife migratory route (Karare, Sagante, Songa, Badassa)		9. Enhanced patrols, alternative livelihood, training on entrepreneurs hip skills. 10. Full implementation of county action plan on violent extremism 11. KWS to sensitize communities on the designated wildlife migratory routes, parks, and reserves.

Mandera County			
Current Conflict Issues	Ranking of Issues	Actors	Proposed Interventions
1. Terrorism 2. Interclan conflict 3. Political contest 4. Cross border conflict 5. Land Contestation- Border both administrative/electoral 6. Resources distribution- exclusion 7. Drug and drug abuse 8. Teachers withdrawal leaving dismal performance, dropout, radicalisation 9. Small arms proliferation 10. Youth unemployment and poverty 11. Cross border Business rivalry - Trade route controls from Somalia 12. Covid-19 13. Impact of Locust invasion 14. Weak cross border administration	1. Terrorism 2. Land and border contestation- both administrative and electoral 3. Political contest 4. Cross border conflict 5. Interclan conflict 6. Youth population explosion, unemployment, and poverty 7. Resource distribution- exclusion 8. Small arms proliferation 9. Cross border business rivalry over trade route controls from Somalia 10. Teachers withdrawal resulting in dismal school performance, dropout, and radicalization 11. Weak cross border administration in Somalia 12. Drug and drug abuse 13. COVID-19 14. Locust invasion	1. International interest groups, youth and security agencies 2. Politicians, elders 3. Politicians, elders 4. Member states, AS 5. Politicians, elders 6. County and national government 7. County government, statutory agencies for minorities, and courts 8. Arm dealers, foreign forces, clan militia 9. Somali administration, KRA, Security agencies, business community 10. TSC, security agencies, community leadership 11. IGAD, AMISOM AU, SFG, Jubaland administration 12. Security official, religious leaders, clan elders 13. County government, National government 14. County Government	

West Pokot County				
Issues of concern	Ranked issues	Where in the county?	Key actors	Who is affected?
Cattle rustling/stock theft	1	West Pokot / Elgeyo Marakwet West Pokot / Turkana West Pokot / Uganda	Morans / warriors Livestock traders, community members- laibon	Families lose their livestock and livelihood -Raiders are killed or injured
Boundary dispute	2	Pokot/Turkana		
Deforestation and land encroachment	8	Pokot central, Pokot south		
Land conflicts (ownership)	3	Kanyerus, Riwo, Kanyarakwat		
Political groups/factions	6	Urban Centers		
Social disintegration	9	Entire county		

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Gender based violence, early marriages, early pregnancies, FGM	5	Entire county		
Human wildlife conflict	7	Along the Turkwel - Kerio valley corridor		
Scramble for mineral exploration	4	Ortom, Kalumwayi, Pokot North		
Landslide	10	Central and Pokot South		
Wajir County				
Rank	Why a serious concern and Where in county	Who affected?	Who are the actors	What needs to be done differently?
<b>1. Resource-based conflicts</b>	<p>Competition for power &amp; resources</p> <p>Dwindling of pasture and water as a result of prolonged droughts, depletion of grazing lands</p> <p>Community land ownership system; grazing land rights</p> <p>Devolution brought more resources to the grassroots; every community fight for its share e.g., contracts, development projects etc.</p> <p>Mushrooming of new settlement to tap for more resources; cause of conflict across the whole county</p>	All clans	Local administration, political leadership; clan elders; CSOs; women; business community; etc.	<p>More equitable mechanisms for resource sharing</p> <p>Upholding rule of law</p> <p>Establish rangeland management policies</p> <p>Border demarcation and enforcement</p> <p>Livelihoods diversification</p>
<b>2. Clan supremacy battles</b>	<p>Rivalry among various clan to dominate the political arena for power and decision making, control of resources</p> <p>Perceived ownership of grazing rights</p> <p>clans fight over water, pasture, grazing land across whole county</p>	All clans	Local administration; political leadership; clan elders; CSOs; women; business community, etc.	<p>Social cohesion and integration</p> <p>Merit-based appointments</p>

