EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

EFFECTIVENESS OF LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS BETWEEN POKOT AND MARAKWET COMMUNITIES, KENYA

Willy Chepkangor

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
20 MAR 2019
P.O. BOX 536, EGERTON
AFRICANA SECTION

Thesis Submitted to Graduate School in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the award of Master of Arts degree in Sociology (Peace studies and Conflict Management option)

of Egerton university

EULIB
053303

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
03 NOV 2015
P.O. BOX 536, EGERTON
ACQUISITION SECTION

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

MARCH, 2015

80750/2015

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any university for award of any degree.

Signature _____ Date 20/3/15

Willy Kibatok Chepkangor

AM17/1849/07

RECOMMENDATION

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University Supervisors.

Signature _____ Date 23/3/15

Dr. Kibet Ngetich

Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies, Egerton University

Signature _____ Date 23/3/15

Dr. Hadija Murenga

Department of Peace, Security and Social Studies, Egerton University

2015/105-508

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to God the creator who enabled me to do the work. To my beloved wife Phylis, my children-Damaris, Constance, Petronilah, Christopher and Jerono for their tireless support and encouragement during the period of my study at Egerton University.They tirelessly sacrificed the family resources to finance my education.

COPYRIGHT © 2015 BY WILLY K. CHEPKANGOR

All rights reserved. This thesis is protected on behalf of the intellectual property.

It may not be reproduced by any means, in full or in part except for short extracts in fair dealing, for research of private study, critical scholarly review or discourse with acknowledgement without written permission of author or Dean of Faculty, Head of Department or Supervisor of this research on behalf of the author and Egerton University.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge God for the gift of life and opportunity to study. I appreciate the guidance and advice of my supervisors Dr. Kibet Ngetich and Dr. Hadija Murenga. I would also appreciate the support from members of staff of the department of Humanities Kapropita Girls High School for stepping in for me when am busy in and out for this work and not forgetting the contribution of my research assistant Festus Loporor who played a very important role in collection of information from the members of the two communities under study.

ABSTRACT

The current study analyzed the effectiveness of livelihood diversification in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The Pokot and Marakwet communities are traditionally pastoralists living in Kenya's North Rift region. Due to the arid conditions of the Marakwet and Pokot districts, nomadic pastoralism has until recently been the most feasible and reliable source of livelihood for the local people. Sharing of the common and limited water, pasture and other inputs needed for pastoralism has fuelled competition and conflicts over these resources. This study confined itself to current mechanisms, the effect of livelihood strategies and the relationship between livelihood diversification and conflict management. The study had a sample size of 210 selected through purposive and stratified random sampling. Data was collected by use of interview schedule. Once collected, data were coded and analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The results of the study were reported in percentages and presented in tables and figures. It was found that negotiation, coercion, police intervention and litigation were the most common mechanisms employed to manage conflicts between the two communities, with negotiation and coercion being found to be the most and least effective respectively. The fact that pastoralism was persistently getting prone to conflict thus make it least rewarding and its future uncertain prompting a number of members of the two communities to consider crop and dairy farming, formal employment and business as alternative sources of livelihoods. The decision to pursue alternative sources of livelihood (away from pastoralism) resulted in a reduction in incidences of pastoral conflicts between the two communities. But the fact that new sources of livelihood such as crop farming and charcoal may lead to depletion of resources also targeted by pastoralists prompted this study to recommend for the development of an integrated resource use and management framework. This study also recommends for further study to be done on the determinants of successful livelihood transitions. The study revealed that some members of the two communities appear to have taken off successfully in current livelihood sources while others were struggling and find it cumbersome to cope with their new sources of livelihood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION i

DEDICATION iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

ABSTRACT v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

LIST OF TABLES x

LIST OF FIGURES xi

CHAPTER ONE 1

INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Background to the Study 1

1.2 Statement of the Problem 3

1.3 Objectives of the Study 3

1.3.1 Broad Objective 3

1.3.2 Specific Objectives 4

1.4 Research Questions 4

1.5 Justification of the Study 4

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study 5

1.7 Definitions of Terms 7

CHAPTER TWO 9

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 9

2.1 Introduction 9

2.2 The Context of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya's North Rift Region 9

2.2.1 Management of Ethnic Conflicts 11

2.2.2 Livelihood Strategies and Management of Ethnic Conflicts 14

2.2.3 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Management 17

2.3 Theoretical Framework 19

2.3.1 Conflict Theory 19

2.3.2 Multiple Livelihood Model (MLM) 21

2.4 Conceptual Framework 22
CHAPTER THREE 24
METHODOLOGY 24
3.0 Introduction 24
3.1 Study Site 24
3.4 Target Population 27
3.5 Unit of Analysis 27
3.6 Sampling Method and Procedure 27
3.7 Methods of Data Collection 28
3.8 Data Analysis 29
CHAPTER FOUR 30
RESULTS 30
4.0 Introduction 30
4.1 Characteristics of Respondents 30
4.1.1 Age of the Respondents 31
4.1.2 Gender of the Respondents 32
4.1.3 Level of Formal Education of the Respondents 33
4.1.4 Ethnic Affiliation of the Respondents 34
4.1.5 Religious Affiliation of the Respondents 36
4.2 Conflict Management Mechanisms 37
4.2.1 Frequency of Ethnic Conflict 38
4.2.2 Frequency of Conflict by Ethnic Affiliation 39
4.2.3 Current Situation of Conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities 40
4.2.4 Main Causes of Conflict between Pokot and Marakwet Communities 41
4.2.5 Mechanisms of Managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet Communities. 44
4.2.6 Conflict Management Mechanisms by Ethnic Affiliation 46
4.2.7 Frequency of Police Intervention in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 49
4.2.8 Effectiveness of Police Response in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 50
4.2.9 Frequency of Litigation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 52
4.2.10 Effectiveness of Litigation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 54
4.2.11 Frequency of Negotiation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 55

4.2.12 Effectiveness of Negotiation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 56
4.2.13 Frequency of Use of Coercion in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 59
4.2.14 Effectiveness of Coercion in Management of Ethnic Conflicts 60
4.3 Sources of Livelihood and Ethnic Conflicts 62
4.3.1 Sources of Livelihood of the Respondents 62
4.3.2 Source of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation 64
4.3.3 Sources of Livelihood by Gender 65
4.3.4 Sources of Livelihood by level of Education 66
4.4 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Management 69
4.4.1 Number of Household's Members Engaged in Livelihood pursuit 69
4.4.2 Number of Sources of Livelihood at Household Level 71
4.4.3 Duration for Change of Livelihood Sources 72
4.4.4 Duration for Change of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation 73
4.4.5 Reason for Change of Livelihood Sources 76
4.4.6 Reason for Change of Livelihood Sources by Ethnicity 79
CHAPTER FIVE 82
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 82
5.1 Introduction 82
5.2 Summary 82
5.2.1 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Situation 82
5.2.2 Main Causes of Ethnic Conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet Communities 83
5.2.3 Mechanisms of Managing Pokot and Marakwet Ethnic Conflicts 83
5.2.4 Livelihood Strategies of Members of Pokot and Marakwet Communities 84
5.2.5 Livelihood Diversification Strategies of Pokot and Marakwet Communities 85
5.2.6 Factors Influencing Change of Livelihood Strategies 85
5.2.7 Duration of Change of Change of Livelihood Source 85
5.2.8 Change of Livelihood Duration and Conflict Situation 86
5.3 Conclusions 86
5.3.1 Theoretical Conclusions 86
5.3.2 Empirical Conclusions 88
5.4 Recommendations 89

5.4.1 General Recommendations 89
5.4.2 Policy Recommendations 90
5.4.3 Suggestions for Further Research 90
REFERENCES 92
APPENDIX I 101
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 101

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4: 1 Respondents by Age Group 31
Table 4: 2 Relationships between Management Mechanism and Conflict situation 48
Table 4: 3 Relationship Between Livelihood Sources and Conflict Situation 64
Table 4: 4 Sources of livelihood by level of Education 67
Table 4: 5 Duration of Change of Livelihood and Conflict Situation 74
Table 4: 6 Relationship between Reason for Change of Livelihood and Conflict Situation 77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2: 1 Conceptual Frame Work 22

Figure 3: 1 Map of Tot and Kolowa 26

Figure 4: 1 Respondents by Gender 32
Figure 4: 2 Respondents by Education level 33
Figure 4: 3 Respondents by Ethnic Affiliation 35
Figure 4: 4 Respondents by Religious Affiliation 36
Figure 4: 5 Frequency of Ethnic Conflict 38
Figure 4: 6 Frequency of conflict by ethnic Group 39
Figure 4: 7 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Status 41
Figure 4: 8 Main Causes of Conflict 42
Figure 4: 9 Conflict Management Mechanisms 45
Figure 4: 10 Conflict Management Mechanisms by Ethnic Groups 47
Figure 4: 11 Frequency of police intervention in Conflict Management 49
Figure 4: 12 Effectiveness of Police Intervention in Conflict Management 51
Figure 4: 13 Frequency of Litigation in Conflict Management 53
Figure 4: 14 Effectiveness of Litigation in Conflict Management 55
Figure 4: 15 Frequency of Negotiation in Conflict Management 56
Figure 4: 16 Frequency of Negotiation in Conflict Management 57
Figure 4: 17 Frequency of Coercion in Conflict Management 59
Figure 4: 18 Effectiveness of Coercion in Conflict Management 61
Figure 4: 19 Respondents' Sources of Livelihood 63
Figure 4: 20 Sources of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation 65
Figure 4: 21 Sources of livelihood by Gender 66
Figure 4: 22 Number of Household Members pursuing livelihood 70
Figure 4: 23 Number of Livelihood Sources per Household 71
Figure 4: 24 Duration for Change of livelihood Source 73
Figure 4: 25 Duration for Change of Livelihood Sources by Ethnic Affiliation 74
Figure 4: 26 Reason for Change of livelihood Source 77
Figure 4: 27 Reason for Change of livelihood Source by Ethnic Affiliation 79

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Pokot and Marakwet communities are traditionally pastoralists living in Kenya's North Rift region. Pastoralists occupy 80% of the total area of Kenya, areas commonly called Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL). They comprise 15% or six million people who derive their livelihood from livestock and livestock products (Galaty *et al*, 1980). Pastoralists have over the years been faced with challenges that constantly put pressure on their livelihoods. Part of this challenge emanate from harsh and uncertain environmental conditions. Other challenges to pastoralists' activities have been occasioned by ecological pressure emanating from man-made interferences (Salih, 1987; Rigby, 1992). But the greatest threat to pastoralism as a source of livelihood has been conflicts often in the form of cattle raiding (Hendrickson et al, 1998).

Livestock raiding has a long history in northern Kenya. Raids were an important strategy of accumulation of wealth that also served to cultivate relations with neighbours. For example, this enabled Turkana to expand by assimilating new groups. Pre-colonial raiding could also have been redistributive, transferring animals across social boundaries in situations of need, such as during drought or when young men sought animals to pay out as bride price (Hendrickson et al, 1998; Spear and Waller, 1993). But traditional means of raiding used traditional weapons such as spears, bows and arrows, and was often directed by elders. Although lives were lost during these raids, the losses were less compared to what is witnessed today. In the last two decades the nature of raiding and levels of violence associated with it have changed dramatically following the availability and possession of small arms. As a result, the numbers of livestock stolen and the loss of human life associated with raiding have risen enormously. For example, a particularly vicious period of inter-clan conflict and banditry in Wajir claimed over 1,000 victims between 1992 and 1995, and close to US$ 1million worth of livestock. Killing of humans is now much more indiscriminate. Whereas hand-to-hand fighting using traditional weapons targeted warriors, but then the use of guns means that many more women and children are killed in raids today.

Whilst violence associated with raiding is not new to the pastoralist living in northern Kenya, the availability of arms combined with the other factors fuelling conflict appear to have led to armed violence and poverty in Northern Kenya (Weiss, 2004: 27). The commercialization of cattle raiding is the most significant 'new' feature of the political economy of violence especially in the north-west of Kenya. In Mkutu's words: '[it] has increased the intensity of ... raiding and is leading to major changes in economic, social and political structures in the border area. It is creating a black market for commercial cattle trading that straddles the localities, urban areas and the wider region. Access to arms has become essential to successful commercial cattle raiding' (Mkutu, 2003: 15).

Conflicts occasioned primarily by cattle raiding, changing ecological patterns and dwindling grazing lands have made pastoralism a difficult source of livelihood (Barth, 1973). Confronted with these, some pastoralists have abandoned pastoralism altogether and have ventured into other sources of livelihood, while others have diversified their sources of livelihood (Aboud and Suudiya, 1994; Niamir, 1990). Livelihood diversification refers to the creation of a portfolio of a set of livelihood activities, whose main purpose is to build up income streams that have different risk attributes, ensuring that some income streams remain even when others diminish (Scoones 1998). While livelihood diversification among pastoralist communities have been necessitated by many reasons, Bonfiglioli and Watson (1992) point out that it has been done mainly to reduce ethnic or clan conflicts arising from cattle raids.

Due to the arid conditions of the Marakwet and Pokot districts, nomadic pastoralism has until recently been the most feasible and reliable source of livelihood for the local people. Sharing of the common and limited water, pasture and other inputs needed for pastoralism has fuelled competition and conflicts over these resources. This has affected the productivity of livestock, hence the people's livelihood (Birch and Halima 2001). Conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities other than being caused by competition over common resources, cattle raiding have also been a major cause of conflict between the two communities. But cattle raiding between the two communities have been on the decline due to changing livelihood activities especially on the Marakwet side. Crop farming, zero grazing and dairy goat farming have tremendously reduced the number of herds on the Marakwet communities and competition over

resources such as pasture. Crop farming is, however, dependent on irrigation (Marakwet District Development Plan 2008-2012).

This study therefore examined the effectiveness of livelihood diversification on the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities for many years bordered on pastoralism as a source of livelihood, with competition over pasture, water as well as cattle raids being cited as the major causes of conflicts between the two communities. The difficulty in pursuit of pastoralism as a source of livelihood has also been aggravated by climate variability, population pressure as well as conversion of formally pastoralists' land into other income generation activities. Arising from these, some pastoralists have opted to diversify their sources of livelihood to among others crop farming, dairy farming, zero grazing and other micro-enterprise activities. Marakwet District Development Plan 2008-2012 indicates that cattle raiding between the Pokot and Marakwet have declined; a development the plan attributes to diversification of livelihood activities. Going by this report, it is clear that livelihood diversification has the potential of managing livelihood based conflicts such as that between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The fact that there still exist sporadic cattle raiding between the two communities raises questions on the viability of livelihood diversification in delivering a durable peace between the two communities. It is against this background that the current study examined the effectiveness of livelihood diversification in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Broad Objective

The current study was to examine the effectiveness of livelihood diversification in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet Communities.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

From the above broad objective, this study developed the following specific objectives

(i) To establish current mechanisms employed in the management of ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities

(ii) To examine the effect of livelihood strategies in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities

(iii)To assess the relationship between livelihood diversification and the status of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities

1.4 Research Questions

Arising from the above specific objectives, this study had the following corresponding research questions;

(i) Which mechanisms are currently employed to manage ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities?

(ii) How do livelihood strategies affect management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities?

(iii) How do livelihood diversification relate to the status of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Conflict arises due to a complex set of variables coming together and reinforcing each other at multiple levels and at critical moments in society. Conflict leaves in its aftermath significant development and humanitarian challenges. The current study recognized that conflict is an inherent and legitimate part of social and political life, and is often a precursor to positive change. Yet the consequences of conflict can also be alarmingly high. Society has always adopted various strategies to cope with conflict situations. Conflicts bordering on livelihood and competition for common resources have been addressed through livelihood diversification. But the effectiveness of livelihood diversification as a conflict management strategy had not been fully explored. This study was thus justified on the following grounds;

First pursuit of livelihood can contribute to the decline of conflict as well as the transformation of conflict by weakening the social fabric of a society, making people resort to vulnerability to those with an interest in promoting conflict for political or economic gain. At the same time, conflict is a major threat to livelihoods. Conflict restricts or blocks access to one or more of livelihood assets. This makes understanding the link between livelihood and conflict very critical.

Second, understanding the dynamic between conflict and livelihood strategies is essential for managing and minimizing conflict's impact on society. While livelihood strategies change in response to shifts in a household's access to assets, their effectiveness depends on many external factors; some of which have been explored by the current study. Policies and institutions, both formal and informal, are powerful forces that either help or hinder conflict between communities. The findings of this study will thus be useful in enriching policies and institutional efforts toward managing ethnic conflicts in the country.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The current study was done in Marakwet-Pokot border divisions, Kenya. It analyzed the effectiveness of livelihood diversification in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The study confined itself to current mechanisms, the effect of livelihood strategies and the relationship between livelihood diversification and conflict management.

The vastness of the study site and sparse population implied that more time and resources were required to adequately cover the entire study site. Added to this was the fact that these communities are pastoralists by tradition. This makes them move from place to place in search of pasture and water for livestock. This made access to some of the respondents difficult given their migratory nature.

Hostilities between the two communities over the years made them hostile not only to each other but also other people such as those undertaking studies in the communities. The study thus anticipated that some respondents could provide dishonest information for fear that the

information may be used against them. This limitation was addressed by assuring the respondents that the information obtained from them will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for study purposes only.

1.7 Definitions of Terms

Conflict

Conflicts is defined as situations involving people or social groups with different interests, and mutually antagonistic tendencies and opposing influences competing for the use of limited resources to ensure or enhance their livelihoods (Mitchell 1981). Conflicts' manifestations, dimensions, and level of intensity vary greatly, and can be implicit or explicit, proximate, local, regional, national, or international, latent or violent.

Conflict Management

Conflict management is the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict (Miller, 2003).

Effectiveness of Conflict Management Mechanism

Effectiveness of conflict management mechanism in the current study referred to the extent to which a mechanism was considered by the two communities to have contributed to attainment of durable co-existence among the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Effectiveness of conflict management mechanism was measured using Likert- based indexes and Consensus based Measurements. Likert (1931 in Jackson, 2003) proposed that indexes could be constructed by summing respondents' answers to a number of related items. This was achieved by asking respondents to rate whether the conflict management mechanisms were (1) very effective, (2) effective, (3) neutral, (4) least effective, (5) not effective.

