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Dynamics of Post-Colonial Inter-Ethnic Conflict Management and Resolution Strategies in Turkana and Pokot Communities from 1963 to 2017, Kenya

By

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Abstract

This study examined the dynamics of Post-Colonial Inter-Ethnic Conflict Management and Resolution Strategies in Turkana and Pokot Communities from 1963 to 2017, Kenya. The study was guided by geo-political theory that helped in interrogating the post-colonial inter-ethnic conflict resolution strategies in the area of study. The study used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources included archival documents and oral information obtained from the field research, while the secondary data were accessed from various libraries and documentation centres. The study's target population included the Turkana of the Kainuk area and the Pokot people from the Sarmach area in Pokot Central. The study adopted the non-probability sampling techniques, mainly purposive sampling and snowballing. The data collection instruments were question guides, document analysis guides, observation guide and a focused group discussion guide. Data analysis was done qualitatively, and the information was presented descriptively and narratively. The study found out that post-colonial Kenya weakened the traditional methods of resolving conflicts and introduced methods such as disarmament, Peace Committees and deployment of the military to resolve conflicts in Turkana and Pokot with no success. The introduction of the Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms by the village elders from the communities seemed to bear some fruits. The study pre-colonial mechanisms of conflict management and resolution were appropriately geared toward solving conflict for the sustenance of the community. The study recommended increased use of Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms which appeared to include all stakeholders in the conflict.

Key Words: Post-Colonial, Conflict management, Conflict Resolution, Turkana, Pokot, Kenya

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Introduction

Conflict has been one of the devastating phenomena in Africa in the last three decades, with Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) being the most vulnerable grounds (Hussein, 1998). Wolff (2006) notes that it is relatively easy for anyone to determine which conflict is ethnic across the Globe. The ethnic conflict between Pokot Central and Turkana south inhabitants has been increasing recently. (Daily Nation, 25th November 2013). The border region between the Turkana and Pokot has experienced ethnic violence, resulting in deaths, injuries and displacement of people from their homes due to fear of frequent attacks. The major causes of these conflicts include boundaries and resources. Some of these resources are the Turkwel power plant, Akwulo water resources, grazing fields and salt licks. The sporadic violence experienced in the region indicated that enough had not been done to manage this conflict which has claimed the lives of thousands of people in the two counties (Schilling et al., 2012).

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

Globally, the modern state has tried to prevent or mitigate violence by using deterrence, coercive diplomacy, defensive alliances, economic sanctions and other tangible non-military threats and punishments but there has been no much success. Measures such as the withdrawal of foreign aid; and direct military force to establish demilitarized zones continue to be relevant in the modern era of conflict with little or nothing to show for it. Doyle (1997) argues that military organizations are now increasingly being used in new ways and for new conflict resolution purposes. Armed force is infrequently used in direct interventions, even in Europe such as in Bosnia and the Russian interventions in Chechnya, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

The application of both indigenous and modern methods of conflict resolution have identified as sustaining a climate of peace. Eaton (2008b) explains how peace meetings have become almost as much a part of people's lives in the North Rift because of the incessant cattle raids. Eaton further looks at the presence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and their role in the area, focusing on peace meetings that have been viewed as having no genuine impact and sometimes causing even more tension and violence. Their interventions lack cohesion, coordination, and networking because most of these organizations compete with one another over funding from different agencies; hence they don't focus more on finding a lasting solution to these conflicts.

The organizations behind meetings on conflict resolution have realized that their service targets are impossible to achieve while the insecurity continues. The discovery of

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‘gun power’ has seen the region selectively advance on the recent gun varieties in the market, which has enabled these areas to access more sophisticated weapons similar to the ones held by state security forces, making the conflict more pronounced as indicated by (Mkutu & Wandera, 2013). Since the 1990s, researchers have emphasized the changing nature of cattle rustling (Hendrickson et al., 1998) in the ASALs due to the idea of ‘gun power’. Turkana and Pokot communities in Kenya have not been left out for it turns out that guns have become a kind of ‘monetary’ exchange in the communities. Mkutu (2007) attribute it to the increased proliferation of sophisticated automatic rifles such as AK 47 and others which are exchanged for livestock such as cattle and camels.

In light of the above this paper aimed at examining the post-colonial inter-ethnic conflict management and resolution strategies used Turkana and Pokot communities from 1963 to 2017.