<p><b>3. Politically related conflicts</b></p>	<p>Politicians rally their clans against others, fueling conflicts for their own benefit Expansionist agendas through creation of new settlements, alignments, and coalitions Across whole county.</p>	<p>All clans</p>	<p>Local administration; political leadership; clan elders; CSOs; women; business community; etc.</p>	<p>Strengthen NCIC at county level Strengthen good governance Leaders take responsibility for utterances</p>
<p><b>5. Boundary issues</b></p>	<p>Politicians rally their clans against others thus fueling conflicts for their own benefits Expansionist agendas through creation of new settlements, alignment/coalitions formations Across the whole county</p>	<p>All clans</p>	<p>Local administration; political leadership, clan elders, CSOs, women, business community, etc</p>	<p>IEBC to review existing boundaries  Aligning political and administrative boundaries</p>
<p><b>6. Youth bulge and unemploye</b></p>	<p>Unemployed youth easily lured into clan conflicts, joining militia groups/ violent extremism across the whole county</p>	<p>All clans</p>	<p>Local administration; political leadership; clan elders; CSOs; women; business community; etc.</p>	<p>Creating space for the participation and leadership roles TIVET and SME institutions Incubation centres Role in peacebuilding Intergenerational knowledge transfer Youth mentorship programmes bursaries and scholarships Address extremism-based risks</p>

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<p><b>7. Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) from neighboring countries</b></p>	<p>Presence of armed militia with sophisticated weapons Trigger for clan conflicts protecting their own interest Banditry attacks Elimination of perceived enemies</p>	<p>All clans (pastoral communities)</p>	<p>Local administration, political leadership, clan elders, CSOs, women, business community, etc.</p>	<p>Phased out disarmament program Clan elders, chiefs, political leaders to take responsibility Heightened surveillance &amp; border patrol</p>
<p><b>8. Threat of homegrown radicalization</b></p>	<p>Youth joining radicalized groups Youth drop out from school Disruption of socio-economic activities Infiltration of terror groups Khorof Harar, Wajir East, Tarbaj and Wajir South</p>		<p>Local administration; political leadership; clan elders; CSOs; women; business community; etc.</p>	<p>Full implementation of the county action plan on CVE Counter narrative messaging Involvement of youth in CVE work Engaging youth in social activities like sporting</p>
<p><b>9. Weak Peace coordination Structures</b></p>	<p>Uncoordinated peace initiatives and missions Volunteerism fatigue Lack of recognition and ownership Lack of adequate funding Across the whole county</p>	<p>Community, CSOs, Governments</p>	<p>Local administration, political leadership, clan elders, CSOs, Women, business community etc.</p>	<p>Create avenues for strong collaboration and coordination Capacity building for peace committees to strengthen the existing structures Resourcing the peace committee's activities</p>
<p><b>11. Climate change and environmental degradation</b></p>	<p>Depletion of water and pasture Large scale Charcoal burning Migration of pastoralists affecting grazing patterns Lack of range management</p>	<p>the entire community</p>	<p>Local administration, political leadership, clan elders, CSOs; women; business community, etc.</p>	<p>Enactment of Range Management Act Legislation on charcoal burning Afforestation campaign</p>

<p><b>12. Cross border insurgency</b></p>	<p>Threat of infiltration by insurgent groups                  Spill-over of clan conflicts Long porous border Illegal immigrants/human trafficking                  Smuggling and Movement of contraband goods                  Business rivalry along the border of Wajir East and Wajir South</p>			<p>Strengthen border patrols                  Continuous cross border peace dialogue                  Operationalization of customs in Gerille and Diff                  Heightened intelligence sharing                  Collaboration and coordination with Somalia Administration across the border</p>
<b>Turkana County</b>				
Issues of concern	Ranked issues	Where in the county?	Key actors	Who is affected?
Oil and gas excavation			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Government</li> <li>• County Government</li> <li>• Non state actors (INGOs, FBOs and CSOs)</li> <li>• Investors (MNCs-Tullow,</li> </ul>	Community members
Border Conflicts		Kenya and South Sudan, Turkana county - West Pokot and Baringo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National governments (Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, South Sudan).</li> <li>• Regional Bodies (IGAD and UN)</li> </ul>	
Land based conflicts within the Turkana community			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community members</li> <li>• Community leaders</li> </ul>	
Internal Conflict (Kapedo)		Kapedo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• County governments.</li> <li>• Community leaders</li> </ul>	
Natural disasters/ calamities (drought).		Turkana East (Kapedo, Napeitom, Amuge, Lomelo) and West Pokot (Tiaty)	Morans/warriors, livestock traders, community members, ,laibon	
Environmental related conflicts				Loss of family livelihoods