Livelihood

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. It is considered sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

Livelihood Diversification

Livelihood diversification referred to the creation of a portfolio of natural resource based and other livelihood activities, which in turn seeks to build up income streams that have different risk attributes, ensuring that some income streams remain if others diminish (Scoones 1998).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In this section the current study has presented a review of literature, theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the study. The chapter begins with a general overview of ethnic conflicts and then proceeds to ways through which conflicts have been managed. The chapter concludes with theoretical and conceptual framework and how they apply to the study.

2.2 The Context of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya's North Rift Region

Most of the communities in Kenya's north rift region are pastoralists, with pastoralism being their main source of livelihood. Ethnic conflicts in this region have therefore been centred on pastoralism. Pastoralism is a production strategy in which people raise and herd animals as a means to earn a livelihood, often in ASAL areas. Pastoralism relies on the availability of water, pastures and labour to thrive—with water as the determining factor. The inadequate rainfall limits crop-farming activities so that the people are left with pastoralism or nomadic pastoralism as the most feasible and consistent viable livelihood. Pastoralism develops to get the most out of the opportunity provided by a surface of water and other resources in good seasons, and accepts losses in low seasons. They realize this by increasing livestock numbers in good seasons to maximize available resources and carry over enough healthy stock to provide for subsistence during the dry seasons.

According to Umar (1994), pastoralism has evolved over time as the most efficient means of exploiting transient water under ecologically marginal conditions, and prevailing technological and economic situations. The pastoral is characterized by risk-spreading and flexible mechanisms, such as mobility, communal land ownership, large and diverse herd sizes, and herd separation and splitting. The mixture of livestock is a system to manage risk. Small stock like goats and sheep, although more vulnerable to disease when compared with large stock, are cash buffers, for they resource-use pattern have a high reproduction rate and they lactate during dry periods. Pastoralists also trade in livestock, hides and skins, and milk, for other food products or

for cash income to purchase grains, pay for education, health care and other services. But livestock also provide individuals the status and power, which is an integral part of their social life and ideological value, (Umar, 1994).

The survival of livestock depends on the ability of the owner to access, control and make use of a resource like water and pasture. This is even easier to achieve when rules and regulations that govern their access and use exist. Without proper governance, people will use unorthodox means to access the resources; a move that is likely to cause conflicts among the resource users. Marx and Weber (1948), in Sandole, *et al.* (1993), argue that conflicts occur whenever an individual's action is oriented intentionally towards carrying out their own will against the resistance of the other party or parties. There is a close association between resource-based conflict and power, in that conflict results when there is scarcity of resources and one individual gains at the expense of another. Once the rules do not guarantee people access, they flout them leading to haphazard use and, eventually, conflicts.

ASAL regions have witnessed worsening climatic conditions leading to greater scarcity of water and pasture. In addition, nationalization, sub-division of communal rangelands and sedenterization of pastoralists have all made traditional pastoralism a difficult source of livelihood (Moorehead 1991; Broch-Due, 1990; White, 1990; Lane and Moorehead, 1994). The result of these developments has been loss of livestock. Pastoralists often organize cattle raids to re-stock especially after heavy loss of livestock to drought and diseases. Traditional cattle raids involved the use of traditional weapons.

However, the fall of Amin's regime in late 1970s, and political instability in neighbouring countries along Kenya's northern borders (Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan) saw raiders acquire conventional fire arms. It is widely believed that this process has affected different areas at differing times and with different intensity, and has therefore continuously changed the balance of power between neighbouring groups. Changes in the balance of power, together with increasing pressure on resources, result in escalation of conflict, particularly raids. The use of automatic guns instead of spears, bows and old rifles, has increased the number of fatalities and the intensity of violence during the attacks. The most striking example of such an increase in

violence is thought to be the indiscriminate killing during the raids, not only of men but of women and children as well (Baxter, 1993).

2.2.1 Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Conflict management has been defined as the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict (Miller, 2003). Conflicts are said to have been fully resolved when the underlying sources of tension between parties are removed and a state of mutual trust and concern for each other is achieved (Chevalier and Buckles, 1995). From these observations, it is clear that sustainable peaceful co-existence among previously antagonistic parties is only achievable through careful appraisal and appreciation of the underlined causes of conflicts.

The role of elders and invocation of community's customs has been amplified by many scholars as an important mechanism in the management of community conflicts. While examining extralegal mechanisms of managing conflicts over common pool resources, Bernstein (1992) enumerates on how long-standing norms within the community of diamond traders govern dispute resolution using commonly accepted rules and practices and private arbitration. The uses of long standing norms and traditions have also been employed in the management of conflicts induced by incompatible livelihood strategies. For example, Ellickson (1991) considers the emergence of conflict-inhibiting norms in modern-day Shasta County, California. He goes on to describe how farming and ranching community create rules, resolve disputes, and enforce rules without relying on the state laws.

The use of traditions and customs in the management of conflicts has also been extensively used by communities inhabiting both the Awash River Basin and Borana areas. Elders in these communities form a dominant component of the customary mechanisms of conflict management anchored on a system of an age grade classes-*Gadaa*- that succeed each other every eight years in assuming economic, political and social responsibilities (Desalegn et al., 2004; Dejene and Abdurrahman, 2004). The elders settle disputes among groups and individuals and apply the

laws dealing with the distribution of resources, criminal fines and punishment, protection of property, theft, etc.

There are divergent views among scholars on the effectiveness of the institution of elders in managing conflicts in communities. Legesse (1973) argues that the institution of elders assumes military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities in the leadership of many communities such as the Oromo society. Others see elders as less politically relevant, and only play ritualistic and symbolic roles (Hinnant, 1978). However, Tache and Irwin (2003) argue that the role of elders have over the years been assumed by the modern state machinery and confined to rituals and related ceremonies thus providing more doubts on the effectiveness of elders in resolving community conflicts. Basso (2003) observes that the institution of elders has never been formally given recognition by modern states.

This study while conceding that elders are important actors in the management of community conflicts, it observes that the effectiveness of elders in the management of conflicts has been analyzed more in the context of intra-ethnic conflicts and conflicts over common pool resources. The effectiveness of elders in the management of inter-ethnic conflicts such as those involving Pokots and Marakwet has not been adequately evaluated. This current study analyzed the effectiveness of elders in the context of inter-ethnic conflicts.

The development of rules and regulations on access and use of resources has also been pointed as another effective mechanism in the management of conflicts especially the resource-based conflicts. According to Gibson and Koontz (1998), conflicts over resources occur when rules related to their access are not well-defined. Castro and Nelson (2003) highlight the importance of access in forest conflict when they explain that disagreement over access rights and lack of consensus on management objectives could increase forest conflict. While these scholars have not been explicit on how development of policy helps in containing resource-based conflicts, this study believes that rules governing the appropriation of resources are critical in preventing domination in resource use, a situation that can easily breed discord leading to violent conflicts. But some scholars such as Kasangsa and Kotey (2001) argue that poorly articulated policies may lead to further discord. Although policy as a conflict management mechanism is useful in the

management of conflicts, this study argues that its effectiveness in the inter-ethnic conflicts has not been sufficiently explored. This is even more with regard to the extent to which it can effectively conflict between different ethnic groups and diverse livelihoods.

Coercion has been used throughout history as conflict management mechanism. But its effectiveness in delivering sustainable peace has been faulted. For instance, a study by Dixon (1996), found no statistically significant relationship between coercive intervention and either the prevention of escalation, or an increase in the likelihood of peaceful settlements. Critics of coercion also view it as a zero-sum situation with only one side winning in the end. The revenge aspect in coercion is also well captured by Blake, Shepard & Mouton, (1964), who observes that the vanquished who withdraws in shame, normally prepares very carefully for the next round. The current study observes that conflicts that are resolved through adversarial behavior such as coercion may leave one side completely dissatisfied with the outcome that may in turn lead to recurrence of the conflict in the future. This state of affair has been common among pastoralist communities such as the ones this current study focused on where attacks and counter attacks against perceived enemies is reported.

Negotiation as a method of conflict resolution according to Zartman, (2000) has been extensively used as a traditional conflict management tool in Africa. However, negotiation as a conflict resolution method succeeded in cases where conflicting parties already had an existing relationship and shared a set of values (Zartman, 2000). Negotiation as a method of conflict resolution has not been sufficiently examined in the context of factitious nature of conflicts in the North Rift, which is carried along ethnic and sometimes clans lines. Lack of cultural homogeneity has also been noted by Salacuse (1993) to greatly hamper the effectiveness of negotiation as a method of conflict resolution. He argued that because culture is a powerful factor in shaping how people think, communicate and behave, it ultimately affects how people perceive and negotiate in a conflict situation.

While the above mechanisms of managing conflicts are reactionary, some scholars posit that sustainable peace among communities and people can best be achieved by addressing the structural causes of conflicts. Steinfel (1999) believes that one of the causes of conflicts is to do

with lack of sustainable and adequate livelihood. He thus proposes that the best way forward would be to provide livelihood support. Livelihood support he argues is an important mechanism for encouraging people to cooperate with each other and also serves as an entry point for building trust between warring parties. He further observes that where conflicts are caused or exacerbated by disputes between two or more states, or where international interests fuel tensions such as in the mineral rich countries in Africa, effective conflict resolution and peace-building should be carried out in tandem with livelihood support. This study concurs that livelihood support is an important conflict intervention mechanisms that would go a long way in addressing conflicts induced by poverty. But this current study observed that the effectiveness of livelihood support as conflict management mechanism has not been subjected in the management of conflicts that are not only ethnic in nature but also historical and culturally based.

In his contribution to livelihood support as conflict intervention mechanism, Le Billion (2003) argues that this approach to conflict management may exacerbate rather than reduce the conflicts if handled in a partisan manner. He thus advises that livelihood support be provided in an impartial manner and that providers of assistance need to be sensitive to the dynamics of the conflict and to the livelihood strategies that people are revising to respond to changing threats. While studying livelihood strategies of refugees in foreign countries, Crisp (2003) noted that some host governments are opposed to promoting refugee livelihoods out of fear that refugees will become economically "comfortable" and will not want to return to their homes. However, research has shown that refugees who have been educated, developed useful skills, and acquired resources that they can bring back may fare better upon return than those who have lived for years in camps dependent upon humanitarian assistance.

2.2.2 Livelihood Strategies and Management of Ethnic Conflicts

A UNDP (2006) report documented that over recent years, pastoralist communities have had to employ other supportive activities to supplement pastoralism, which has proved to be ineffective in meeting all their economic and social needs. The report cited an activity like sedentary agriculture, particularly along the Turkwel River, where settled farmers and agro-pastoralists grow maize, sorghum, kales, oranges, mangoes, bananas and vegetables. It is clear here that

pastoralists have been practicing crop farming for some time now. While the UNDP (2006) cite the inability of pastoralism to meet all economic needs as the reason behind pastoralists communities to engage in crop farming, the report is silent on whether this development has contributed to escalation of conflicts among pastoralists or not. It is this gap that the current study has addressed in addition to other issues.

Farming as a livelihood strategy has been acclaimed as a viable risk management strategy (Campbell 1984; Smith 1998), while others view it as an unsustainable and even destructive option that even accentuates risk (Hogg 1987, 1988). This study concedes that farming may be risky especially in drought stricken areas such as that of the current site of the study. But the risk has not been evaluated in the context of community relations. Furthermore it is not clear whether farming in pastoralist areas is practiced by one or both communities under the current study. The current study hopes to make it clear as to who is engaged in farming and how this bear on conflict management efforts in the area.

Another livelihood strategy employed by communities in Kenya's north rift valley is fishing. Fishermen along Lake Turkana migrate to follow the patterns of fish movement. The pastoralists also supplement their livelihoods by selling the fish. Many pastoralists have also taken up weaving of mats and baskets particularly near the lake where weaving material is readily available from the Doum Palm. Other natural resource-based livelihood activities have included the collection and sale of aloe (UNDP 2006), gum arabic (Little et al. 2001), honey (UNDP 2006), wild fruits (ITDG 2005b), firewood (Little et al. 2001), and the production and sale of charcoal (Little *et al.* 2001) and alcohol (Little et al. 2001; ITDG 2005b).

According to Blench (2000), many extensive pastoralist areas in Eastern Africa are increasingly being seen as potential biodiversity reserves. According to Kirya and Nabuin, 1992 sites in Turkana that possess latent ecotourism potential include: Eleye-Springs, Lobolo and Choro Island (where numerous crocodiles abode), Kapedo Springs and the Turkana South (KWS) Game Reserve in Kainuk. Indeed, an ecotourism circuit has been put forward for Turkana that features Turkwel Dam Gorge, Nasalot National Park, Southern Turkana Game Reserve and the Lake Turkana area (including the islands and Koobi fora, famous for its archaeological

importance). Tourism has been used as a source of livelihood especially among the communities living around the game reserves such as Maasai Mara. Although reported cases of conflicts have been between investors in the tourist sector and pastoralists, it has not been clear whether conflicts have occurred among pastoralists communities themselves as a result of tourism as a source of livelihood.

Exploitation of resources may lead to conflict when done in ways that deprive others their sources of livelihood. Exploitation of resources in unregulated manner leads to environmental degradation, which offers potential for conflict between and among resource users (World Bank, 1995; Kaimowitz, 1996). While looking at the link between desertification and exploitation of commonly owned forest resources in Mexico, World Bank (1995) reported that the average rate of deforestation was 675,000 hectare per year or 2.0% of Mexico's 34 million hectares of potentially productive forest. A study by Kaimowitz (1996) also documented that deforestation, overgrazing on pasture land also created problems with soil compaction, nutrient depletion, and weed infestation, which lowered the carrying capacity and productivity of the land. These findings point to the fact that livelihood strategies that are insensitive to the environment and other resource users may lead to conflicts.

The link between environmental factors and livelihood strategies has also been documented by Crow (1995) and Lowi (1996), in which they contend that unregulated livelihood activities may occasion environmental change. They observe that environmental change does not only affect the supply of vital resources that are shared by people and nations, but also changes relationships and offers new opportunities for disputes. Crow (1995) looking at environmental change in the realm of common pool resources, argues that such resources must not be enough but also be of acceptable quality; otherwise the reverse of this will lead to dispute. But taking a slightly different position, Lowi (1996) argues that conflict over resources such as water has nothing to do with its adequacy but rather its unregulated exploitation. He gives an illustration of the River Nile waters where water diversion by Ethiopia which is upstream affects Egypt downstream. Another scholar (Homer – Dixon, 1994) is even more candid when he concluded that available water in relation to agricultural needs, the geography of control of shared water supplies and dependence on slowly renewable or nonrenewable aquifers may indicate future difficulty.

While looking at the significance of education in pursuit of livelihood Shemyakina (2008) and Baxter and Ikobwa (2005) observe that education enables individuals to have alternative sources of livelihoods. People with reasonable levels of education may have a range of livelihood opportunities to exploit including formal employment, entrepreneurship among others. These observations are relevant in the proposed study. The migratory nature of pastoralist livelihood makes it hard for them to attend formal schooling due to lack of permanent settlement. While recent years has seen the use of mobile schools to boost the education of pastoralist communities, a number of them still remain lowly educated. As such they have limited livelihood opportunities; implying they are likely to concentrate in limited and traditionally oriented livelihood activities. How this affects management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities formed some of the issues the current study investigated.

2.2.3 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Management

Seventy percent of the world's rural poor depend on livestock as a component of their livelihoods (LID, 1999; FAO, 2002), and a vast majority of those keep poultry (Epprecht et al., 2007). Village poultry production, which is also known as backyard extensive poultry production, is a common phenomenon in many developing countries. This mode of poultry production is characterized by ownership of up to a hundred birds; generally reared free-range, with minimum or low inputs and zero to minimal biosecurity (Smucker and Ben 2008). In fact among the rural poor, poultry is found to be a crucial livelihoods asset for the poorest segments, such as those households that are in the first income quintile. Poultry production by rural poor households contributes to several livelihoods indicators, including (but not limited to) income, nutrition, food security, savings, insurance and gender equality (Mishra, 2007). Moreover, poultry production is often recognized as an entry point into livestock production (Alabi et al., 2006; Guèye, 2007b), which is associated with breaking out of poverty traps.

Livelihood activities have also been affected by climate variability, which has made pastoralists among the worst hit by climate change (Ndagala, 1998). Communities such as Maasai, Nyaturu and Barabaig of northern Tanzanian often sell off their cattle in response to seasonal and other

climatic variations. The strategies of pastoralists of selling cattle and transhumant have changed over the last few decades as a response to adverse climatic conditions, population pressure, cattle diseases, unfavourable price ratios between livestock and crops, restrictions of mobility imposed by the encroachment of sedentary agriculturalists and their relatively clearer property rights and deepening poverty in the pastoral communities.

New strategies include the cultivation of staple and cash crops, long distance relocation with cattle and migration to cities for wage employment (McCabe 2003; Ndagala, 1998). Long distance relocation with cattle saw the Maasai introduce up to 250 000 heads of cattle to Morogoro region by the early 1990s. Morogoro has been largely an agricultural area, thus the coming of pastoralists in the area led to conflicts following agriculturalists' confiscation of Maasai cattle that had strayed on and damaged their cultivations. Escalating exchange of retaliations first resulted in the killing of two Maasai tribesmen and three dozen heads of cattle. In December 2000, 35 people died in battles and 400 agriculturalists left their homes in fear of further retaliations. These findings demonstrate that livelihood diversification has the potential of creating hostilities if not well managed. As already mentioned some pastoralists have in recent years been cultivating crops. But whether this has complicated or hastened conflict management between different ethnic groups such as Pokot and Marakwet has not been critically examined.

Responses to climate variability also involve attempts to reduce dependence from agricultural production. In parts of Morogoro non-farm income has become consistently more important since the mid-1980s and it has compensated for the decline in farming (Ponte, 1998: 336). Many households tap natural resources in order to cater for their subsistence needs and to earn cash income. For example, forests provide timber, firewood, fruits, spices, fodder, traditional medicines and meat for subsistence needs. Moreover, trees are harvested for the production of timber and charcoal for local and more remote markets and the fuel wood obtained from the forests is used for energy-intensive production of bricks. Monela et al. (2000) and Meshach (2003) further report that households in Morogoro and Dodoma regions obtained up to 68 percent of their total income from forests. The role of natural resources was the greatest in pre-urban communities which have access to urban markets for forest products such as charcoal and

firewood. Forest products contributed about 50 percent of total income also in the more remote communities.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory stresses the existence of opposing forces in the life of individuals and society in general. It views society as a collection of competing interest of individuals/groups, each with their own motives and expectations. Conflict theory assumes that all members in society do not have the same values, interests or expectations, which vary according to one's position, ability, and wealth (Abraham, 1982; Rahim 1997). This current study used the ideas of Coser 1967, Dahrendorf (1973) and Collins (1977) on conflict in its analysis of conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities.