Statement of the Problem

The Turkana and Pokot communities in Kenya survive through nomadic pastoralism where mobility is the key to survival. In the course of such movements in search of water and pasture, there have been conflict and war against each other. The struggle for resources is among the reasons for conflict among the communities. Several indigenous mechanisms of resolving them have been put in place without much success leading to loss of lives and destruction of property. The communities have displaced each other rendering the region insecure and unsafe for investors. As a result, the two communities have lagged behind in terms of infrastructure and amenities. The two communities are among the poorest in the country with high poverty levels, high child mortality and low literacy levels. The communities are infested with Tropical Neglected Diseases such as Leshmaniasis (Kala-azar) causing mortality and disability. The region is characterized by a harsh terrain and unforgiving temperatures with poor policing making cattle rustling and banditry the order of the day.

Research Objective

To examine the post-colonial inter-ethnic conflict management and resolution strategies in Turkana and Pokot communities from 1963 to 2017.

Literature Review

According to Krause et al. (2008), global perspective conservative estimates indicate that at least 740,000 men, women, youth and children die globally each year due to armed violence, most of them in low- and medium-income settings. Most of these deaths occur in situations other than war, though armed conflicts continue to generate high casualties. The author indicated that preventing and reducing these deaths and related sufferings became increasingly important on the international agenda. The UN General Assembly (2008) and the United Nations (UN) Secretary General (2009) highlighted the relationships between armed violence and under-development, and various high-level diplomatic processes are drawing more attention to promising solutions. Krause et al. (2008) used empirical approaches to conflict resolution, and this study is contextualized in the borders of Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Liberia, South Africa and Liberia. The author applied experiments and practicals in doing the research. The study is relevant in terms of rich empirical data overview of the diversity and scope of armed violence reduction and prevention efforts. However, the author failed to critically assess the worsening ecological/climate, which may trigger the prolonged violence

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in the above states.

According to Brandon et al (2022), the focus is on the effectiveness of indigenous conflict management strategies in localized contexts. The analysis focus on Africa, Asia, and Europe. Yet no attempt was made to test which conflict management approaches are most effective empirically in which local and cultural context. It is also not clear based on their findings, what homegrown solutions are effective in managing, resolving, and transforming localized conflicts such as that of the Turkana and Pokot.

According to Thomas Aquinas (1946), peace was the tranquillity that flowed from the correct order. He wrote that if the proper order is put into the structures of our society, then the results will be peace. Many people, however, perceived peace as the absence of war or violence. In this model, peace transformed contextual and destructive interactions into a more cooperative and constructive existence. He described that the Church's charisma and, likewise, her unique nature vis-à-vis reconciliation, whatever level that needed to be achieved, lay in the fact that she always returned to that reconciliation at the source. Thomas Aquinas took a theological approach to conflict resolution contextualised in the Kingdoms of Sicily/ Lacio, Monte Cassino and Monte San countries. The researcher applied descriptive and analytical research. The study is relevant because the empirical data complements the existing critical and interpretive approaches, thereby assisting Christian researchers in locating themselves politically and historically. However, the researcher forgot that the Church might also trigger conflict.

According to Nye (2011), there have been global conflicts from the beginning of the twentieth century to the twenty-first century arising from global trade, finances, governance, and the information revolution. They clarified that conflict was not localised to a particular social set-up, but the notion had its global, international, national and regional perspectives. For this reason, global actors have also resolved to end global conflicts through global cooperation by establishing world order, globalisation and international relations. Nye (2011) took the conceptual and empirical approach to conflict resolution, and this study is contextualised in the borders of conflict nations. The researcher applied experimental research, and the data was primarily analytical. The study was relevant because the empirical data provided a building block for societal growth and advancement, providing knowledge applicable outside the research setting. However, the researcher should have realised that perceived community deprivation of needs may cause prolonged and protracted conflicts in the states.

Magesa (1996) equates peace with conflict transformation and resolution. He maintains that peace is achieved when the root causes of the differences in conflicting relationships are explored and resolved. He defined reconciliation as "the act by which people who have been apart and split off from one another begin to stroll or march together again". He equates reconciliation with conflict resolution. In his view, reconciliation has dimensions and more profound implications because it makes an individual transcend the conflicts of affiliation and embrace the sense of love, which unites all people.

According to Azarya et al. (1996), pastoralism refers to an economy based on raising livestock; sedentary or nomadic groups could undertake this. Pastoralists include those who earn part of their living from livestock and livestock products. They include those still connected to pastoralist culture, even if livestock does not provide their main source of income (Humanitarian policy group, 2009). Pastoralism in all its forms is more than just a mode of production. It involves a specific mode of social organisation and cultural patterns and practices (Markakis, 2004). Nomadic, on the other hand, refers to the extent of spatial

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movement of pastoralists; therefore, pastoral production is conceptually different from the extent of residential mobility. Azarya et al. (1996) took an empirical approach to conflict resolution contextualised in West and Central African countries, the borders of Fulani and Sahel. The researcher applied field research using a survey. The study was relevant regarding how empirical data contribute to the conceptual development of demand-led extension and adversary services aimed at nomadic herders in Nigeria. However, the researcher failed to critically criticise the failure of the government to mediate such conflicts but set up a judicial commission which triggered the conflicts for decades in West African countries.