Garissa County				
Issues of concern	Ranked issues	Where in the county?	Key actors	Who is affected?
Interclan land conflict	1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National Government</li> <li>County Government</li> <li>Politicians</li> </ul>	Community members
Boundary dispute with other counties of Tana River and Isiolo	2	Border areas along Tana River and Isiolo counties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>County governments</li> <li>National Land Commission and Ministry of Lands</li> </ul>	
Terrorism (Al- Shabaab threat)	3	In Garissa town	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community members.</li> <li>Community leaders</li> </ul>	
Illicit proliferation of SALW	4	Everywhere in the county	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National government</li> <li>Community leaders</li> </ul>	
Political leadership and governance wrangles	5	Everywhere in the county	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Politicians Council of elders Religious leaders</li> </ul>	
Banditry	6	Along Modogashe – Garissa-Dadaab-Liboi-Somali.		Loss of family livelihoods

### ANNEX 3: SCENARIO BUILDING

Wajir County		
	Worst Case scenario	Best case scenario
<b>Resource-based conflict</b>		
	<p>Escalation of violence pitting the dominant clans versus the minority over control of power &amp; resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3 months situation same</li> <li>6 months' situation same</li> <li>1 year: new alliances will possibly lead to demands for improved power sharing based on negotiated MOUs escalating mistrusts approaching elections introduce platforms for greater tension among leaders and between them and the citizens greater polarization, e.g., communities advancing hate speech and negative ethnicity through social media in the form of poems and songs by women</li> </ul> <p>Intra-inter county migration of pastoralist following unpredictable rain pattern in search of water &amp; pasture which is likely to trigger conflicts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cessation of violence through interventions that reduces animosity between the dominant and minority clans such as aggressive resource reallocation</li> <li>Possible options to sustain:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regular review and improvement of policies and strategies</li> <li>embracing good governance,</li> <li>Equity, and inclusivity operationalization of rangeland management policies and agreed grazing patterns</li> <li>Effective monitoring mechanisms peace structures in place</li> <li>Diversification of livelihoods, e.g., farming</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

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Factors supporting conflict (structures; policies; common resources; etc.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Weak political will to implement known solutions</li> <li>2. Lack of capacity for operationalizing existing peace structures</li> <li>3. Absence of intercountry structures like joint cross border CSGs, joint grazing/borehole management committees</li> <li>4. Conduct that aggravates existing grievances</li> <li>5. Lack of rangeland management policy framework</li> <li>6. Presence of armed clan militias</li> </ol>	
Actors supporting conflict (behavior, motivations, interests, etc.)	<p>Primary Actors: Clans; clan leaders; politicians; National and County governments; Non-state actors, weather and climate</p> <p>Secondary Actors: Business community, power brokers Neighboring counties and countries; Refugees</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political gains</li> <li>• Domination/supremacy</li> <li>• Grazing rights</li> </ul>	
<b>Terrorism</b>		
	<p>Escalation of violent attacks on security and vital installations.</p> <p>Presence of violent extremists in perceived safe areas within the county</p> <p>Increased radicalization and recruitment by violent extremists</p>	<p>Reduced radicalization and extremist recruitment</p> <p>Reintegration of radicalized groups and sympathizers</p> <p>Improved socioeconomic development</p>
Factors supporting conflict (structures; policies; common resources; etc.	<p>Marginalization; Corrupt resource management; Youth unemployment; Proximity to porous borders, Ideology</p> <p>Poor governance</p>	
<b>Border/boundary conflicts</b>		
	<p>Escalation of violence pitting the clans who have stake in the disputed areas against each other</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cessation of hostilities among warring communities over disputed areas</li> <li>• Improved cohesiveness and peaceful co-existence</li> </ul> <p>Possible options to sustain peace:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proper demarcation of administrative and political boundaries;</li> <li>• Politician displaying a sense of patriotism to sensitize communities on good neighborliness</li> </ul>

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Factors supporting conflict (structures; policies; common resources; etc.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mismanagement of administrative and political boundaries</li> <li>• Resource inequalities</li> <li>• Historical injustices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Balanced Resource sharing;</li> <li>• Implementation of truth, justice, and reconciliation report through compensation of victims</li> </ul>
Actors supporting conflict (behavior; motivations; interests; etc.)	<p>IIBC; Local and national administration, politicians, clan elders</p> <p>Communities based on clan-related interests</p> <p>Non-state actors</p> <p>Mainstream and social media</p>	