Dahrendorf (1973) traces human conflicts to power distribution in society. He defines power as the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite or regardless of resistance. He also notes that power can only be exercised by groups. However, for effective exercise of power, the group must meet certain technical, political, and social conditions. Groups that fail to meet these conditions will be dominated by others. In essence, conflict in society is between the powerful and the powerless. He argues that power imbalance between the warring parties determines the intensity of conflict so that the less the power imbalance the greater the intensity of the conflict and the greater the intensity of the conflict the easier it is to address the structural causes of the conflict.

Coser (1967) argues that conflict can both be integrative as well as disintegrative. Positively, conflicts help society release hostilities, create norms for dealing with conflict, and develop lines of authority and judicial systems. But he cautions that whether conflict is integrative or not depends on the types of conflict and group structure that are involved. Conflict is only integrative when it conforms to societal values. Group features such frequency of member interaction, group's age, and member obligations influence conflicts outcomes. Groups with high network density suppress conflict; if conflict erupts in such a group, it is very intense due to the buildup of unresolved grievances and unreleased hostilities. However, low network intensity groups experience positive conflicts.

In relating power to conflicts Dahrendorf (1973) has shown that trading of hostilities is due to feeling of deprivation by one of the parties to the conflict. His ideas are important to this study because it helps in not explaining how power imbalance between Pokot and Marakwet communities can lead to conflict, but also that the degree of imbalance holds the key to intensity of the conflicts as well as resolution of the same conflicts. This study agrees with Coser that not all conflicts are destructive. His emphasis that conflicts helps in setting rules of engagement during hostilities is consistent with this study's analysis of conflict management mechanisms it set out to achieve in objective one. This current study was based on the assumption that group conflicts such as ethnic ones are conducted within rules only understood by the groups involved. Cattle raids are normally planned and conducted in great secrecy that the enemy community cannot know. Collins identifies economic resources/material conditions, power resources/social positions within organizational networks and cultural resources/ control over the rituals that produce solidarity and group symbols; as some of the powers individuals/groups compete for. Potential conflicts according to him become actual conflicts to the degree that opposing groups become mobilized emotionally, morally and symbolically. Conflicts occur when people are mobilized through material incentives, emotional arousal, made morally obligated and get symbolically focused and united. He also argues that the intensity of conflict depends on the nature of mobilization. For intense conflicts, emotional resources tend to be important in the short run, but in the long run, material resources are the key factors. Many times the outcome of a war is determined by the relative balance of resources.

The ideas of Collins (1977) on conflict are relevant to the current study in the sense that it helps explain not only various forms of conflict that parties to the conflict compete for but also the kinds of mobilization needed during conflicts. Conflicts between Pokots and Marakwet is not over cattle raiding but also land resources such pasture, water among others. Land to these communities is not an economic resource but also a socio-cultural resource. This means that hostilities arising from cattle raiding and land resources are not only meant to gain leverage over economic resources but also an opportunity for cultural expression. Just like Collins (1977) argues that members of conflicting parties find moral justification to engage in conflicts,

members of these two communities engage in the conflicts through collective action as a sign of devotion and obligation to the community.

2.3.2 Multiple Livelihood Model (MLM)

The basic argument of this model is that macro-level economic changes in developing countries have forced individuals and households of all social and economic backgrounds to diversify their sources of income. The model is traceable to the work of Redclift (1973), Rakowski (1994); Rogerson (1997) Hansen and Vaa, (2004), especially their analysis of people's strategic response to economic crisis and commentary on the potential of the informal sector as a source of livelihood. The model holds that individuals and households develop different livelihood strategies based on the nature of their employment, skill, access to resources, socio-economic background and place of residence (Owusu, 2001; Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004).

This model argues that people have diversified means of raising extra income through acquisition of additional jobs, not only on the part of the unemployed but also by those sections of the population dependent on fixed salaries (Mustapha, 1992). This model gained prominence in the 1980s and 1990s following structural adjustment programs imposed on developing countries by World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This adversely affected livelihood strategies of salaried employees as prices of critical urban services soared, while salaries of formal sector employees remained stagnant and in some cases declined (Owusu, 2001). This compelled even formal sector employees to diversify their sources of livelihood to supplement declining or limited income from the formal sector. The relevance of informal sector as a source of livelihood to communities of north rift region is informed by the limited formal sources of livelihood, combined with climate variability as well as ethnic conflicts, which have made pastoralism as a source of livelihood difficult. Therefore limited opportunities in formal sources of livelihood and the difficulty in pursuing livelihood through pastoralism has called for exploration of other avenues of pursuing livelihood.

Formal and informal sectors as captured in this model as sources of livelihood seem to apply to this study. Pokot and Marakwet communities though traditionally pastoralists have been forced by climate variability and cattle raiding to venture into other sources of livelihood in addition to pastoralism. Some individuals from the two communities possess specialized training and

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRA

advance schooling and as such qualify as employees in the formal sector. At the same time some may have no expert training or too minimal schooling to enable them earn a meaningful livelihood from the formal sector. This leaves the informal sector as the main avenue of pursuing livelihood. This model was used by the study to analyze various livelihood strategies undertaken by the two communities.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Under normal situation of well being, people have access to basic needs such as decent shelter, adequate nutrition, clothing, security and affordable medical care. Access to these necessities may, however, be hampered by factors such as conflict, prolonged drought, floods, epidemics among others. When faced with uncertainty regarding access to basic human needs, people tend to resort to other sources of livelihood. While the need to change from pastoralism to other sources of livelihood may have been occasioned by several factors, the study confined itself to those changes brought about by cattle raiding, competition over pasture and water for livestock.

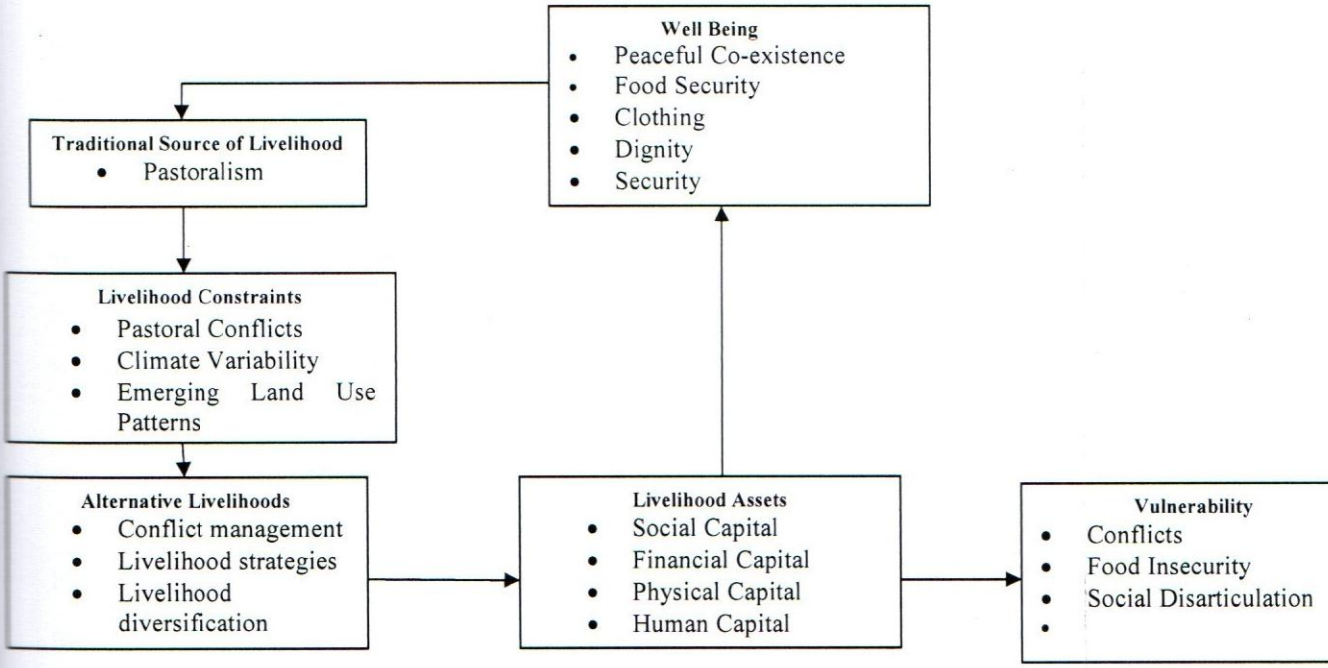


figure 2: 1 Conceptual Frame Work

These conditions (cattle raiding and climate variability) have made pursuit of livelihood through pastoralism extremely difficult. Faced with these, some members of the two ethnic communities have for a while ventured into other sources of livelihood away from pastoralism.

It is important to understand the various livelihood assets available to those members of society who have opted for alternative sources of livelihood. Drawing from DFID livelihood model, people require human capital, natural capital, physical capital, social capital and financial capital assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes and that no single category of assets on its own is sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek. Human capital (H) are the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. Social capital (S), are the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through networks and connectedness, membership of more formalized groups; rules, norms and sanctions; and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges. Financial capital (F) denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. It includes flows as well as stocks that contribute to consumption as well as production. It also includes the availability of cash or equivalent, which enables people to adopt different livelihood strategies.

Some individuals may have one or all of the assets in sufficient quantities. Therefore, livelihood strategies are shaped by a combination of the assets available and the urban context. There are two possible livelihood opportunities in the study site, and which is largely dependent on the type(s) of livelihood assets available to the individual. These opportunities exist as formal or informal. Therefore individuals may pursue livelihood through formal means such as wage employment or informal trading.

However, the choices made by members of the two ethnic groups on the utilization and management of assets available have implications on their conflict status. Such choices are generally made in response to the availability of assets and contextual factors which determine the reliability, use and usefulness of these assets.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the site where the study was done, study design and sampling procedures. Methods of data collection as well as data analysis methods and procedures are also presented.

3.1 Study Area

This study was done in Marakwet and Pokot East Sub- Counties. These Sub Counties form part of the larger arid and semi- arid regions of Kenya. Like other ASAL areas these two districts are water-scarce region with an unreliable annual rainfall of between 200 and 300 mm. The inadequate rainfall limits crop-farming activities so that the people are left with pastoralism or nomadic pastoralism as the most feasible and consistent viable livelihood. Due to the arid conditions of the districts, nomadic pastoralism is the most feasible and reliable source of livelihood for the local people. Sharing of the common and limited water, pasture and other inputs needed for pastoralism implies competition and conflicts. This has affected the productivity of livestock, hence the people's livelihood (Birch and Halima 2001).

Conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities other than being caused by competition over common resources, cattle raiding have also been a major cause of conflict between the two communities. Conflict occasioned by cattle raiding has been on the decline due to changing lifestyle especially on the Marakwet side. Crop farming, zero grazing and dairy goat farming have tremendously reduced the number of herds on the Marakwet communities and competition over resources such as pasture. Crop farming is, however, dependent on irrigation (Marakwet District Development Plan 2008-2012).

While the Marakwet community has diversified livelihood activities into crop farming, zero grazing and dairy farming, the Pokot community still largely practices pastoralism. Livelihoods in Pokot are primarily based on extensive livestock production and most cash earnings come from sales of livestock or livestock products (Barrett and Luseno 2004). However, the impact of

drought, increasing insecurity, and famine has made pastoralism a fragile source of livelihood. The map on page 26 was drawn to present the study area.

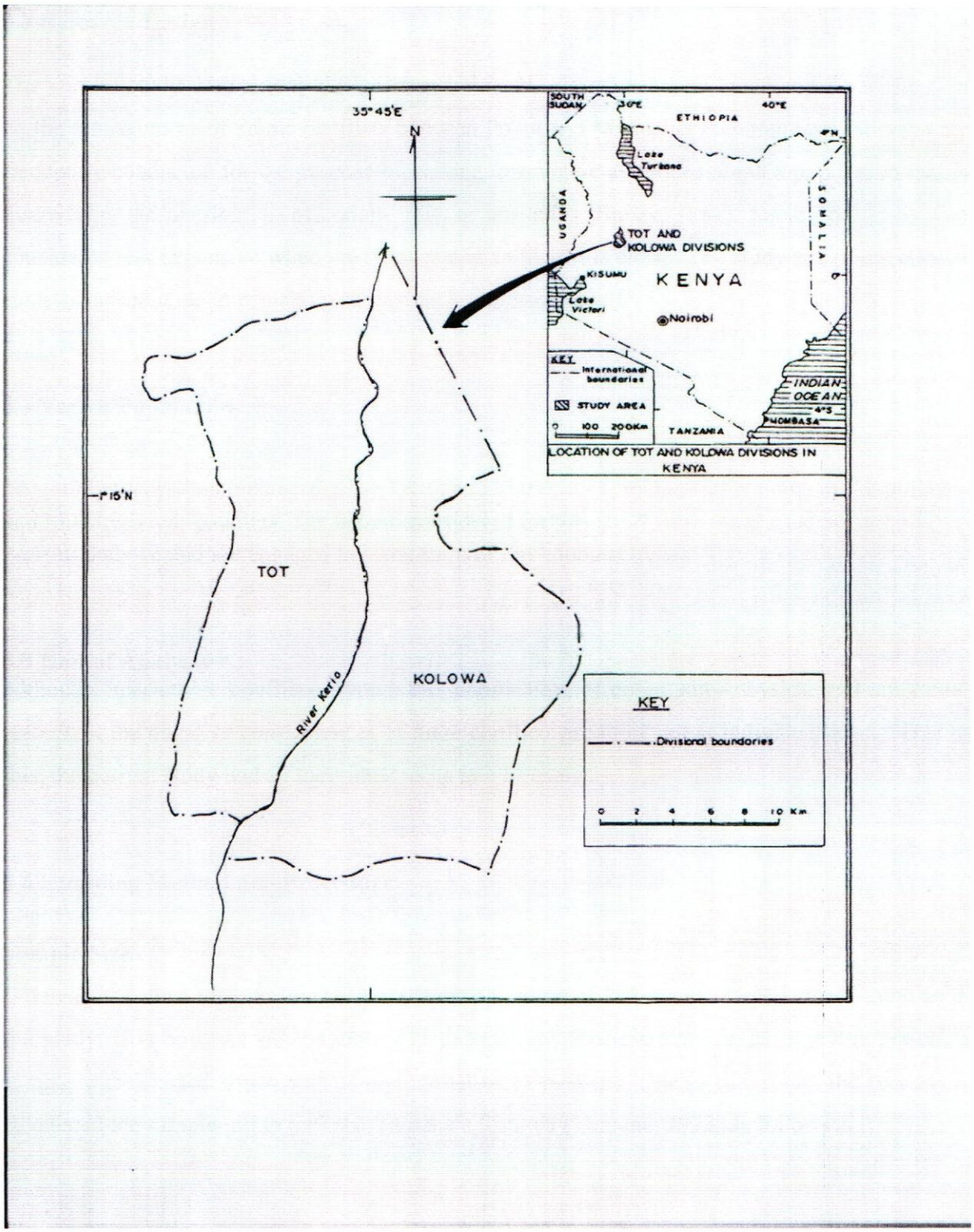


Figure 3: 1 Map of Tot and Kolowa

Source:Geography dept, Egerton University

3.3 Research Design

The current study used survey design to examine the effectiveness of livelihood diversification on the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Surveys are frequently conducted for the purpose of making descriptive assertions about a population that is discovering the distribution of certain traits or attributes (Bailey, 1987). Survey design is also considered less expensive when the study site is wide as it is cheap. The study site of the current study is indeed wide thus making survey design appropriate.

3.4 Target Population

This study focused on members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities residing in Pokot East and Marakwet sub-counties. The people considered for this study were those aged at least 18 years and above and are engaged in some form of livelihood activity.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

Although inter-ethnic conflicts involve the mobilization of community physical and emotional resources, the negative consequences of these conflicts are most felt at individual levels. Due to this, the current study had an individual as its unit of analysis.

3.6 Sampling Method and Procedure

Sample Size

Whereas it is most ideal to involve the entire population of Pokot and Marakwet sub-counties in the study, it is however not possible due to time and financial constraints. For this reason, a sample was selected which was as representative as possible. Due to this study, the researcher calculated the sample group by Taro Yamane's formula (Yamane, 1973) as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+Ne^2}$$

n = sample size

N = population

e = error of sampling method = 0.022

$$n = \frac{20293}{1+(20293 \times 0.022)^2}$$

$$= 210$$

Division	Target Population		Sampled Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Tot	3911	4055	40	42
Kolowa	6385	5942	68	60
Total	10296	9997	108	102

This study used a total of 210 households, which was selected as the sample size for the study. Eighty two (82) households were selected from the Marakwet community and one hundred and twenty eight (128) from the Pokot community for interview schedule administration. This sample size was chosen based on the population of the entire division of each community using Taro Yamane's formula based on the census data of 2009. The total population of Tot in Marakwet sub-County is 23898 while that of Kolowa in East Pokot sub-County is 36983, but because the study is targeting adults who can engage in livelihood activity the statistics revealed that children account for 66.6%and and adults account for 33.4%. Members of the communities were first stratified according to their major economic or livelihood activity. These categories included farming, livestock keeping, trade and other livelihood activities. Respondents from these groupings were selected using random sampling technique. The final sample reflected the numerical strength of each of the two communities.

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

Interview schedules were the main instrument used to collect data for the study. Interview schedule had both structured and unstructured questions to enable collection of standardized responses while simultaneously providing respondents the opportunity to respond without restrictions. The researcher with his assistant personally administered the interview schedules. This approach was preferred as it allowed for clarifications and explanations where issues appear not to be clear to the respondents.