According to Mkutu et al. (2007), during the Collapse of Idi Amin's regime in 1979, the national army abandoned the military barracks in Moroto town. The Karamojong broke into the barracks armoury and looted all the guns and ammunition. This raid ushered in a new social, economic and political landscape in Karamoja, and cattle-raiding groups turned against each other and the neighbouring regions. Since then, the arms race in the region has been on the rise. Most of the arms and ammunition today come through the porous Uganda-Sudan border in the Kabong district. Mkutu et al. (2007a) took a correlation model approach to inter- conflict resolution, and the study was contextualised in Uganda, Karamoja and Moroto communities. Mkutu et al. (2007a) applied field and survey research, but the data was descriptive. Mkutu et al. (2007a) study was relevant in that the empirical data was available for the state information to improve issues concerning wars and disputes and the causal factors. However, Mkutu et al. (2007a) needed to critically analyse that the perceived community deprivation of needs led to constant conflicts between the two communities.

According to Stites and Akabwai (2009), political changes, the growing trade of small arms and ammunition, repeated and prolonged droughts, and the spread of livestock diseases have led to intensified raids between Karamoja, Iteso, Lango, and Acholi. Stites and Akabwai (2009) point to the consequences as reducing cattle in the neighbouring areas. The herders survived in the neighbouring districts often during the dry period. Appreciating their situation, the government allowed the pastoralists to move into the neighbouring districts because they did not use arms. However, they were often accused of carrying and using guns, violating this policy. They had been accused of intimidation, armed assault, and even committing murders in the neighbouring areas (Ochieng, 2000: Akelem, 2000). Stites and Akabwai (2009) took the field work study to inter-ethnic conflict resolution, and the study was contextualised in Uganda, the borders of Moroto, Kotido, and Kabong communities. Stites and Akabwai (2009) applied field work study, but the data was primarily descriptive. Stites and Akabwai (2009) were relevant in that the imperial data was used to inform the programming and planning of livelihood intervention. However, Stites and Akabwai (2009) needed to critically examine whether the above arguments caused the conflict to be sustained and prolonged for decades.

Theoretical Framework

The geopolitical theory is relevant to this study because the conflict between the Pokot and Turkana is about resources and space. On the one hand, the geographical setting perspectives and striving for resources and dominance lead to conflict between the two communities. The theory explains how geographical factors, including territory, population, strategic location, and natural resources endowment, affect relationships between communities, social groups and the struggle for domination. This theory also help explain that securing political predominance is not merely a question of having power in the sense of the availability of natural resources, the acquisition of wealth or a capacity for projecting force. However, it is

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also depended on the configuration of the field within which that power is exercised. Despite the relevance of the theory; it is limited in the sense that it is not able to explain the strategies of conflict resolution and hence it is limited to first objective that deal with resources and conflict. This necessitated the use of Edward Azar's theory of Protracted Social Conflict.

Research Methodology

This was a historical study that applied a case study research design with an in-depth investigation. This design was appropriate because it facilitated adequate data collection using in-depth interviews, focused group discussions, and observation guide.

The study's target population comprised residents of the Pokot Central, Samarch division and the Turkana of Kainuk division in Turkana South of the former Rift valley province. These are people who are usually directly affected by the pastoral conflicts in the area. The current population of Kainuk is 10,500 while of Samarch is 11350 (Census GoK, 2019). From this targeted population the study sampled respondents from the categories of the local chiefs, NGOs, clan elders, religious leaders, youths, herdsman and kraal leaders living within this region in particular. The profile of the target population in terms of age, education, gender, religion among other characteristics was taken into considerations.

The researcher employed non-probability sampling techniques, including purposive and snowballing. In the case of purposive sampling, the researcher chose the respondents depending on their knowledge and know-how in relation to the subject under study. The researcher went directly to respondents who were knowledgeable on the indigenous and non-indigenous mechanisms for managing and resolving conflict among the Pokot and Turkana. The researcher used four main instruments for data collection in this study. They included Focused Group Discussion Guide, Interview Guide, Observation Guide and Document analysis guide. Findings on inter-ethnic conflict management and resolution strategies between the Turkana and Pokot; 1963 to 2017.