Garissa County			
Conflict	Short-term- 1 month	Mid-term- 6 months	Long-term- 1 year
Boundary disputes with neighbor counties	Communities in good terms and engagement of community dialogue	Community living with one another and stakeholders' engagements	Boundary matters resolved by the elders and the boundary commission
Inter clan conflicts on land and resources (water and pasture)	Dialogue between the conflicting communities exist and they are able to graze and use the resources together	Community trained on best use of the resources and sharing	Resources shared amicably between the communities
Terrorism (Al-Shabaab threat)	-Community sensitization on dangers of terrorism and they are receptive of the information.	People able to speak openly about the ills of terrorism	Community able to report Al Shabaab adherents to the administration NGAO's
Illicit firearms and light weapons	-Community sensitization on access to illegal firearms by NGAO well received by the people	Communities start giving information on availability of firearms	Holders of firearms start surrendering them
Banditry	-Community receptive on the information on peaceful existence between them	- NGAO are able to report increased enrollment of youth and children to school and TVET and are able to be retained	Dividends of peace are experienced in the community
<b>Political leadership supremacy</b>	<b>-Leaders talking to one another</b>	<b>Leaders work together</b>	<b>Leaders are one people serving mutual interests</b>

Worst Case Scenario for Garissa County			
Conflict	Short-term - 1 month	Mid-term - 6 months	Long-term - 1 year
Boundary disputes with neighbor counties	<p>People start crossing other communities' boundaries in total disregard of existing boundaries</p> <p>Leadership incite the citizens on each side of the conflict</p> <p>Use of disrespectful words against another</p> <p>Isolated criminal cases</p> <p>Disagreement over the position of the boundary</p> <p>Conflict between pastoral Somali and farmers Pokomo and Malokote over grazing points and water corridors</p>	<p>Non-adherence to laid down community agreements</p> <p>Illegal utilization of land by the different factions of the conflict</p> <p>Use of negative language among different factions of the community</p>	<p>Community members of each side fight over the land</p> <p>Cattle rustling start</p> <p>Cross county revenge and killings</p>

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Inter clan conflicts on land and resources (water and pasture)	<p>Competition over seasonal dams, wells and boreholes</p> <p>Disputes over farms and grazing areas</p> <p>Pastoral Somali accused of grazing animals in farms belonging to Malokote and Pokomo</p>	<p>Killing of livestock</p> <p>Destruction of farms</p> <p>Cattle rustling</p>	<p>Death of people</p> <p>Violent conflict where one clan invades another to raid livestock</p> <p>Movement of farmers from violent to safe areas</p> <p>Isolated criminal cases such as murder</p> <p>Revenge and counter attacks</p> <p>Procurement of small arms</p>
Terrorism (Al Shabaab threat)	<p>Youth lured to join the group</p> <p>Promises of well-paying jobs after a short training</p> <p>Enticement of sympathizers with gifts by Al Shabaab</p> <p>Livestock and milk bought at very high prices to ensure their support</p>	<p>Penetration into the prayer centres such as mosques</p> <p>Engaging in illegal business such as contraband goods</p> <p>Payment of Zakat by the faithful for protection</p>	<p>Radicalization training by Al Shabaab on terrorist activities</p> <p>Trainees posted to conduct terror activities</p>
Illicit firearms and light weapons	<p>Failure of government to provide security to citizens compels them so seek alternative security</p>	<p>Procuring of firearms for self-defense and for protection of their livestock</p> <p>Disagreements with the NGAO's and other security agencies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They may decide to source firearms from security agency</li> </ul>	<p>Alliances created by various violent groups based on common security interests</p> <p>Activities conducted in secrecy from the police and other NGAO's Secret oathing exercises conducted to bind the group together</p>
Banditry	<p>Irregular school attendance</p> <p>Children drop out of school</p> <p>Drug abuse in society</p> <p>Illiteracy levels start being high</p>	<p>Petty crimes begin in the community</p> <p>More unemployed youth are in community</p> <p>Many young men running away from home</p>	<p>Gangs formed and strategically position themselves in hotspot areas</p> <p>They engage in hit and run of vehicles</p>
Political leadership supremacy	<p>Disagreements between opposing leaders</p> <p>Incitement of community by leaders to seek self-glory</p>	<p>Disagreements become loud between the leaders</p> <p>Political gangs formed with support from youth groups</p>	<p>Public clashes between the leaders leading to destruction of property and loss of life</p>