3.8 Data Analysis

After administering the research instruments and collection of data, the data was processed and analyzed to facilitate addressing the research objectives. This was done using both the descriptive and inferential statistics such as chi-square since the data is of a nominal nature. Conflict management mechanisms were measured at nominal level. The effects of livelihood strategies on conflict management were also measured at nominal level. Similarly livelihood diversification being categorical data was also measured at nominal level. This allowed Chi-Square to be used as the main tool of analysis to the relationships between the independent and dependent variables.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

The current study analyzed the effectiveness of livelihood diversification in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities in Kenya's North Rift region. The current study achieved this by examining current mechanism employed in the of Pokot-Marakwet inter-ethnic conflicts, the effect of livelihood strategies on the management of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities and assessing the relationship between livelihood diversification and the status of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Consequently, the findings of this study presented here focuses on current conflict management strategies, livelihood strategies and livelihood diversification on the one hand and how each of these contributes to current status of inter-ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The first section has the results of the study, which are presented according to the study objectives. The second section has the findings of the study, which have been established through inferential analysis. The third and last section is the discussion section is where the current findings have been compared and contrasted with findings of other previous studies.

4.1 Characteristics of Respondents

This study covered a number of background information of the respondents. They include age, gender, level of education, ethnic and religious affiliations. This study surveyed persons aged between 18-72 years of age. In terms of gender, the study covered both males and females. Persons with and without any formal education were considered, and thus constituted the study sample. The study also considered all persons regardless of their religious background, although with varied numerical strengths. Pokot and Marakwet communities were the main focus of the study, and as such were the only ethnic groups surveyed during the study. The following are therefore the detailed analysis of the respondents' profile or background information.

4.1.1 Age of the Respondents

The study surveyed persons aged 18 years and above. Many or 27.1% of the respondents were aged between 40-50 years. Persons aged between 29-39 and 51-61 years accounted for about 22.9% and 20.9% of the respondents respectively. Another important age, the current study surveyed was the 18-28 years and, which accounted for 18.1% of the respondents. Persons aged between 62-72 years had the least representation in the study where they accounted for just 11.0% of all the sampled respondents as table 4.1 below shows.

Table 4: 1 Respondents by Age Group

Age	Frequency	Percent
18-28 Years	38	18.1
29-39Years	48	22.9
40-50Years	57	27.1
51-61 Years	44	20.9
62-72Years	23	11.0
Total	**210**	**100.0**

Age determines one's productivity and livelihood strategies, thus becoming an important variable in the study of the link between livelihood diversification and conflict management. The youngest members of the two communities engaged in this study were aged at least 18 years old, with the oldest one being 72 years old. Generally seriously and aggressive livelihood pursuit occurs between the age of 40-50 years. This partly explains why respondents from this age constituted the highest percentage of the sampled respondents. While this age group by virtue of their training and agility may be most suited especially in pursuit of livelihood from more than one source, this study noted that they could suffer from inadequate interactive skills, which could compromise their ability to solve disputes, thus limiting their ability to effectively participate in conflict management, which is the central focus of this study. Further, although persons over 50 years have lost the drive and aggression toward livelihood pursuit more so diversified livelihood, such persons by virtue of their accumulated life experiences may have greater interactive and

interpersonal skills, which may be an important asset in conflict management. This study's decision to consider persons from diverse age groups was thus informed by the unique roles and values they hold in communities' lives.

4.1.2 Gender of the Respondents

Gender is also an important consideration in the choice of livelihood as certain gender may be culturally restricted from pursuing certain livelihood strategies. More than half of the respondents were males. Figure 4.1 below shows. Males accounted for 55% of the respondents, with females constituting 45% of the respondents.

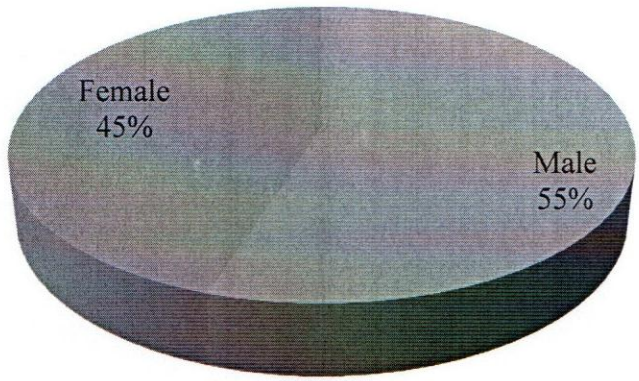


Figure 4: 1 Respondents by Gender

Gender influences an individual's behavior, attitude, status, interaction and involvement in the decision making processes. In the African context, gender ascribes certain roles that are instituted by society and sanctioned by customs. For instance, women in some cultures are restricted to pursuit of certain sources of livelihood. Studies by Homer-Dixon (1994) and Branner (1982) have found that men dominate exploitation of land, water and related resources especially those held under common pool regime. The current study indeed concurs that gender is an important dimension and consideration in livelihood pursuit. The use, management and exploitation of natural resources, implies that men and women have different roles, responsibilities, opportunities and constraints both within the households and the community. It

is this unique dimension of gender in livelihood pursuits that made gender an important consideration in this study.

4.1.3 Level of Formal Education of the Respondents

Education level of an individual may be an impetus or constraints in livelihood pursuit. The significance of education in livelihood pursuit implied therefore respondents' level of education be examined in the current study. Further, education as one of the profiles of a population provides an individual with insight, social status, interaction, standard of living and consideration for decision and policy making. As figure 4.2 shows, majority of the respondents had no formal level of education. a significant proportion of the respondents had attained primary, secondary and college level of education. There were also a small fraction of the respondents with university level of education. respondents with no formal education constituted 43% of the all the respondents, while those with primary, secondary and college levels of education accounted for 21%, 14% and 15% of all the sampled respondents. University level of education had been attained by just 7% of the respondents.

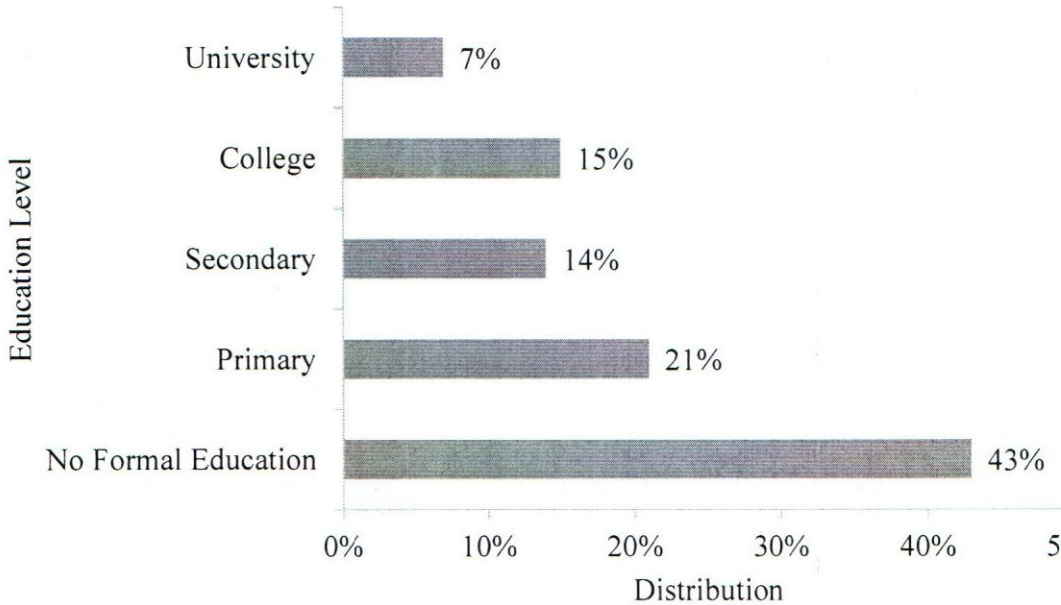


Figure 4: 2 Respondents by Education level

The current study concedes that people with higher levels of education may provide its beneficiaries with a range of livelihood opportunities to exploit including formal employment, entrepreneurship among others. This study further wishes to observe that the migratory nature of pastoralism [traditionally the main source of livelihood] as a source of livelihood make it hard for pastoralists such Pokot and Marakwet communities to attend formal schooling due to lack of permanent settlement. While recent years have seen the use of mobile schools to boost the education of pastoralist communities such as those in the study site, a number of them still remain lowly educated. This partly explains why a huge proportion of the respondents were either lowly educated or had no formal education. The low level of education of many respondents implies that they have limited livelihood opportunities, with pastoralism most probably being the preferred source of livelihood. This may in effect exert more pressure on pastoral resources-water, pasture among others- whose competition over them has for a long time been one of the most significant sources of conflicts in pastoral areas the site of the current study. But reasonable level of education could also help in adjusting the mindset of the future generation away from certain cultural practices such as cattle rustling, which has also been one of the leading contributing factors to conflicts among pastoral communities.

4.1.4 Ethnic Affiliation of the Respondents

Ethnicity provides an individual with a sense of belonging and identity. Ethnic affiliation offers security to its members as far as protection of group and ethnic interests are concerned. The current study covered only two ethnic groups namely Pokot and Marakwet communities. As reported in Figure 4.3, majority (57%) of the respondents were ethnically affiliated to the Pokot Community while respondents from the Marakwet community accounted for 43% of the respondents. Generally, in terms of population Pokot community is more than the Marakwet community. In addition the population of the Pokot community is more than their Marakwet counterpart in the study area. This study thus included more respondents from the Pokot than Marakwet communities in recognition of the relative numerical strength of the two communities.

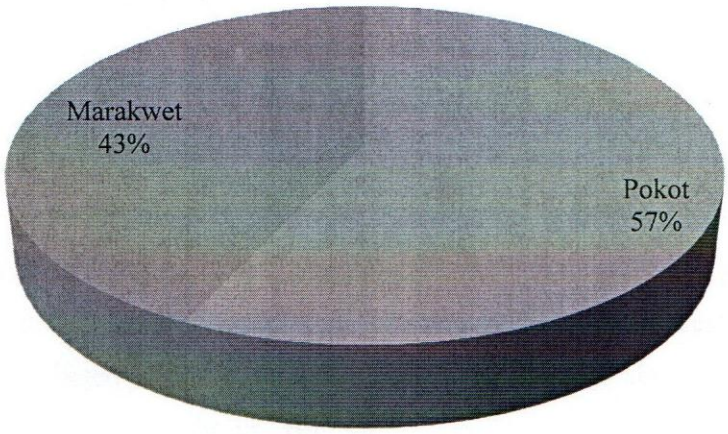


Figure 4: 3 Respondents by Ethnic Affiliation

Whereas disagreements may at times arise within an ethnic group with regard to pursuit of basic needs, there is a strong ethnic affiliation wherever member(s) of an ethnic group are faced with or threatened by an external force such as those of inter-ethnic hostilities. Inter-ethnic conflicts such as those between the Pokot and Marakwet are not assuming ethnic dimensions but also give forth social classifications of the various ethnic groups, with some ethnic groups being given degrading labels. Such social classification tends to heighten hostilities among the warring parties with the potentials for the escalation of the conflicts. These views are strongly supported by Suliman (1999b) who also reported social classification as one of the effects of conflicts in the Nuba Mountain of the Sudan. The study gives accounts of conflicts over resources in Nuba Mountain, which resulted in among others the hierarchical classification of clans with Heiban tribe at the top, followed by the Lira, the Otoro, the Tira and then the Shawi. This ranking the study regretted was used to determine the classified groups' access to resources such as education, training and job opportunities, which led to marginalization and subsequent mistrust among the clans.

4.1.5 Religious Affiliation of the Respondents

Religion tends to bind together people who profess the same faith. This is achieved through the inculcation of common values and norms among persons professing the same faith. Similarly, religious principles, doctrines, tenets, practices, ceremonies and festivals provide a sense of belonging to its members. Like other forms of affiliations namely ethnicity, clan, race among others, religion is not necessarily conflictual but rather helps in distinguishing one's group from the other. The highest percentage of the respondents was drawn from the protestant churches. Respondents falling in this category accounted for about 43% of all the respondents covered in the study. Persons affiliated to the Roman Catholic faith formed about 28% of the sampled population as figure 4.4 below shows. But the current study also had representations from traditional religion and evangelical churches, which accounted for 22% and 5% of all the respondents respectively. Although insignificant numerically, the current study also had persons professing the Muslim faith as part of its respondents. Muslims thus constituted just a paltry 2% of the respondents.

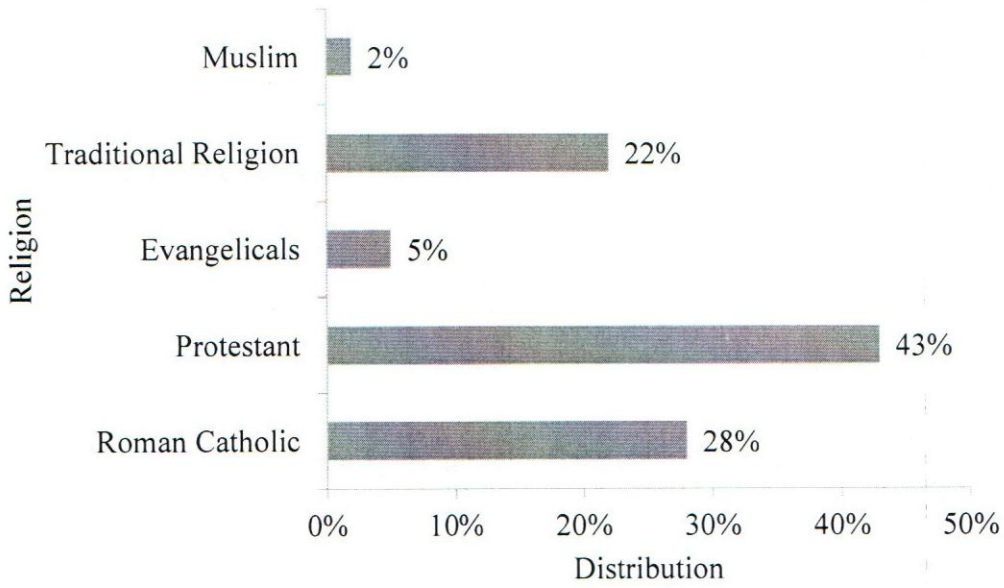


Figure 4: 4 Respondents by Religious Affiliation

Religious leaders are often accorded some respect in critical situations especially where society's patience and consensus building is essential. Almost all religions preach and teach tolerance, respect for one another, concern for each other especially the less fortunate. Conflict

management and peace building, which form a significant portion of the current study, are delicate processes that require patience, high levels of tolerance among other virtues that the institution of religion upholds. It is on this account that the current study considered religion as an important variable for coverage. Mainstream religious organizations such as Protestant Churches and Roman Catholic commanded a combined followership of over 70%, with the other denominations and religious faiths confined to just a third of the followership. The dominance of mainstream churches- Protestant and Roman Catholic-, is not surprising given that they are the most popular in the entire North Rift region, having been the first modern churches to have a firm establishment in the area. But it is also significant to note that a substantial proportion of members of these communities still practice traditional religion either solely or together with other modern religious organizations. Traditional practices such as cattle raiding and initiation ceremonies such as circumcisions are largely presided over by the community elders who often invoke traditional religious institutions. Further, modern religious institutions have been hostile to certain traditional practices such as cattle raiding, female circumcision and even early marriages and polygamy. The existence of a substantial number of respondents professing traditional religion may thus be understood in the context of the kind of hostility and disdain that modern religious practices have toward some of the traditional practices.

4.2 Conflict Management Mechanisms

This study examined current conflict management mechanisms as its first objective. Ethnic conflicts, which arise from livelihood pursuits, must be addressed so as to bring harmony and peaceful co-existence among various ethnic groups. While examining conflict management mechanisms, it is first important to understand certain background information to the conflict. These include frequency and intensity of the inter-ethnic conflicts and primary causes of the conflicts. The background information is first examined in isolation and then second in the context of the warring parties- Pokot and Marakwet communities. The following results thus covers background information to the conflict as well as conflict management mechanisms.

4.2.1 Frequency of Ethnic Conflict

Understanding conflict in terms of the frequency of its occurrence is an important step toward establishing not only the intensity but also the effectiveness of conflict management mechanisms. It is possible to assume that frequent occurrence of conflicts may be due to the failure of the conflict management efforts in delivering sustainable and durable peace. Results on the frequency of ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities are shown in figure 4.5 below. Half of the respondents reported that conflicts between the two communities were frequent. A significant proportion of the respondents or 44% of respondents indicated that conflicts between the two communities were rare. Those who said that conflicts were very rare represented just a mere 6% of the respondents.

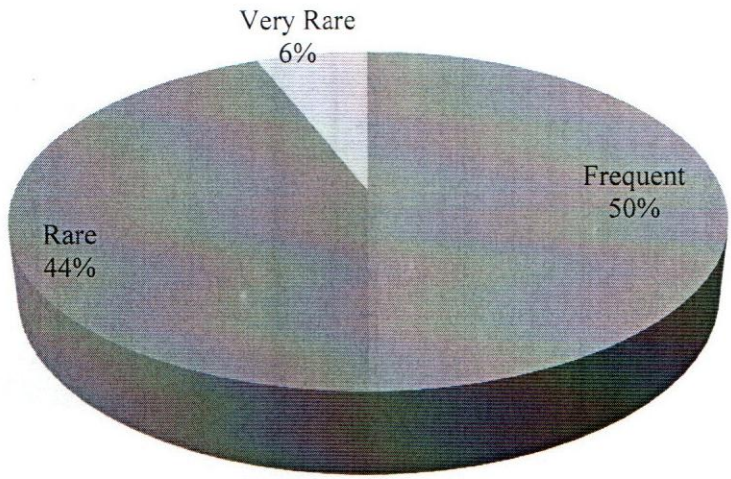


Figure 4: 5 Frequency of Ethnic Conflict

Although respondents had divergent views on frequency of inter-ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet, they both concurred that indeed conflicts between the two communities existed. But the divisive nature of conflicts is clearly illustrated in the above results, where respondents appeared divided almost into equal halves regarding the frequency of conflicts between the two communities. While 50% of the respondents conceded that conflicts in question were frequent, another half of respondents felt that these conflicts were rare.

4.2.2 Frequency of Conflict by Ethnic Affiliation

The current study found it necessary to establish how the two communities under study considered the frequency of conflicts affecting them. From Figure 4.6 below, it is clear that the two communities have divergent views as to the frequency of ethnic conflicts between them. While more respondents from Pokot community felt that the conflicts were frequent, more of the respondents from the Marakwet communities considered the conflicts to be rare. The two communities, however, appear unanimous that the ethnic conflicts between them were very rare. About 80% and 10% of Pokot and Marakwet respectively considered conflicts to be frequent. Conversely, about 82% and 14% of Marakwet and Pokot respectively considered the conflicts to be rare.