From the 1960s onwards, the Pokot and Turkana increasingly purchased guns and ammunition to protect themselves because the state could not safeguard their livelihoods (Dolan, 2006). Cattle raiding became a commercial factor in the state's political economy (Eaton, 2008). Hendrickson (1998) and Eaton (2008) argued that increasingly well-armed professional bandits carried out raids. Unscrupulous business people, politicians and warlords connected to arms dealers and abattoirs in major cities of Kenya and beyond aid these bandits (Eaton, 2008). According to Mkutu (2004), the arms merchants, the commercial cattle traders, and the warlords could be seen as one and the same person, sometimes even including State officials and traditional community leaders. Osamba (2000) further argues that the warlord phenomenon first emerged in Kenya's Pokot and Turkana areas in the 1980s. The increasing loss of human life, large-scale displacement of people, disruption of socio-economic activities and livelihoods, environmental degradation, high levels of starvation, and unprecedented dependence on food relief increased inter-ethnic raids (Eaton, 2008). The proliferation and development of advanced small arms in the Pokot and Turkana conflict environment spiraled the conflict given that the Pokot and Turkana border South Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia (Dolan, 2006).

After attaining independence in Kenya, governance, attitudes, and approaches to peace and social progress for the Pokots and the Turkanas experienced little change compared to the colonial policies (Nkinyangi, 1983; Dolan, 2006; Mkutu, 2008; Gifford, 2009). According to Nkinyangi (1983), pastoralist peoples continued to exist at the periphery of Kenyan society, impoverished, dominated, and underprivileged. (Tibaldo, 2006). In February

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2012, the government administrator who had been posted in of Turkana East District claimed that he had alerted the Kenyan security forces because of incidents of raiding affecting both the Turkana and Pokot in addition to threatening State security forces in the area (Ng'asike, 2013).

The State interventionist policies of appointing local administrators and using the police and military to enforce peace were unfamiliar with the goals and the structures of community leadership of both the Pokot and Turkana communities (Dolan, 2006). The chiefs aided and promoted the government's interests by terrifying the Pokot and Turkana into submission. This policy continued to weaken local inter-ethnic conflict management strategies. The main effect was that the indigenous structural basis for deciding on the best conflict management tools to apply needed to be revised and eroded.

The Arid Lands Resource Management Project of 1980 proposed a policy that improved the pastoralist communities' situation and addressed their grievances. (Grahn, 2005). A more in-depth analysis of the inter-relationship between poverty, conflict, security, and development planning was established in National Poverty Eradication Plan, 1999- 2015 (Office of the President, 1999). At the same time, they were providing a framework for including conflict management within development planning. There was also the establishment of District Peace and Development Committees (DPDC) (Grahn, 2005).

The DPDCs comprised civil society actors such as elders, women's organisations, and NGOs, who join with State officials in a conflict management body. The DPDCs, which were essentially State structures, recognised the value of traditional community-based conflict management mechanisms by integrating elders into the committees. However, the body needs a legal framework and judicial weight despite the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) under the department of Conflict Early Warning Network (CEWARN) recognition. CEWARN is operational within the Karamojong cluster, where it collects information which is later processed at its relevant State institutions in each IGAD country and regional offices (Davis, 1978; Pavitt, 1997; Good, 2007).

The Kenya State also introduced disarmament of the Pokot and Turkana many times. The 1984 joint Kenya-Uganda initiative to collect guns from the Turkana and Pokot had no real impact as it only managed to alienate the pastoralists from the government further. Despite many attempts, the Pokot and the Turkana have yet to be disarmed (Gifford, 2009). Such attempts at disarmament have yet to attain the foreseen objective. Only a small number of firearms were surrendered and confiscated, but again these were easily replenished by the Pokot and Turkana due to easy access. Disarmament policies seemed to only focus on State security rather than transforming the underlying marginalised livelihood conditions of the two communities (Gifford, 2009). State and regional policies appear to be symptom-focused instead of addressing the underlying causes (Bevan, 2007). Despite government commitments to enhance security for pastoralist communities living in Kenya, cattle raids and violence escalated in the region (Mkutu, 2008).

A focus group discussion in Sarmach in west Pokot revealed that the community had suffered numerous disarmaments since 1984, with no peace (Kibet, I.O. December 2022). The FGD further reported that the Pokot felt indifferent towards the security officers in the area because of the way forced disarmament or sometimes uneven disarmament was carried out in Sarmach and Pokot central as a whole. During a disarmament exercise in 2008, the Uganda Government had not disarmed the Karamoja. This led to the possession of arms by one community while the other was being disarmed. During this disarmament exercise, violence and torture were committed in terms of rape and physical abuse of the women in the

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Pokot community (Kibet, I.O. December 2022). It was further established that a disarmament exercise carried out in 2009 had impacted negatively on the community.