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Turkana County				
Best case and worst-Case Scenarios.				
Conflict	Projected Scenario in short-term.		Projected scenario in the next one year	
	Best case	Worst case.	Best case	Worst case
Oil and gas extractives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Signing of final investment decision where the national government, community, and county government come into agreement and thus land is given to the investor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compulsory acquisition of land from the community</li> <li>• Community resists</li> <li>• Fighting begins between government and people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oil drilling continues</li> <li>• Revenue is generated</li> <li>• Jobs are available to people</li> <li>• Social corporate responsibility</li> <li>• Implementation of existing oil policies and laws</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sabotage of oil drilling</li> <li>• Insurgency activities</li> </ul>
Land conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Setting up land adjudication structures.</li> <li>• Ownership protocols</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constant quarrels over land which lead to conflict</li> <li>• Continued land grabbing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Physical planning for lands for better use</li> <li>• Title deeds are acquired then people can use them to access loans and thus good development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Court battles</li> <li>• Wars leading to loss of lives</li> <li>• Displacement of people from government owned lands</li> <li>• Disruption of social lives</li> <li>• Increased insecurity</li> </ul>
Border conflict.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community dialogues on peace.</li> <li>• Sensitization on illegal firearms</li> <li>• Voluntary surrender of illegal arms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wars and raids</li> <li>• Fear</li> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Denied access to essential services.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cessation of hostility.</li> <li>• Signing of peace agreements between Kenya and Sudan.</li> <li>• Boundary demarcation and delimitation</li> <li>• Mineral exploitation.</li> <li>• Improved cross border trade.</li> <li>• Inter-marriages</li> <li>• Improved tourism</li> <li>• Development (education, hospitals.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor development.</li> <li>• Insecurity</li> <li>• Fighting against two countries</li> </ul>
Kapedo border conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace dialogues</li> <li>• Peace education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fights and wars</li> <li>• Fear</li> <li>• Banditry</li> <li>• Killings</li> <li>• Raids</li> <li>• Displacement of people</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peaceful co-existence.</li> <li>• Signing of peace agreements.</li> <li>• Clear boundary demarcation.</li> <li>• Communities sharing resources e.g., geothermal, pasture and water.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violent extremism</li> <li>• Loss of lives</li> <li>• Loss of livelihoods.</li> </ul>

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Resource based conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace dialogue meetings.</li> <li>• Recovery of animals.</li> <li>• Peace education</li> <li>• Vigilant security response from security agents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wars, raids, and killings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Structured sharing of resources.</li> <li>• Signing of resource sharing agreements and effective implementation</li> <li>• Peaceful co-existence</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Escalating violent conflicts</li> <li>• Underdevelopment</li> <li>• Poverty</li> </ul>
Environmental conflict.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environment awareness and sensitization.</li> <li>• Environmental impact assessment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Air pollution, water pollution, and diseases</li> <li>• Overstocking and overgrazing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of pasture and water.</li> <li>• Functional resource management committees.</li> <li>• Afforestation and reforestation.</li> <li>• Conservation of ecosystems</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food insecurity</li> <li>• Floods</li> <li>• Climate change</li> <li>• Poverty</li> <li>• Human animal conflicts</li> <li>• Displacement of wildlife</li> <li>• Loss of biodiversity</li> <li>• Environmental degradation</li> </ul>
Developmental conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased money in circulation</li> <li>• Increased revenue</li> <li>• Better services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tensions, demonstrations against projects</li> <li>• Sabotage and politicization of the project.</li> <li>• Increased crime</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved security</li> <li>• Increased value for land</li> <li>• Reduced conflict like URUM dam</li> <li>• Community empowerment</li> <li>• Human capital development</li> <li>• booming businesses</li> <li>• Improved infrastructure</li> <li>• Creation of jobs.</li> <li>• Mushrooming town</li> <li>• Food security</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weakening social bonds.</li> <li>• Elite capture.</li> <li>• Heighted corruption</li> <li>• Increased dealing in contrabands.</li> <li>• Population increase</li> <li>• Social moral decay</li> <li>• Drug abuse</li> <li>• Terrorism</li> <li>• Radicalization</li> <li>• Pollution</li> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Speculation of land which leads to conflict</li> <li>• Pastoral drop outs</li> </ul>





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