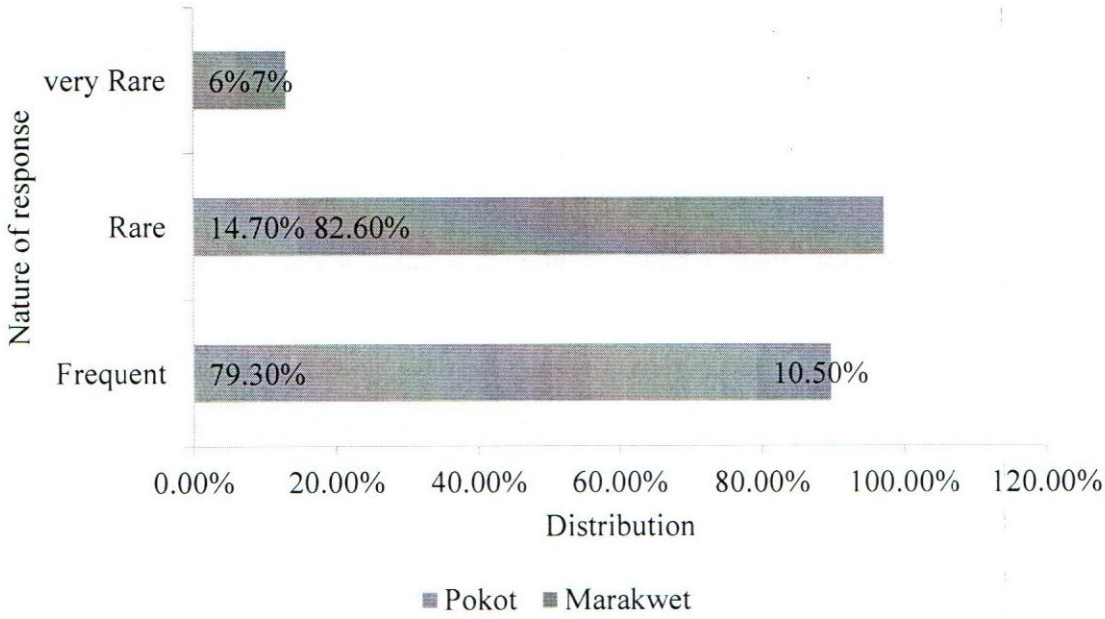


Figure 4: 6 Frequency of conflict by ethnic Group

Ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities have persisted over the years. This has been acknowledged by respondents who all concede that indeed conflicts between the two communities are not only occurring but also that these conflicts occur regularly. However, ethnic conflicts in Kenya's North Rift region are not limited to the two communities. Pokots, for instance are neighbored by the Turkana, Samburu and other pastoralist communities from Uganda. These communities have had conflicts with the Pokot many times both presently and in

the past. This may have led to many respondents from the Pokot community to assert that they experienced ethnic conflicts frequently. Although the current study attempt to limit its inquiry to ethnic conflicts involving Pokots and Turkana, it appears that respondents from the Pokot made their responses in recognition of conflicts they have had with other communities.

4.2.3 Current Situation of Conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities

The thrust of the current study was to understand how effective livelihood diversification could be employed as a strategy to management of ethnic conflicts especially those that are livelihood-based. The current study used four response categories to gauge the effect livelihood diversification has had on the status of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities. These were 'reduced, increased, no change or cannot tell'. In other words the current study considered that livelihood diversification has led to an increase, reduction or no change in hostilities among the two communities. A fourth response category of 'cannot tell' was used to cater for respondents who indeed could not tell whether conflicts have increased or reduced following livelihood diversification. A substantial number of the respondents felt that ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had reduced. This position was supported by (76.7%) of the respondents. However, about (8.9%) of the respondents felt that ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had actually increased following livelihood diversification. Some respondents (5%) argued that livelihood diversification has had no change on conflict status between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Yet (8.9%) of the respondents could not tell whether or not ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had increased or reduced as Figure 4.7 below shows.

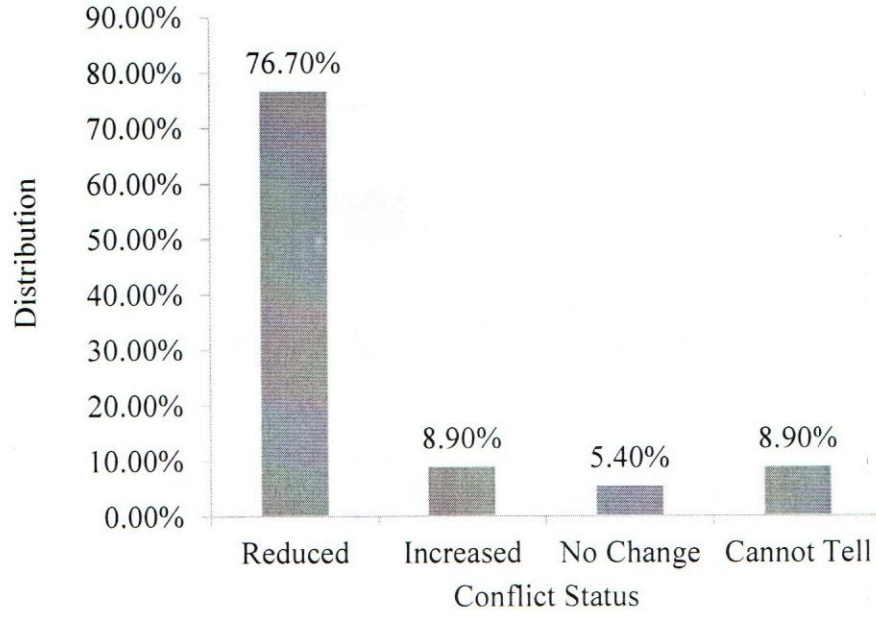


Figure 4: 7 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Status

4.2.4 Main Causes of Conflict between Pokot and Marakwet Communities

The analysis of ethnic conflict between the Pokot and Marakwet communities also included the causes of the conflicts. Respondents identified cattle raiding, competition for pasture, water and farmlands as the main causes of inter-ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities as figure 4.8 below illustrates. About two thirds of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities revolve around cattle raiding. Respondents who subscribed to this view accounted for up to (65%) of the respondents. Livestock pasture also played a significant part in conflict between these communities. Competition for pasture accounted for (25%) or a quarter of the conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Competition for water and farmlands contributed about (7%) and (3%) respectively of all the conflicts between the two communities according to the respondents.

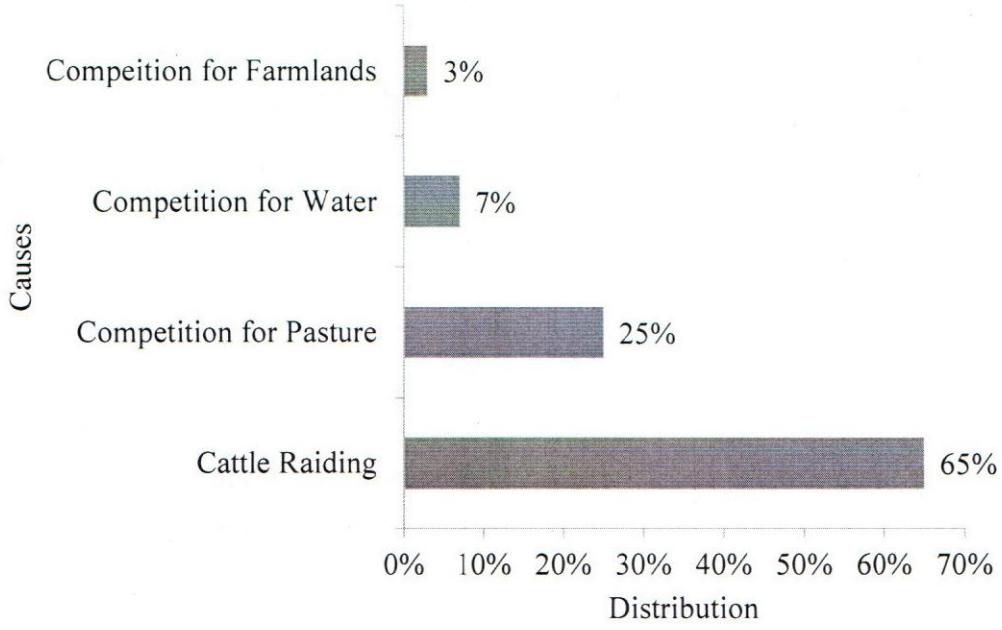


Figure 4: 8 Main Causes of Conflict

Farm lands are important resources that are increasingly being exploited by some members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Farming as a source of livelihood from cultivation of crops both for subsistence and commercial purposes is becoming a common practice among previously livestock-dependent communities such those that formed the focus of the current study. It is therefore not surprising that competition for farmlands is being cited as one of the causes of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. But farming as a source of livelihood is still being practiced by a small fraction of members of the two communities. This partly accounts for the small percentage of respondents who cited competition for farmland as one of the causes of conflict between the two communities.

The site of the study and the greater North Rift region is largely arid with very few patches of arable land. The current study therefore attributes competition for limited arable land as the possible cause of conflicts. Similarly, the tendency by farmers to fence off their farms, which in effect restricts the movements of livestock and humans, may also lead to discontent and conflicts among various land users. The link between inadequate arable land and conflicts has been captured by other studies (Vicres, 2008; Agrawal, 1994; Rees, 1995, VicRes 2008) observes that shrinkage of natural resources such as arable land especially through intergenerational transfer

and resource capture by powerful groups result in increased competition for the little available lands, which fosters conflicts among the land users. Rees (1995) and Agrawal (1994) reported that majority of Ethiopians related ethnic conflicts to scarcity of land resources particularly farmland. Scarcity in the upper elevation communities and grazing land in the low lying communities where farmers-cum-herders are more dependent on extensive livestock is also major cause of conflicts.

Water as one of the key resources for both farming and pastoralism as sources of livelihoods is bound to cause conflict if used at the exclusion of others. Causes of conflicts over water resources is included but not limited to restricted access and diversion of water course especially for irrigated agriculture. Many parts of the North Rift region including the study site suffer from chronic shortage of water due to rapid desertification. Unreliable rainfall and rapid evaporation due to intense heat implies that the available water may not be sufficient to all water users. Conflict over water in the study area is probably due to scarcity, which may occasion some water users to deny others access to the same resources leading to conflicts.

Competition for water as a possible cause of conflict has been cited by McCay and Acheso (1987), which found a significant relationship between water scarcity and conflict. In their study on the exploitation of water a as a common pool resource, they reported that scarcity of water resource was a major cause of conflicts among its users. Like other parts of North rift region, the study site is largely an ASAL area, where rainfall is extremely unreliable leading to water scarcity. Competition for water exists not only at inter-ethnic but also at intra-ethnic levels. But intense competition for scarce water resources may be heightened by emerging sources of livelihood such as irrigation farming, which in addition to pastoralism may bear greater pressure to scarce water resources within the study site. The link between conflicts and dwindling water resources as a result of climate variability has also been supported by other scholarly studies. As early as middle 1990s, Crow (1995) concluded that environmental change affects the supply of vital environmental resources such as water, which also affects human relationships thereby offering new opportunities for disputes. Although the conclusion was made in the realm of water as a common pool resource, and which differs slightly from water in the context of the current

study, the conclusion nonetheless demonstrates that resource competition is indeed a potential source of conflict among resource dependent communities.

Scholars such as Lowi (1996) and Homer-Dixon (1994) while conceding that competition for water resources results in conflicts among its users, they however, assert that it is the unregulated use rather than inadequacy of water resources that breeds conflicts. Drawing from the experience of River Nile waters, Lowi (1996) observes that the diversion of Nile Waters by the Ethiopian government has the potential of negatively affecting its down- stream users such as Egypt and Sudan. Further, the insistence by upstream users such as Egypt to limit the use of Nile Water also provides fertile ground for conflicts over water among these countries. Recent disputes that could have risen to conflict level include: Turkey and Syria over control by the former of the Euphrates and equally well studied contests over the Jordan and Palestinian ground water. Less widely known is the dispute between Mauritania and Senegal over the Senegal River. Other examples include the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers involving India, Bangladesh and Nepal and the Mekong, involving an array of nations in Southeast Asia (Global Witness, 2008).

From the foregoing, it is clear that regulations on access and use of water resources may be helpful in limiting conflicts over water. But the mere presence of regulations alone does not guarantee peaceful exploitation of environmental resources (Gibson and Koontz (1998). Peaceful exploitation of resources such as water requires clear definition and enforcement of regulations. For instance, open access to resources have less or unclear governance and hence are very prone to conflicts. Kasangsa and Kotey (2001) also argue that poorly articulated policies may lead to further discord as the formal laws turn to be in conflict or surpass the traditional rules from the local indigenous resource users.

4.2.5 Mechanisms of Managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet Communities

It is quite clear that conflict exists between Pokot and Mrakwet communities given the results presented above. But the fact that these communities continue to exist implies that they have learnt how to manage conflicts at levels that do threaten their very existence as communities. It is on this basis that the current study explores in this section various ways employed in managing conflicts between the two communities. Consequently, this study in its first objective sought to

establish current mechanisms employed in resolving the ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Peace meetings, adjudication, organizing for revenge and reporting incidences of conflicts to the police were the main mechanisms used to resolve the conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. As Figure 4.9 below shows, peace meetings and revenge were the most commonly used mechanisms of resolving ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Turkana communities. Adjudication and police interventions as conflict management mechanisms were least used. About (61%) of respondents indicated that peace meetings was used to manage the ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The use of revenge was cited as a conflict management mechanism by about (34%) of the respondents surveyed. Adjudication and police intervention was used by the two communities to manage just 3% and 2% respectively of the conflicts occurring between them.

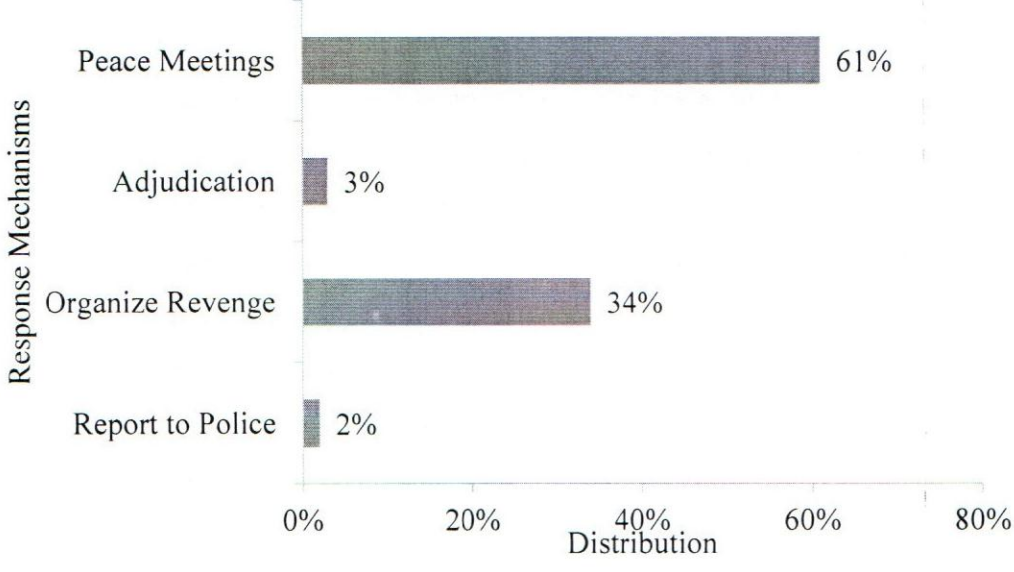


Figure 4: 9 Conflict Management Mechanisms

As already pointed out in figure 4.8, cattle raiding were the main cause of ethnic conflicts among Pokot and Marakwet communities. Cattle raids are often conducted violently resulting in loss of lives and property as well as livelihoods. These leave victims highly charged emotionally to levels that call for revenge. This fact may be exacerbated by the slow response of law enforcement agencies, and the slow pace of adjudication process. These may account for the high

cases of retaliations or revenge as a mechanism of conflict management. But revenge at times creates ground for further conflicts in the form of counter-revenge. It is the potential of revenge as precipitating factor to conflicts that may have convinced the warring parties to convene peace meetings to resolve conflicts between them. The popularity of peace meetings as a mechanism of managing the ethnic conflict between Pokots and Marakwets is perhaps prompted by the futility of revenge and the slow pace of other conflict management mechanisms.