Recovered arms and ammunition were suspected not to have been handed into the government. Instead, the Pokot community lost many heads of cattle; men were left severely brutalised and fighting for their lives. The FGD reported that the security personnel who were involved in the recovery of stolen livestock and disarmament exercise ended up being the beneficiaries of the exercise (Kibet, I.O. December 2022). In similar circumstances, respondents from Turkana South stated that forced or uneven disarmament by the government led to hatred and animosity between the government and the community. A respondent in Katilu, Longoria and Napo reported that allegations of harassment and other human rights violations by soldiers had tensed relations between the people of the region and the security officers in the area. A disarmament exercise in 1984 still lingers in people's minds (Ekai, IO. December 2022).

In 2001, the Kenyan government introduced The National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management, which aimed at strengthening, coordinating, and integrating various conflict management initiatives in the country. However, the State policy guidelines should have addressed the coordination approaches to peacebuilding and conflict management. The government engaged on an ad hoc basis and with interventions that were reactionary and, at times, exacerbated conflicts. Sufficient resources were mobilised to ensure that latent conflict issues are averted and enable rapid response when conflict occurs (NSCPBC, 2020). The government also established District Peace Committees (DPCs) in the area to try and mitigate the conflicts. However, this effort only bore little fruit since the conflict persists (NSCPBC, 2020). One initiative is the formation of POKATUSA, a cross-border peacebuilding project originally established in June 1997. Its name is an acronym of the first two letters of Pokot, Karimojong, Turkana and Sebei, based in Kapengurai. Established in 1997, it operates in four districts in Kenya and two in Uganda. It was founded to facilitate and coordinate sustainable peace and development initiatives among pastoralist communities in Kenya and Uganda.

It was established to improve livelihoods and help ensure the peaceful coexistence of all peoples along the border through the adoption of community-friendly initiatives and a broad-based mobilisation of resources involving all relevant parties. The conflict is yet exacerbated by the wide availability of small arms. Conflict and poverty have left the region lagging in social and economic development, destroying lives and livelihoods.

The membership of the DPRC is comprised of local MPs, District Commissioners, teachers, senior fighters, LDUs, traditional healers, women and church leaders. The LPRC comprises the same membership, less the MPs and District Commissioners. The DPRCs and LRPCs act as an early warning system when cattle raids are imminent and seek to recover raided cattle. The respondents cited improving security as the second most important strategy. The government has deployed the Anti Stock Theft Unit (ASTU) of the Police in South Turkana. Thirty officers are deployed in Lolgon and 100 in Lochakula (Kinyanjui, KWS warden Nasolot National Reserve IO. December 20, 2022). On top of this, regular police have been deployed at the nearby Kainuk Police Station. The presence of the police in this area does not seem to deter raids. The presence of the police in the area is ineffective in dealing with the conflict. The government has recruited Kenya Police Reserves (KPR) from the two communities to enhance security. The KPR are not trained or paid, leaving them vulnerable (Akbulut-Yuksel, 2009; KNA Suk- Turkana Border Committee Minutes 1951 – 1955, LOD/1/13).

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The Kenya government's Vision 2030 was also introduced in Kenya in 2000. Part of its policy framework focused on Pastoralists who inhabit many parts of northern Kenya, which are arid and semi-arid. A shortage of water and pasture mainly caused the conflict. The programme was designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labour markets and, at the same time, reducing people's exposure to risks while enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption or loss of income.

Vision 2030 has not addressed the plight of pastoralists in political, economic and social realms in ways that would integrate them advantageously in national, regional and global marketplaces by promoting environmental protection, agriculture and cross-border migrations and enable the pastoralists to become aware of the importance of selling and offloading herds at an advantage, before drought sets in. Northern Kenya suffers from extreme levels of poverty and has poverty incidence levels of 90 per cent in some counties, far higher than the national average of 60 per cent. Against this background, Kenya Vision 2030 was conceived and launched as a national framework to address the MDGs and Kenya's own peculiar development needs.

Vision 2030 promised to open northern Kenya. In 2007, the government of Kenya created the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands after many years of neglect and marginalisation of the region. Before then, the region was regarded as a development backwater and pariah region. It envisaged the opening of a modern tarmac road from Isiolo to Marsabit, which opened up the region in early 2011. The government of Kenya also proposed to build a fifth international airport in Kenya at Isiolo town (after Nairobi, Mombasa, Eldoret and Kisumu), the first such facility in northern Kenya. In 2011, the then Minister of Planning and Vision 2030 in Kenya admitted that it would not be possible for Kenya to achieve all the Millennium Development Goals and Vision 2030 and called for the revision of some of the goals in Vision 2030. The focus of Vision 2030 was on agriculture, industry and infrastructure development in major cities, which are all located outside the pastoralist regions.

Compared to agriculture, the lack of a clear government policy on livestock and development has undermined the pastoralist economy and exposed herders to exploitative middlemen. The perennial drought, famine, livestock diseases and insecurity problems in northern Kenya have yet to be addressed in Vision 2030 in ways that are clear to the area's residents. The irrigation schemes have been undermined by a lack of government support and wildlife threat (Amutabi, 2006). Many pastoralists need access to clean water, good roads, schools and health services. The policies on disaster preparedness and disaster management, early warning and drought monitoring need to be improved; hence, the drive towards peacebuilding in the region is affected by government policies (Kenya vision 2030 accessed in January 10 2023).

According to several respondents, government policies have not ameliorated the conflict in the region. Mitigation efforts by the GoK to end the conflict have not been successful. An interview with a former politician of Turkana South, John Elim, established that feelings of anti-pastoral policies and interventions were blamed for contributing to the unstable relationship between the government and the people of Turkana South being described as poor and characterised by resentment, suspicion and mistrust. The explanation given by the respondent showed that the present policies and interventions had contributed to the perpetuation and even escalation of the conflict among the Turkana and their neighbours. The government had tried to replace pastoralism with agriculture in Turkana south since the 1960s and 1970s with limited success. The FAO had introduced farming to parts of Katilu,

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Nakwamoru, Juluk and Kaputir. These irrigation schemes were introduced to entice the Turkana community to farm so that they could abandon pastoralism.

The respondent said they bought a goat immediately after the Turkana sold their harvest (Zezeza, 1993). They would accumulate the goats until they formed a herd. They would then troop back to the kraals where they came from, and the pastoralist lifestyle would begin again. Many community members doubted the government's sincerity in replacing pastoralism with agriculture. The respondent concluded that pastoralism was a way of life that should be improved but not discarded completely (Elim, IO December 21, 2022). Another interview with a youth leader in Kalemngorok, Ekadeli Eregae, revealed that the small number of security officers in Turkana south proved it difficult to provide security to the residents (Ekadeli, I.O. December, 18,2022).

The lack of road and communication network infrastructure had led to many security officers avoiding being posted to Turkana south. This meant that there were only a few security personnel to protect the people of this area from attacks from hostile communities. The respondent reported that it became hard to pursue raiders when they took away large herds of cattle. The community hated this scenario and blamed the security officer's laxity in engaging the attackers. The respondent also expressed fears that due to the limited number of police officers in Turkana south, the government had resorted to using KPR and had become heavily dependent on them as its first line of security. The KPRs continue to provide security for kraals and caravans and also fulfil the roles traditionally carried out by police, although they were unpaid. The KPR had resorted to selling ammunition in places like Katilu, Kainuk and Juluk to buy local brew or some food to eat. This led to a proliferation of small arms and their abuse by the KPR. About 87% of respondents in Pokot Central stated that the inadequate number of security personnel had encouraged acts of lawlessness and violence (Ekai, I.O. December 20, 2022).

Among the Pokot respondents, a youth leader in Sarmach, Martin Pelekwang, reported that many security personnel were posted to the area. Nevertheless, they obtained transfers as soon as they arrived in the area. Those officers willing to work there had complained of a lack of proper housing, extreme temperatures, and rough and rugged terrain, which hampered the pursuit of stolen livestock and the secretive nature of the Pokot community when it came to giving information about stolen animals. Poor infrastructure was noted to be a reason why it was difficult to mitigate the conflict between the two communities (Pelekwang, O.I. December 10, 2022).

The formal justice system is the most predominant conflict management method in Northern Kenya. The courts are endorsed by law to resolve conflict (Pettman, 1974). In instances of conflicts involving communities, the formal justice system has some deterrent impact through the criminal justice system. However, formal justice systems have proved to be inadequate (Schilling, Opiyo, & Scheffran, 2012) in responding to the underlying causes of conflict and facilitating peace-building and reconciliation (Maigua, 2012). The courts are mandated to entertain disputes and conflicts.

The judiciary in Kenya has handled environmental matters, and thus, the courts play an important role in achieving sustainable development. The Environmental and Land Court (ELC) is empowered to deal with applications that involve denial, violation or infringement of, or threat to, rights or fundamental freedom concerning a clean and healthy environment under Articles 42, 69, and 70 of the Kenya 2010 Constitution. Where an alternative dispute resolution mechanism is a condition precedent to any proceedings before a court, the court must set aside the proceedings until such conditions are fulfilled. The case of Friends of Lake

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Turkana Trust versus Attorney General & 2 others (2014) KLR demonstrates instances where courts have taken an active role in promoting environmental protection and averting potential natural resource-based conflicts. In this matter, for instance, the court directed that the government of Kenya, the Kenya Power Company Limited (KP) and the Kenya Electricity Transmission Company Limited (KETRACO), forthwith take the necessary steps to ensure that the natural resources of Lake Turkana are sustainably managed. Further, it directed that the natural resources should be utilised and conserved in any engagement with and in any agreements entered into with the government of Ethiopia relating to the purchase of electricity (The case of Friends of Lake Turkana Trust versus Attorney General & 2 others, 2014, accessed in December 20, 2022).

The Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms refer to decision-making processes other than litigation. These include mediation, inquiry, negotiation, arbitration, and adjudication (Collins, 1961). ADR mechanisms are also used to manage a wide range of natural resource-based conflicts and are not exclusive to any particular conflict but can be applied successively or in any modified combination with other adjudicative methods of managing conflicts (Maigua, 2013). The use of ADR mechanisms in resolving conflicts is envisaged in the constitution of Kenya. Conflicts being issues about values which are non-negotiable, the choice of conflict management must, therefore, be informed by the desire to address the underlying problems. ADR mechanisms are, therefore, better placed to manage conflicts as they aim to come up with mutually satisfying outcomes. When faced with conflict, some people tend to avoid each other initially. The parties in conflict act to prevent a conflict from becoming public acknowledgement (Maigua, 2013).

Avoidance may have a strategic element as the parties may wait for the right moment to act in a more direct manner. These communities have adopted negotiation, a widely used mechanism for dispute resolution. The parties meet to discuss shared or opposed interests in relation to a particular issue of concern. The parties attempt to settle their differences using various techniques, including concession, compromise, and confrontation. Thus, negotiation allows party autonomy in the process and outcome (Maigua, 2013). Negotiations focus on the shared interests of the parties, and the goal is to create options that satisfy both mutual and individual interests. An excellent example of negotiation is the forum of POKATUSA that brings the Pokot, Turkana, and Karamoja to deal with issues of cattle rustling conflict because the communities fight over cattle through organised raids and cattle theft. There are also issues of banditry that led to violence in the communities (Ebei, December 14, 2022).

Mediation is a voluntary collaborative process whereby a neutral and impartial third party assists the parties in a conflict. It is carried out with the consent of the third party to prevent, manage and resolve a conflict by aiding them in developing mutually acceptable agreements (Mwagiru, 2006). Various organisations have used the strategies, including the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and World Vision. The committees led to the development of Village Peace and Development Communities (VPDCs (Adan & Pkalya 2006). Local peace dialogues and reconciliation meetings often result in peace and harmonious coexistence. Both arbitration and mediation promote the same ideals, such as access to justice, prompt hearing, fair outcomes and reduced court congestion. However, mediation is voluntary and non-binding (Adan & Pkalya, 2006).

The Court system also recognises the traditional methods of dealing with conflict that complement the formal methods that deal with violence (Boege V., 2011). Traditional societies have a council of elders which is the principal institution charged with conflict management and resolution. The main role of the council is to maintain harmony and

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peaceful coexistence. Further, pastoralist communities have resource management agreements on how to manage their scarce natural resources. However, the primary indigenous conflict resolution is through the council of elders. The Pokot and Turkana communities have always engaged in informal negotiations and mediation in managing conflicts. Mediation, as practised in the traditional African communities, was informal, voluntary, flexible and expeditious, aiming at fostering relationships and peaceful coexistence. Besides, inter-tribal conflicts were mediated and negotiated in informal settings presided by a council of elders who acted as arbitrators and mediators (Maigua, 2012).

Among the Marakwet and Pokot, for instance, the council of elders, referred to as Kokwo, is the highest institution of conflict management. The council comprises respected, wise older men knowledgeable of the community's affairs and history (Kameri-Mbote, 2005). Article 159 (2) (c) of the constitution provides for using traditional dispute resolution mechanisms so long as they do not contravene the Bill of Rights. Traditional resolution mechanisms are also encouraged when they are not repugnant to justice and morality and are not inconsistent with the constitution or any written law. Active application of traditional conflict management mechanisms in Kenya bolsters access to justice for all, including communities which have challenges in accessing formal conflict management systems. It is paramount to note that traditional justice systems employ informal approaches in managing natural resource conflicts.

The resolution seeks to incorporate mediation and negotiation in managing and settling disputes. This approach is participatory as it has a representation of the affected parties and thus wins their confidence. Thus, this approach can solve natural resource conflicts among the communities. For instance, the Mogadishu Declaration saw communities in Garissa, Mandera, and Wajir counties agree to resolve their disputes, including banditry and unauthorised grazing (Maigua, 2012). There is no evidence of traditional conflict management structures that the state has officially accepted. Instead, they were undermined by the State processes, exemplified particularly in the imposition of government-appointed personnel to act as chiefs over the Pokot and Turkana communities.