4.2.6 Conflict Management Mechanisms by Ethnic Affiliation

While understanding how the ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities was important, the current study considered it even more crucial to establish the mechanisms of conflict management that was preferred by the warring parties. When asked about their preference for the above conflict management mechanisms, respondents from the two communities had divergent responses on nearly each of the four conflict management mechanisms as Figure 4.10 below illustrates. While respondents from Marakwet community tended to favour community based interventions, those from Pokot communities appeared to prefer institutional/government initiated interventions. For instance, while about 61.2% of the respondents from the Marakwet community valued negotiation (peace meetings) only 35% of the respondents from the Pokot community favoured the same. Further, while coercion was preferred by 42.2% of the respondents from the Marakwet community, only a paltry 3.5% of respondents from the Pokot community considered the mechanism. Further scrutiny of figure 4.9 below reveals that about 19% of the respondents from Pokot community against just 3.4% of their counterpart from the Marakwet community favoured police intervention as a mechanism of resolving ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

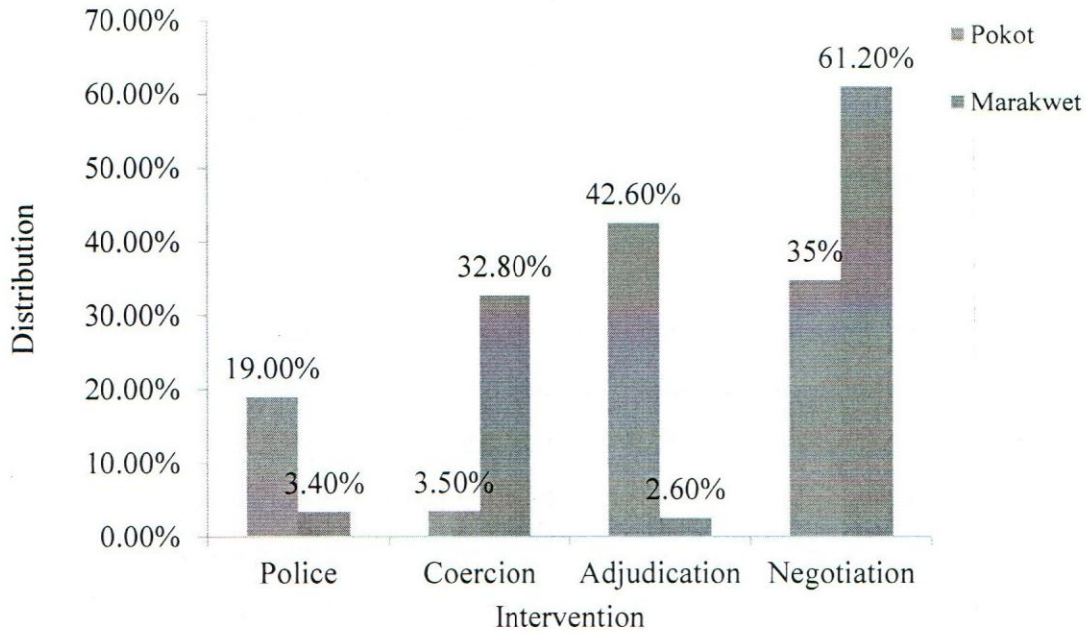


Figure 4: 10 Conflict Management Mechanisms by Ethnic Groups

This study observed a similar trend when it came to adjudication as a mechanism of conflict resolution since about 42.6% of the respondents from Pokot surveyed against a mere 2.6% of the respondents from the Marakwet community favoured adjudication. It is instructive to note that negotiation and coercion are largely community initiated conflict management mechanisms while adjudication and police intervention are state initiated mechanisms. Some community initiated mechanisms such as negotiation have the potential of resolving conflicts with finality, while coercion does not just breed ground for future conflicts but also more violent ones. A numerically and militarily disadvantaged community such as Marakwet community would prefer conflict management mechanisms such as negotiation that promises durable if not permanent peace. While a community that is numerically advantaged and militarily strong such as Pokot would prefer external intervention when is occasionally weakened by the conflicts, or may conveniently seek such interventions to play victimhood and thus win the sympathy of the police or the judicature. This study thus attributes the Marakwet's preference for negotiation since the mechanisms offers them a better chance of survival in view of their disadvantaged position. But this study wishes to observe that while negotiation may be preferred by the Marakwet community as a way of managing conflict, their numerical and military inferiority implies that

they stand to suffer heavy losses than their warring parties in case of any conflict. Such heavy losses makes the victims highly charged emotionally and thus consider revenge as the only viable and immediate solution to their precarious condition. This has therefore contributed to Marakwet,s propensity to revenge/coercion as a mechanism of managing conflicts with the Pokot.

The current study found that there was a significant relationship between conflict management mechanisms and conflict situation between Pokot and Marakwet communities (Table 4.2). This conclusion is arrived at given chi-square results (P>0.05) on the association between conflict management mechanisms and conflict situation. However, the association between conflict management mechanisms and conflict situation was weak given Cramer's V value of 0.148.

Table 4: 2 Relationships between Management Mechanism and Conflict situation

Management Mechanisms	Conflict Situation				Total
	Reduced	Increased	No Change	Cannot Tell	
Police Intervention	25.0%	50.0%	.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Coercion	73.5%	8.8%	5.9%	11.8%	100.0%
Adjudication	83.3%	16.7%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Negotiation	79.8%	7.3%	5.6%	7.3%	100.0%
Total	76.7%	8.9%	5.4%	8.9%	100.0%

χ^2= 13.316, df= 9, p= 0.04, Cramer's V= 0.148

A closer examination of Table 4.2 above reveals that least cases of increase in conflict were recorded where negotiation as a method of conflict management was employed, with police intervention and adjudication as conflict management mechanisms occasioning the highest increases in ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities. These findings prompted the study to undertake in-depth analysis of each of the above mentioned conflict management mechanisms in the following sections.

4.2.7 Frequency of Police Intervention in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

The fact that government security agency led by the police unit was preferred by about (2%) of the respondents surveyed (figure 4.8) does not in any way imply that the agency was not an important structure in the management of ethnic conflicts such as those the current study focused on. It is therefore the significance of the police in conflict management that prompted this study to explore other issues on police intervention in conflict situations such as the one under analysis. The current study sought to know how frequently the police intervention was sought to deal with ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities. The study asked respondents to say whether police intervention were very often, often, neutral, rarely and none intervention in the ethnic conflicts. As figure 4.11 below shows the highest proportion of the respondents noted that police interventions were rare. This response was supported by 53% of the respondents surveyed in the study. About 26% of the respondents asserted that the police had never intervened at all in conflict situations involving the Marakwet and Pokot communities whenever they were called upon. But it was encouraging to note that about 21% of the respondents often intervened whenever called upon to help contain ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

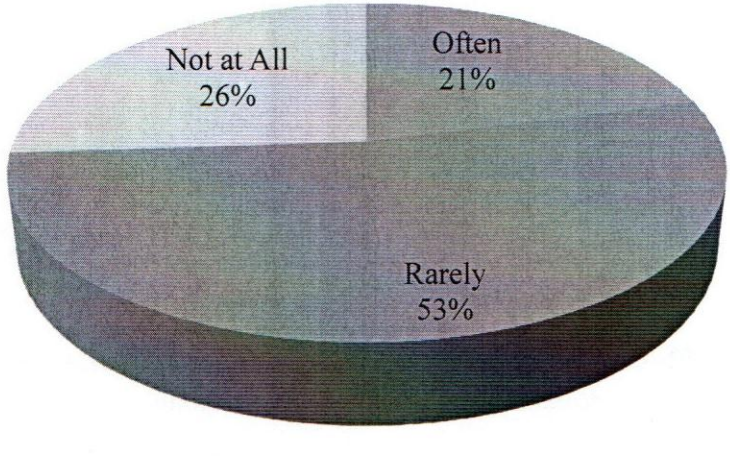


Figure 4: 11 Frequency of police intervention in Conflict Management

It is discovered from the above results that over half of conflict situations involving Pokot and Marakwet communities that police interventions were rare. But it is even more disturbing that police never intervened at all in about a quarter of the conflict situations involving Pokot and Marakwet communities. It was not immediately possible to authenticate the rare and non-involvement of the police in the conflicts. But what is clear is that certain causes of conflicts such competition for farmlands and water may not require police intervention unless the conflicts turn violent. Police may therefore see no need to intervene in situations that they have no relevance. Issues of access and use of environmental services such as water, farmlands and pasture requires regulations, which other institutions other than the police are in charge of. This may explain why police may completely avoid intervening in some conflict situations occasioned by competition for environmental services.

However, police interventions in some conflict situations such as those occasioned by cattle rustling may be extremely essential. These raids are not only conducted in a violent manner, but also results in losses of life and property. Some cattle raiders are armed with conventional weapons that can only be matched by the police. In these circumstances, it would be of necessity for the police to intervene in order to not only deter the raiders but also prevent the escalations of conflicts through revenge and counter-revenge. Failure by the police to intervene in such conflict situation has the potential of encouraging revenge missions as communities rationalize such actions by arguing that they acted in self-defense given that no help has been forthcoming from the security agencies. Further, communities that are militarily strong may also be encouraged in further raiding since they face no deterrent actions that would hamper the practice. Lack of resolute police interventions in violent conflicts such as cattle raids further implies that the practice goes unhindered, and perhaps explains the popularity of cattle raids (Figure 4.7) as the cause of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

4.2.8 Effectiveness of Police Response in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

This study found it essential to understand the probable explanation to the low engagement of the police in conflict situations involving the Marakwet and Pokot communities, where it stood at only 2% of all the intervention measures (Figure 4.8). One way of understanding this was through establishing the public's perceived effectiveness of police intervention in inter-ethnic

conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities. With response categories of very effective, effective neutral, least effective and not effective, the respondents perceived the effectiveness of police intervention in inter-ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet as follows. Majority of the respondents appeared to have confidence in the police as about 59% of them indicated that police interventions were either very effective or effective. But it is also worth to note that a significant portion of the population surveyed had no confidence at all in the police. This assertion is supported by the study finding which found that 39% of the respondents out rightly asserted that the police intervention in the ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet as not effective. As Figure 4.11 below shows some respondents could not tell whether or not the police interventions in the conflicts were effective or not effective. Respondents who subscribed to this view accounted for about 2% of the respondents.

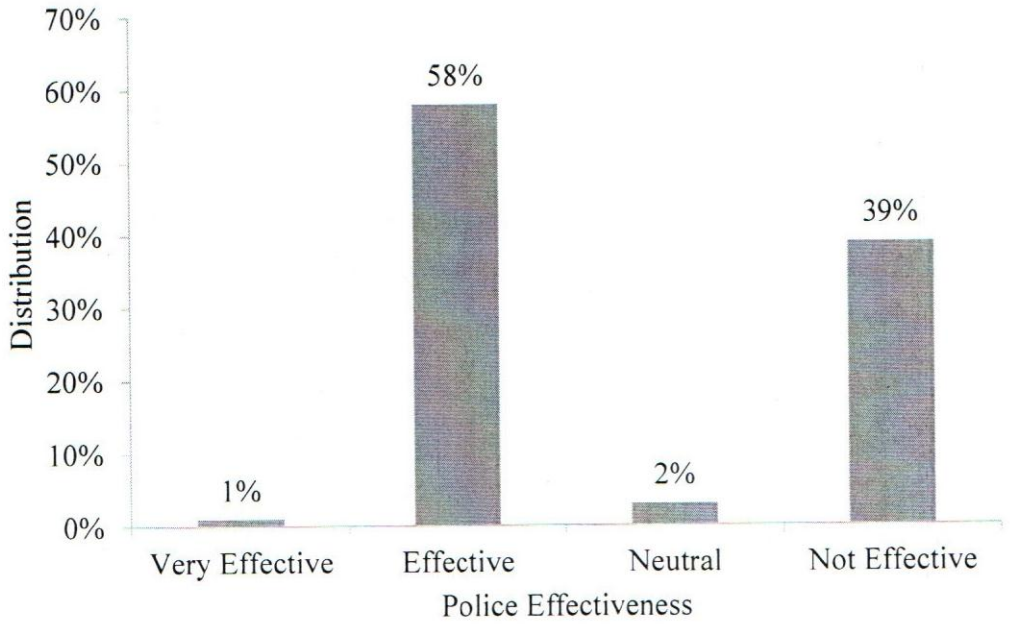


Figure 4: 12 Effectiveness of Police Intervention in Conflict Management

A closer examination of Figure 4.11 suggests that majority of respondents had confidence in the police given that about 59% of them reported that police interventions were an effective mechanism of resolving ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. It is only less than 40% of the respondents that had no confidence in police interventions in inter- ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. It is apparently becoming clear that police

have effectively dealt with conflict situation wherever they choose to intervene. The importance of these results is that police need to intervene more in relevant conflict situations in order to raise further public confidence in the institution. But it should also be noted that failure by police to intervene in conflict situations arises from some factors beyond their control. For instance, the numbers of police leaving the service are far much outweighs the supply thus making it difficult for the police to respond to all conflict situations that require their interventions. Kenya has about 81 police per 100,000 people or one police officer per 1300 Kenyans (UNODC, 2012). Poor welfare programs have also lowered police morale to levels that see most of the servicemen feel disinterested in the service. Although not common presently, police posting in hardship areas such as many places in ASAL regions was largely used to punish the servicemen. These and other factors may have not only contributed to low police engagement in conflict situations in the study site but also their rare interventions as well as ineffectiveness in their interventions.

This study has already alluded to the fact that some conflict situations require policy intervention, and which renders police intervention as being more of ameliorative than a solution. Police ineffectiveness in such conflict situations have also been highlighted by other studies. A growing number of scholars and practitioners recognize the crucial role played by governments in natural resource management through policy formation and enforcements. Ostrom (1990) and Marks (1984) observe that government policies that guide local communities' rights over the natural resources may o along way in limiting conflicts by restraining competing forces' control over the resource. Such policies do not only lay bear community's rights to the resources, but also clearly spells their obligations toward sustainable use of the resources. By placing resource responsibility of monitoring resource use, policies can facilitate the accumulation of social capital, which different resource users can rely on to prevent resource-based conflicts.

4.2.9 Frequency of Litigation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Litigation as a mechanism of managing ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities was used to manage about 3% of the conflicts (Figure 4.8). The fact that just a small percentage of the population utilized it called for examination of certain issues about litigation as a conflict management mechanism. It was first important to establish the frequency

with which members of the two communities resorted to resolve conflicts through litigation. It is clear from results in Figure 4.13 below that majority of members of the two communities rarely turned to conventional courts to resolve livelihood-based conflicts. Respondents who reported that litigation as a mechanism of conflict management was rarely used accounted for a massive 88% of the respondents surveyed. Some respondents, however, noted that litigation had never been used at all in resolving the conflicts between the two communities. This accounted for 11% of the respondents. According to the results in Figure 4.12, only 1% of the conflicts were managed through the courts of law.

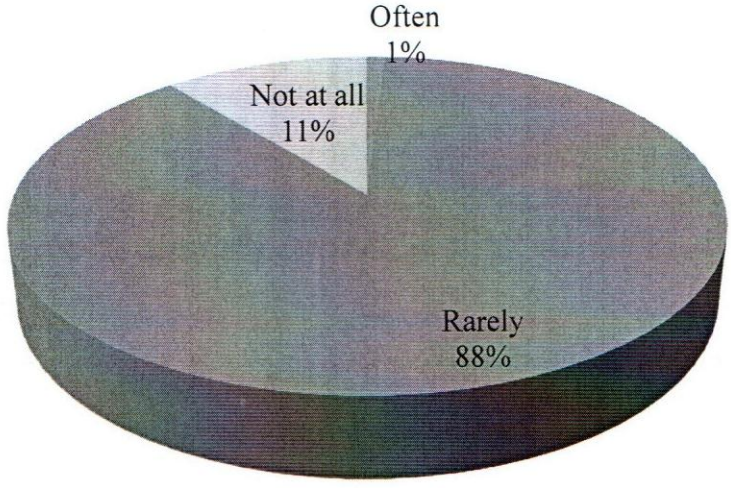


Figure 4: 13 Frequency of Litigation in Conflict Management

Litigation as a method of conflict management involves taking the issue of conflict for determination by a court of law. Ordinarily litigation results in a win-lose situation. This implies that the resolutions will always favour others while disadvantaging others. Normally the outcomes of a court case do not necessarily result in peaceful co-existence of the previously warring parties. Losers while accepting courts' verdict do not necessarily agree with the decisions, and may thus opt for other mechanisms of resolving conflicts, some of which may be detrimental to one or both protagonists. This study therefore attributes the inferior number of conflicts resolved through litigations to the fact that its outcomes rarely satisfy both parties to the conflict. This situation may be aggravated by not only the slow pace of justice system in Kenya but also the perception that the judiciary only serves the interests of the rich and elites in society.

4.2.10 Effectiveness of Litigation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Effectiveness of litigation as a mechanism of resolving conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities was another important aspect that the current study sought to establish from the respondents. The study found that litigation was used to manage about (3%) of the conflicts between the two communities. Results presented in Figure 4.13 shows that majority of the respondents' perceived litigation as not an effective method of managing ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Respondents who considered litigation is not being effective in resolving conflicts between the two communities constituted about 53% of all the respondents. However, a significant proportion of the respondents perceived litigation as an effective method of conflict resolution. This view was supported by about 32.2% of the respondents. It was equally encouraging to note that a section 3.5% of the respondents described litigation as a very effective mechanism of managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. As can be discerned in Figure 4.13, about 11.4% of the respondents could not tell whether or not litigation was an effective mechanism of resolving inter-ethnic conflicts.

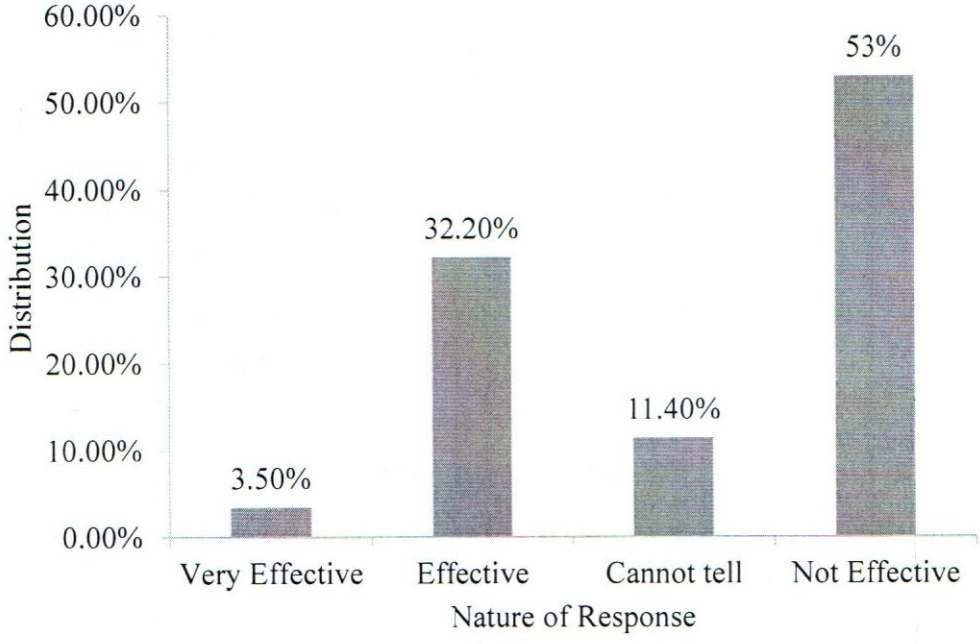


Figure 4: 14 Effectiveness of Litigation in Conflict Management

Further analysis of the results on litigation as a method of conflict management points to not only low utilization of the mechanism but also serious loss of public faith and confidence in the method. But as has already been explained by this study earlier, the slow pace and high transactional cost of litigation may have played a significant role in low uptake and public confidence in litigation. These arguments have been empirically supported by studies that compare the transactional costs and timeliness between litigation and alternative methods of dispute resolution. The International Finance Corporation (2006), for instance, attributed the low uptake of litigation to its high cost. A study done by the IFC (2006) in the Balkans, which evaluated over 1000 cases found that, the cost of litigation was twice as high as the cost of other dispute resolution methods. But the low usage of litigation in conflict management was not limited to cost but also time. For example, Carlos and Gabriel (2005) while studying a mandatory mediation program in selected Latin American Corporations found that mediation resulted in more cases being settled sooner. At six months, for example, 65% of cases under the mandatory mediation rule were disposed, compared with only 15% of conflict resolutions pursued through litigation. Similarly, Bingham *et al* (2009), studying outcomes of other conflict resolution methods other than litigation found in the former situation took an average of five days compared to about 30 days litigation took to conclude cases presented before the courts.