The Catholic Church's entry into the Turkana and Pokot conflict environment provides close-range and insightful recorded perspectives of the conflict and its dynamics. The Catholic Church from the years 1966-71 established medical clinics, built roads, and initiated farm irrigation schemes (Good, 2007). Nevertheless, inter-ethnic raids became frequent, and development projects were provisionally abandoned; the ingenious Pokot and Turkana removed all the bolts on clinic doors and used them as parts for homemade rifles (Good, 2007). Good further reports that throughout the 1970s and 80s, Catholic Church-initiated farm irrigation schemes were disrupted by recurrent violent conflict between the two communities.

The incidents of conflict and dynamics continued in the 1990s in areas near Kainuk and Katilu and further to the northwest in Lorengipi and Lokiriamama areas, leading to numerous dead and many more maimed and displaced. Religious institutions, in general, consider the state's conflict management policies and interventions to be both weak in dealing with the conflict and unable to provide an alternative way of life (Diocese of Lodwar Pastoral Plan 2007-2012, 2007).

The Catholic Church Justice and Peace Commission lacks the capacity to manage conflict due to 'low-level staff' promoting peace and justice (Dolan, 2007). Turkana has adopted the RIAM-RIAM (meaning meet) (KNA., UNESCO 2011). This is a name given to a local peace NGO working with the government in Turkana and other cross-border

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governments of Uganda, Ethiopia and South Sudan to broker peace among warring communities of this region. This is the main peace stakeholder in Turkana, which is working with local CBOs and FBOs to mediate peace in Turkana and Pokot.

The RIAM-RIAM was formed in Turkana in the 1990s, while SIKOM is a local NGO founded in Pokot areas, and it deals with issues of peace-building activities in that region. It is the equivalent of RIAM-RIAM in Turkana, starting in the 1990s. KENYA RED CROSS is a Kenyan NGO dealing with all forms of disasters in the country, and it is also working in Turkana and Pokot conflict areas. The World Vision (K) is an international NGO which has been working in these two communities providing education, water and sanitation, relief food, and even engaging in irrigation farming in Turkana. ACTED is an international NGO which deals with issues of livestock, water and such related activities, and it works in Pokot North but not in Turkana. ACTION AID is also an international NGO that deals with food and hunger-related issues and works in the Pokot and Turkana regions. The youth and women groups are found in both areas with 11%, and FBOs are found in both areas with a presence of 8%. This shows that many NGOs, CBOs and FBOs were involved in the provision of other services to the people in the two communities.

The research established that corruption within the NGO, CBO, and FBO fraternity had led to the inability to mitigate and end this conflict. About 55% of the respondents in Turkana South stated that corruption riddled most NGOs, CBOs and FBOs and led to minimal results where conflict resolution was concerned.

In Pokot Central, the FGD felt that corrupt activities by some NGOs, CBOs and FBOs overshadowed what would have been good and meaningful work. In Sarmach, in Pokot central, an interview with a former peace worker, Echuman Mariamoe, revealed that peace work was a big business along the Kenya- Uganda border. Each year, new groups were created with the help of major donors. In contrast, others disappeared due to corruption and mismanagement. The respondent explained that such a cycle had continued for decades and, despite the absence of tangible results, millions of dollars continued to flow into the bank accounts of peace groups in the North Rift region. The perceived mismanagement of the relatively vast resources committed to making peace had created disrespect among the region's inhabitants and the workers themselves (Echuman, I.O December, 2022).

Conclusion

With regard to the policies pursued by post-colonial governments and why the exclusion of pastoralists from mainstream national development by neglecting their needs. The study concluded that the post-colonial period saw the traditional governance institutions in pastoral community areas in Pokot and Turkana counties weakened. The conflict resolution strategies focused on government policies of disarmament, the role of non-state actors and the judicial system. It is also noted that these strategies have yet to be fully effective, necessitating the adoption of alternative methods of conflict resolution.

The study further concluded that in the independence era, the modern conflict resolution methods neglected local conflict resolution and management traditions. This approach did not lessen conflict in the region. These resulted in local traditional approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The early neglect of local approaches to conflict resolution is bound up with the legacy of European colonialism. The cross-cultural approaches to addressing conflict by highlighting the compelling link between culture, conflict, and the search for peace bear fruit because of community ownership.

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Recommendations

The study recommended that the government should enhance security capacity and apprehend and prosecute those involved in insecurity. Increasing police presence, including mobile police units and resourcing them adequately will minimize conflict was recommended. According to the study, the police units should be integrated into peacebuilding structures rather than used for brutal and forceful community disarmament.

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