4.2.11 Frequency of Negotiation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Negotiation, which was christened in this study as peace meetings, was used to resolve over 60% of conflicts that occurred between Pokot and Marakwet communities (Figure 4.8). Like other conflict mechanisms, the current study considered it essential in exploring further issues of frequency and public confidence in the use of negotiation as a mechanism of resolving conflicts between the two communities. Study results presented in Figure 4.15 below indicate that nearly two thirds of the respondents reported that negotiation was often used in managing inter-ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. For example respondents who conceded that negotiation was used very often and often accounted for 10.4% and 55.4% respectively of the respondents. But like other conflict management mechanisms already discussed, negotiation was not only used rarely but also never used at all. Respondents, who indicated that negotiation

as a method of conflict management was employed rarely and never used at all, constituted about 24.8% and 9.4% respectively of all the respondents.

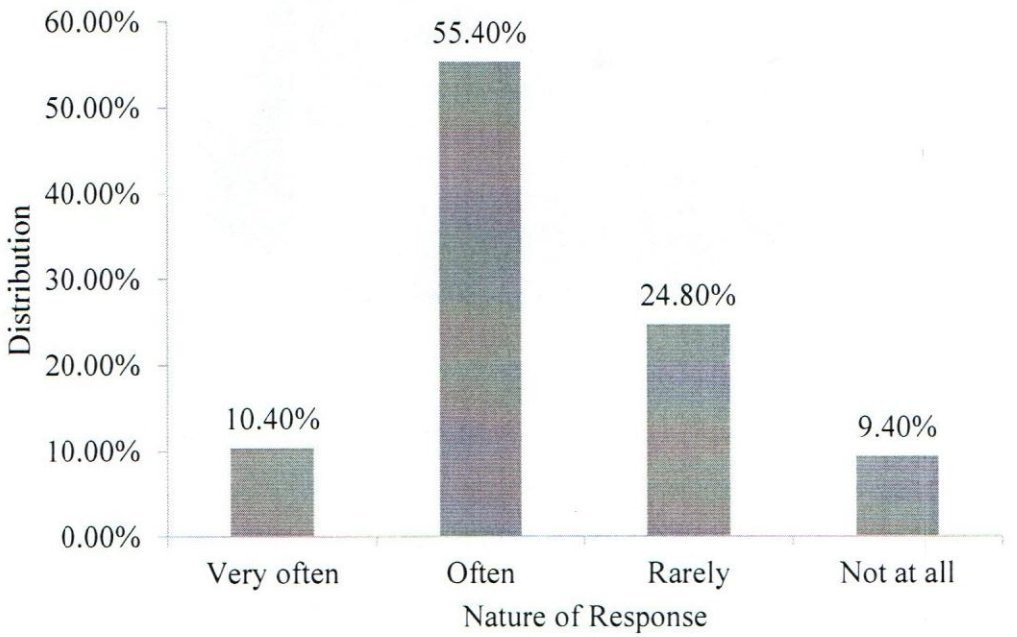


Figure 4: 15 Frequency of Negotiation in Conflict Management

4.2.12 Effectiveness of Negotiation in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

The current study followed similar approach adopted for other mechanisms of conflict management in its analysis of negotiation as a mechanism of managing conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities. From Figure 4.16 below, it is clear that negotiation as a method of conflict management was overwhelmingly approved by the respondents to effective,where it was supported by 81% of all the respondents. Similarly, 7% of the respondents indicated that negotiation was an effective method of managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. It is also instructive to note that no single respondent reported that negotiation as a method of conflict resolution was not an effective method of managing conflicts between the two communities. Instead about 12% of respondents could not tell whether negotiation was an effective method of managing inter-ethnic conflicts.

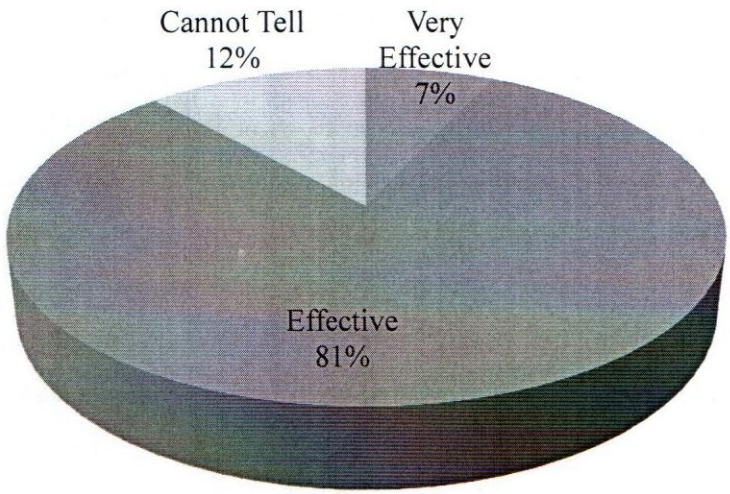


Figure 4: 16 Frequency of Negotiation in Conflict Management

The goal of negotiation is to harmonize the interests of the parties, to reconcile them and integrate the offender back into the community. The integrative power of negotiation and the fact it targets a win-win situation is perhaps what has endeared to many parties to the conflict leading to its overwhelming approval as an effective method of managing ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Negotiation facilitates a process in which parties to the conflict communicate and exchange ideas on how best their conflicts could be resolved (Bercovitch, 1984). Negotiation as a method of managing inter-ethnic conflicts has been extensively used to resolve conflicts in many African communities, with those between Pokot and Marakwet communities being no exception (Zartman, 2000). The factitious nature of inter-ethnic conflicts especially those occasioned by cattle rustling may have rendered conflict resolution efforts ineffective-even those pursued through most popular mechanisms such as negotiation- leading to the ambivalence of some respondents about the effectiveness of the mechanism in managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

However, the effectiveness of negotiation in conflict resolution is best aided by commonality of values among the warring parties, a position that is ably articulated by Salacuse (1993), who asserts that cultural homogeneity greatly enhances the effectiveness of negotiation as a method of conflict resolution. This study observed that culture is a powerful factor in shaping how people think, communicate and behave, and which in turn affects how people perceive and

negotiate in a conflict situation. Similarly, negotiation as conflict resolution method succeeds in cases where conflicting parties already have an existing relationship and shared a set of values (Zartman, 2000). Although Pokot and Marakwet communities differ in their cultural socialization and orientation, the two communities experience cultural homogeneity especially with regard to pastoralism as a source of livelihood and the roles and positions of community elders. The social capital arising from pastoralism and community eldership from the two communities form important convergence points for the two communities, which negotiation as a method of conflict management can rely on to deliver successful conflict resolution.

Findings of the current study on the role of elders with cultural norms on management of livelihood-based conflicts concur with that of Bernstein (1992), whose examination of extralegal mechanisms of managing livelihood-based conflicts reported how long-standing norms within the community of diamond traders governed dispute resolution using commonly accepted rules and practices. The invocation of cultural norms by the community elders has also been reported how predominantly farming and ranching communities in California created rules, which they used to resolve disputes, and enforce rules without the intervention of state agencies (Ellickson, 1991).

Negotiation as a mechanism of managing inter-ethnic conflicts is largely spearheaded by community elders, with ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities being no exception. Informal discussions by some respondents revealed that community elders are heavily consulted by cattle raiders, and some cases they have to sanction the raids. Elders also preside over ritual activities relating to cattle raids. From these observations, it is clear that elders have cardinal role both in the escalation and cessation of conflict. Some causes of conflict such as cattle rustling were until recently considered a cultural practice. Elders are invariably the custodians of community's culture, thus making their views on such practices such as cattle rustling very important. They can use their unique position in society to discourage practices that enhance inter-ethnic conflicts. Overall, this study attributes the effectiveness of negotiation as a mechanism of managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities to the fact negotiations are led community elders, whose positions in these communities are highly

venerated. Other mechanisms of conflict management other than being externally driven also engage elders very marginally leading to their less effectiveness.

4.2.13 Frequency of Use of Coercion in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Coercion, which the current study found occurred in form of revenge attacks was the second most common method used to manage conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities (Figure 4.8). This method was also favoured more by members of the Marakwet community than their Pokot counterpart (Figure 4.9). It is also significant to state here that coercion accounted for about a third of the mechanisms used to manage conflicts between the two communities (Figure 4.8). According to study results in figure 4.16, coercion as a method of managing conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities was rarely used. This is despite the fact that it was the second most common method of resolving ethnic conflicts. Respondents who indicated that coercion was rarely used accounted for about 80.2% of all the respondents. Some respondents (12.9%) reported that coercion was never used at all in managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. However, some respondents reported that coercion was not only used often but also very often as figure 4.16 below shows.

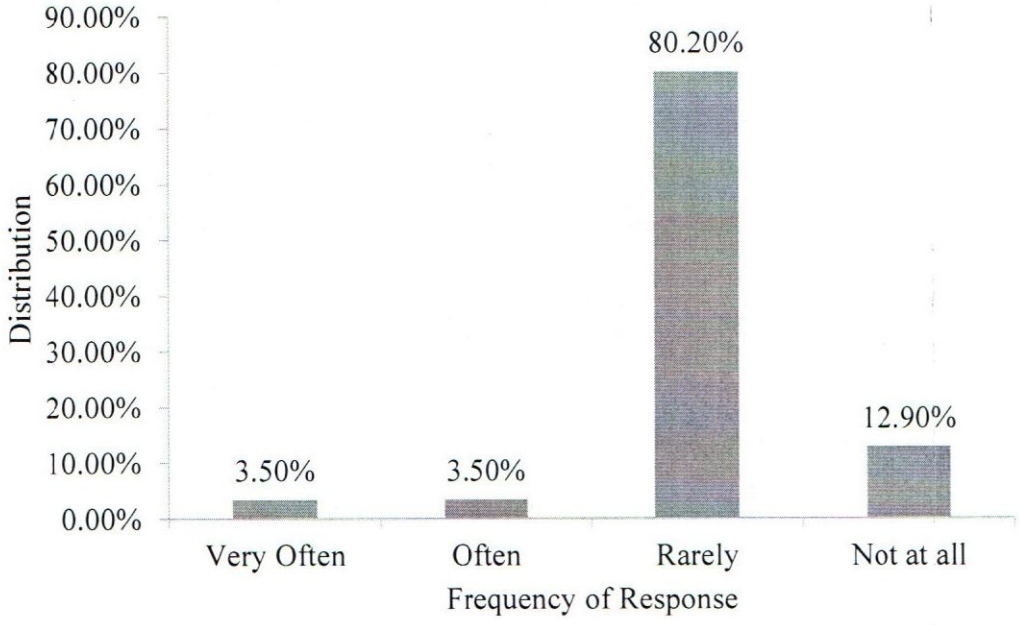


Figure 4: 17 Frequency of Coercion in Conflict Management

The use of force or coercion in conflict management is largely perpetuated by the stronger party who feels that it can easily crush the weaker party in an open deal. However, contrary to this, the current study found that more members of the Marakwet communities -who seemingly are weaker numerically and militarily- appeared to favour coercion more than their Pokot counterparts (Figure 4.9). But this study wishes to observe that even weaker groups- in this case the Marakwet community- would often resort to coercion if they perceive other decent mechanisms of conflict management seem not to work in their favour. Conflicts caused by competition for water and pasture would normally be intense during dry seasons when the two resources are limited in supply. Similarly conflicts occasioned by cattle raids though the common cause, logistics of planning and execution of cattle raids implies that they do not occur every day. Because these conflicts occur rarely implies that coercion as a method of conflict management would also occur rarely hence the high (80.2%) response rate on rare use of coercion to contain ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

4.2.14 Effectiveness of Coercion in Management of Ethnic Conflicts

Coercion or the use of force was mentioned by the respondents as the second most common method of resolving conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities (Figure 4.8). However, as a method of conflict resolution, coercion was rarely used (Figure 4.16). This study found it necessary to establish the effectiveness of coercion as a method of conflict management in situations that have warranted for its usage. Results of the study in Figure 4.17 show that majority of the respondents felt that coercion was not an effective mechanism of managing conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Respondents who believed that coercion was not an effective method of resolving inter-ethnic conflicts constituted up to 79.2% of the respondents. While many considered coercion as ineffective in resolving inter-ethnic hostilities, some respondents did not only consider it as effective but also very effective. About 3.5% and 6.9% of the respondents considered coercion as very effective and effective respectively in resolving conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. But whether coercion was an effective mechanism of managing inter-ethnic conflicts could not be confirmed nor denied by about 10.4% of the respondents as Figure 4.18 below shows.

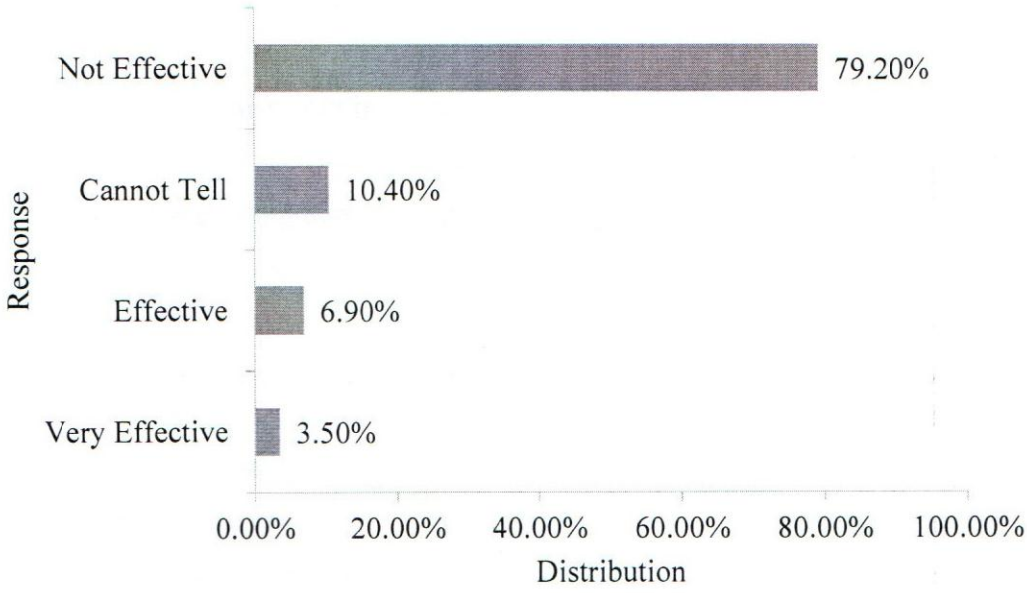


Figure 4: 18 Effectiveness of Coercion in Conflict Management

The current findings are in many respects similar to other studies that have generally found little empirical support for the effectiveness of coercion as a mechanism of resolving conflicts especially those that are livelihood-based. For instance, a study by Dixon (1996) found no statistically significant relationship between coercive intervention and conflict cessation, or an increase in the likelihood of peaceful co-existence among previously warring parties. The current study through informal discussions found that hostilities between Pokot and Marakwet communities have been existence as far as some respondents in their 70s can remember. This sufficient evidence that protagonists affinity toward coercion as a mechanism of conflict management has not delivered durable peace. In fact the use coercion in conflict management serves more as conflict escalator rather than hindrance to conflicts.

Blake, *et al* (1964), about half century ago argued that coercion is a zero-sum game, where only one of the parties to the conflict is favoured by the outcome. The revenge aspect in coercion is also well captured by who observes that the vanquished who withdraws in shame, normally prepares very carefully for the next round. The current study observes that conflicts that are resolved through adversarial behaviors such as coercion may leave one side completely dissatisfied with the outcome that may in turn lead to recurrence of the conflict in the future. The

destructive nature of coercion as conflict management mechanism means that deep-seated and strong emotions are developed by victims of coercion. Such hurtful memories can easily be used to coalesce victims to engage even in more fatal coercive activities as each time parties want to send a 'message' to their would be aggressors of their capability. This further leads to vicious cycle of violence, which outgrows several community generations resulting to further hatred among the warring for many generations to come.

4.3 Sources of Livelihood and Ethnic Conflicts

The current study in its second study sought to understand sources of livelihoods, and the relationship between these sources of livelihood and the status of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. In this section, the current study has first established the various sources of livelihood of the respondents generally. The study has then proceeded to understand these sources of livelihoods in the context of respondents' biographical attributes. This study restricted itself to respondents' ethnicity, gender and education background. Further, the current study considered sources of respondents' livelihood outside other than pastoralism. This was done for the practical reason that pastoralism is traditionally the main source of livelihood for both members of Pokot and Marakwet communities.

4.3.1 Sources of Livelihood of the Respondents

Members of Pokot and Marakwet sourced their livelihoods from formal employment, crop farming, dairy farming and business as Figure 4.19 below shows. Business was the most common source of livelihood, which was pursued by about (52%) of the respondents. Diary and crop farming was a source of income to about (10.90) and (20.30%) of the respondents respectively. This makes crop farming the second most sort source of livelihood of the respondents. Formal employment was a vital source of livelihood to the respondents. About (16.8%) of the respondents derived their incomes from formal employment, making it the third most popular source of livelihood to members of Pokot and Marakwet communities surveyed.

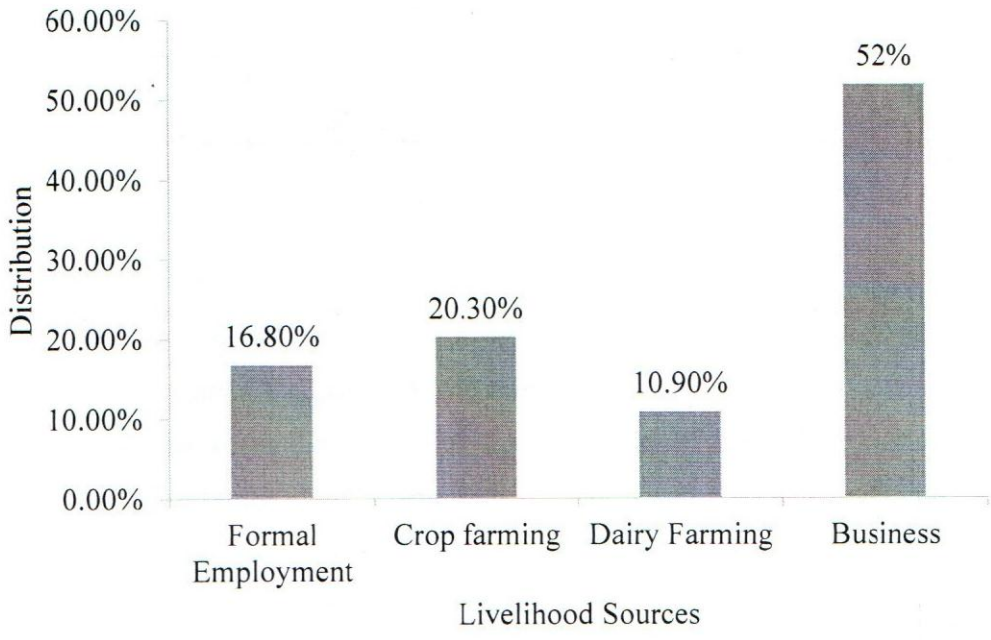


Figure 4: 19 Respondents' Sources of Livelihood

Further analysis of Figure 4.19 reveals that about 68% (business and formal employment) of members of Pokot and Marakwet communities derive livelihoods from sources that do not offer direct competition like traditionally pastoralism. Dairy and crop farming, which forms a combined source of livelihood to 32% of the respondents, depend on some of the environmental services (pasture and water), which traditional pastoralism also depends on thus laying ground for potential for competition and possible conflicts. When looked differently, it may also argued that conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities have gone down by about 32% given that some members of the two communities seek livelihoods that do not offer challenge to pastoralism as a source of livelihood.

Sources of livelihood were measured at nominal level. The association between sources of livelihood and conflict situation was tested using Chi-Square. Associational test results presented in Table 4.3 below shows that there was a significant association between sources of livelihood and conflict situation among Pokot and Marakwet communities. But this association was weak given Cramer's V value of 0.354.

Table 4: 3 Relationships between Livelihood Sources and Conflict Situation

Source of Livelihood	Conflict Situation				Total
	Reduced	Increased	No Change	cannot tell	
Formal Employment	100.%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
Crop Farming	46.%	20.7%	12.6%	20.7%	100%
Dairy Farming	100.%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
Business	100.%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
Total	73.7%	10.1%	6.1%	10.1%	100%

χ^2= 0.67.398, df= 9, p= 0.001, Cramer's V= 0.354

4.3.2 Source of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation

Given the above sources of livelihood, which signifies a significant shift from pastoralism as a source of livelihood, the study found it necessary to examine these possible shifts in the context of the two ethnic communities under analysis. Both members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities had substantial engagement in business as a source of livelihood with the former and latter having 47.4% and 58.1% respectively involvement. Crop farming is also another source of livelihood that was heavily pursued by the two communities though more of the Marakwets than Pokots considered it as a source of livelihood if results presented in Figure 4.20 are anything to go by. Dairy farming and formal employment as sources of income were pursued exclusively by members of the Marakwet communities according to persons covered in this study.

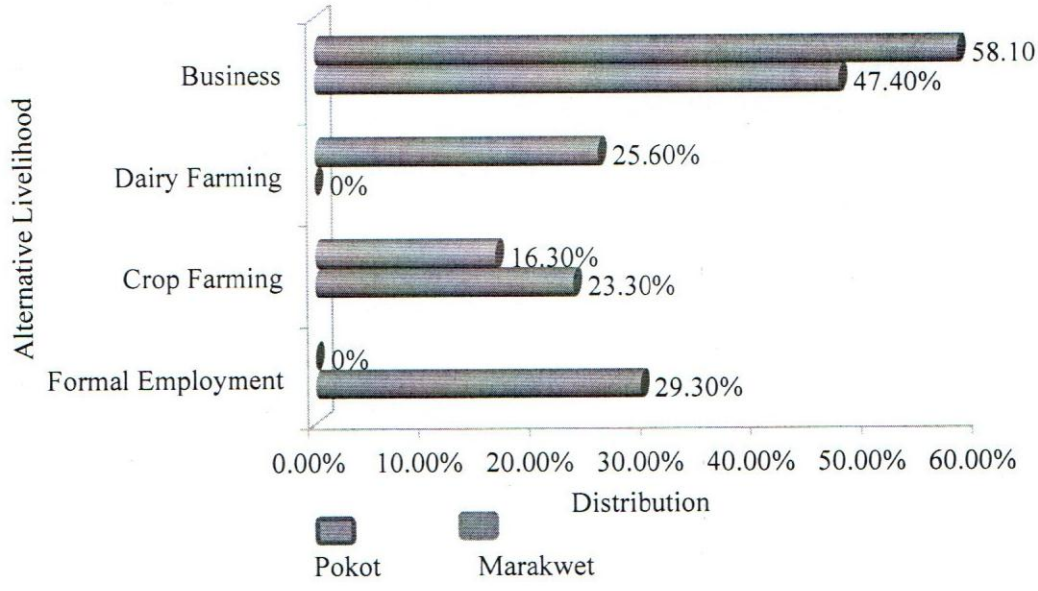


Figure 4: 20 Sources of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation

The absence of members of the Pokot community in formal employment does not in any way mean that there are no persons from the Pokot community who derived their livelihood from formal employment. The study thus attributes this to sampling error. However, members of Pokot community's absence from dairy farming may be reflective of the community's preference for pastoralism. It is therefore possible that a very negligible (if any) number of the Pokot community members were engaged in dairy farming. A casual look at most of the lands within Pokot community show that it is largely rocky, with little patches of pasture lands. Unlike the areas that fall within Marakwet community that receive fair amounts of rainfalls, those of Pokot side experience longer periods of dry spell. The area is thus suitable for traditional pastoralism than dairy and crop farming. This therefore explains the inferior numbers of members of the Pokot community engaged in dairy and crop farming. Favourable climatic conditions may have acted as an incentive to a lot of members of the Marakwet communities to pursue their livelihoods through crop and livestock farming.

4.3.3 Sources of Livelihood by Gender

This study has earlier alluded to the significance of gender in livelihood pursuit. It thus became necessary to establish the kinds of sources of livelihood preferred by different gender. From Figure 4.21 below, it is clear that males dominated formal employment and business as sources of income. Formal employees among the study sample were males. Males also accounted for 51.6% of businesses compared to just 14% held by females. With regard to crop farming, females occupied 78.5% of crop farming activities against 40.9% held by their male counterparts. Dairy farming as a source of income also had almost twice the number females compared to that of males.

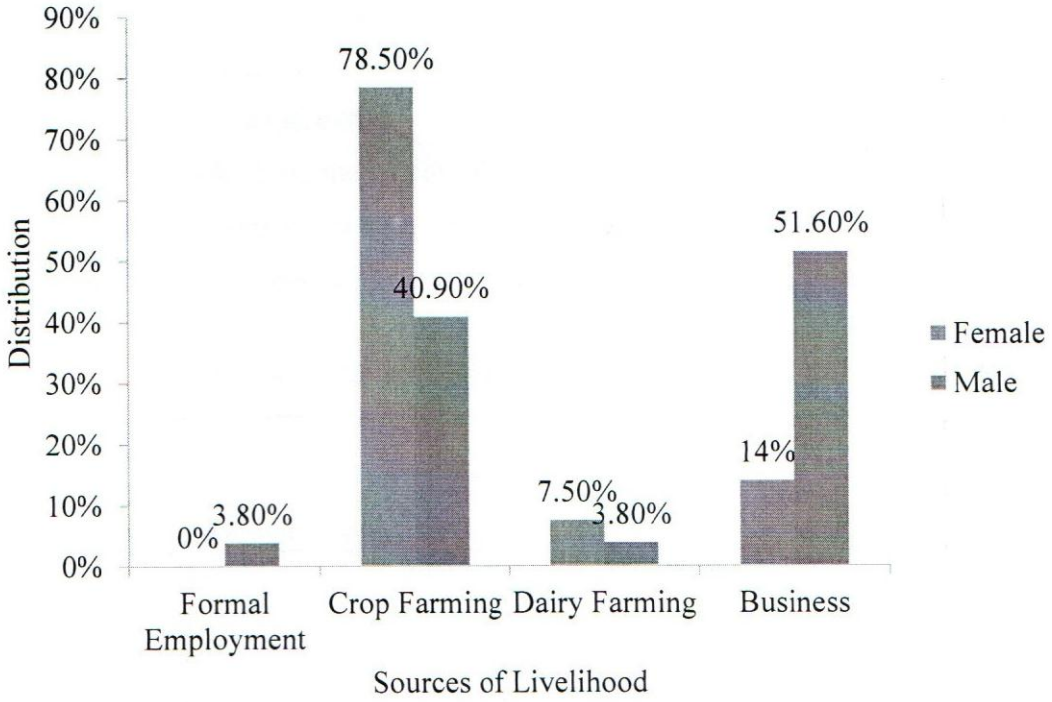


Figure 4: 21 Sources of livelihood by Gender

Teaching and civil service were the main source of formal employment in the study site. Education especially secondary education and above was a major qualification requirements in formal employment. Pastoralist communities including Pokot and Marakwet ones, still have few of their females with secondary and post-secondary levels of education. This in effect implies that very few (if any) females from the locality would qualify for teaching and civil service job opportunities in the area. This leaves males as the main pool upon which workforce for the two formal employment sectors are drawn. It is this disadvantaged position of females with regard to formal education that this study attributes for their absence in formal employment among the study sample.

4.3.4 Sources of Livelihood by level of Education

Education as has already been noted is an important asset in livelihood pursuit. The current study sought also to understand whether there was any clear pattern between individuals' level of education and sources of livelihood they chose. Table 4.4 below shows that a higher proportion of the respondents with post-primary education had formal employment as their main source of

livelihood. Dairy farming as a source of livelihood was dominated by respondents with secondary level of education and below. A similar trend also obtained with crop farming as a source of livelihood, where more of the respondents with secondary level of education and below derived their livelihoods from the sector. Business as a source of livelihood appeared to be favoured by all respondents not withstanding their levels of education. See table 4.4 for more information on the link between sources of livelihood and respondents' level of education.

Table 4: 4 Sources of livelihood by level of Education

Level of Education	Source of Income				Total
	Formal employment	Crop farming	Dairy farming	Business	
No Education	.0%	81.6%	5.3%	13.1%	100.0%
Primary	2.6%	30.8%	38.5%	28.2%	100.0%
Secondary	16.0%	36.0%	20.0%	28.0%	100.0%
College	16.0%	44.0%	16.0%	24.0%	100.0%
University	57.1%	21.4%	.0%	21.4%	100.0%
Total	13.4%	48.6%	15.6%	22.3%	100.0%

rho = 0.101, P = 0.089

This study had already pointed out that teaching and civil service formed the main source of formal employment in the study area. The study has also argued that secondary and post-secondary levels of education are increasingly becoming a requirement while joining the teaching profession as well as the civil service. It is therefore not surprising that respondents with secondary and post-secondary levels of education dominated the formal employment as a source of livelihood. Lack of academic qualifications may have compelled respondents to seek livelihood opportunities from other sectors other than formal employment. This explains why most respondents with lower than secondary education dominate sectors such as crop and dairy farming as their preferred sources of livelihood. Some forms of business require reasonable levels of education while others do not. Therefore business would be considered as a viable source of livelihood by all sectors of the population regardless of one's level of education.

Respondents with secondary and tertiary levels of education work as teachers, civil servants and even in the private sector. Some respondents employed in these sectors are capable of raising the financial and human capital critical in the setting up and efficient operation of business. Informal

discussion with some of the respondents indeed confirmed that some of the wholesale and retail outlets in the study site were being owned local formal employees. By engaging in sources of livelihoods, which do not offer direct competition to pastoralism formal employees and business people are in effect playing a significant role in reduction of incidences of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

Greater emphasis on higher levels of formal education is much in line with other studies. Scott (1998), Stinchcombe (1983) and Oster (1995), have for instance, found education to be positively correlated to individuals' wellbeing. These studies show that higher performance in organizations were more in organizations with personnel with higher levels of education. such individuals will not only have better remunerations compared to their counterparts with lower levels of education, but will also be better placed to pursue livelihood from sources that do not have negative bearing on the environmental resources. As already noted elsewhere, most of the Pokot and Marakwet communities traditionally derived their livelihoods from pastoralism, which ordinarily do not require highly specialized training. Widespread low levels of education would thus imply that individuals would continuously consider pastoralism as their ideal source of livelihood.

The role of formal education in conflict reduction has been argued extensively by many scholars. Baxter and Ikobwa (2005) for instance assert that education makes an individual to have informed choices in life with regard to survival techniques and strategies. Therefore the level of education will determine the kind of occupation or source of livelihood one is likely to engage in. It is this transformative value of education that prompted some organizations in humanitarian sector to focus on the promotion of formal education, which they argue enables individuals to access alternative sources of livelihoods (Shemyakina, 2008). The current study concurs that people with reasonable levels of education may provide its beneficiaries with a range of livelihood opportunities to exploit including formal employment, entrepreneurship among others.

This study also wishes to note that the migratory nature of pastoralism as a source of livelihood has continuously made it hard for them to attend formal schooling due to lack of permanent settlement. While recent years has seen the use of mobile schools to boost the education of

pastoralist communities such as those in Elgeyo-Marakwet and Baringo Counties, where a number of the locals still remain lowly educated. As such they have limited livelihood opportunities, away from pastoralism. The decision by some organization to provide educational support to households in these counties may be in large part informed by the need to raise local people's level of human capital that enables them to take alternative sources of livelihoods away from the traditional pastoralism. This may help in reducing pressure on pastoral resources-water, pasture among others- whose competition over them has for a long time been one of the most significant sources of conflicts in pastoral areas including Pokot and Marakwet conflicts. But education could also help in adjusting the mindset of the future generation away from certain cultural practices such as cattle rustling, which has also already been cited as the leading cause of inter-ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

4.4 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Management

The third objective of the current study was to understand the relationship between livelihood diversification and the conflict situations between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Traditionally, the two communities have pastoralism as their main source of livelihood. But conflicts around pastoralism such competition for water and pasture as well as cattle rustling/raiding have made pastoralism a difficult source of livelihood. This has prompted some members of these communities to consider other sources of livelihood away from pastoralism. In this section, the current study presents issues pertaining to livelihood diversion and how these efforts have affected the conflict status between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

4.4.1 Number of Household's Members Engaged in Livelihood pursuit

The number of household members actively engaged in livelihood pursuit was one of the measures used to understand livelihood diversification. According to Figure 4.22 some households in the study area had up to four of their members engaged in livelihood pursuit. However, majority of the households had only one of their members actively engaged in

livelihood pursuit. Households that had only a single member pursuing livelihood accounted for up to 62.5% of the households surveyed. About 25.1% of the households surveyed had two of their members were active participants in livelihood pursuit. Households with three and four of their members engaged in livelihood pursuit accounted for about 10.5% and 1.9% respectively of the respondents.

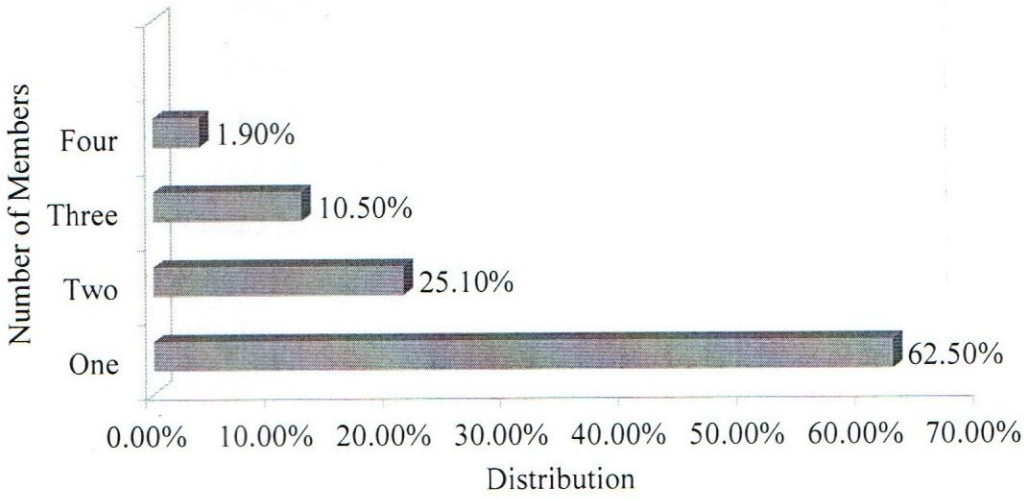


Figure 4: 22 Number of Household Members pursuing livelihood

Where only one member of the household was engaged in livelihood pursuit, it was most likely the household head according to informal discussions with some of the respondents. The household head and another one member of the household were the main participants in livelihood pursuit where more than one member of the household was engaged in livelihood pursuit. Some households had parents and their grown up children involved in livelihood pursuit.

The engagement of several members of households in livelihood pursuit is a livelihood diversification strategy that has been employed by both urban and rural-based households. The need to have sufficient incomes to meet households' daily needs is perhaps the main motivation behind this livelihood diversification strategy. But such strategies are not only used to boost households' incomes but also to spread risks in the event that the main bread winner is either lost through death or incapacitation. In a study of households' response to illness of a bread winner, Barret and Beardmor (2000) found out that among Indian households, women and children

joined the labour force to cushion households from loss of income. It is also a common practice among the pastoralists for children to be used to look after cattle, which are the main source of livelihood for pastoralists. This then frees adults to engage in other productive income generating activities, whose rewards are used to complement those obtained from pastoralism.

4.4.2 Number of Sources of Livelihood at Household Level

The current study also examined livelihood diversification in the context of number of sources of livelihood pursuit by a single household. Most of the households according to the respondents had two sources of livelihoods being pursued concurrently. Respondents who were inclined to this view represented about 59.2% of the respondents this study surveyed. Further examination of Figure 4.23 reveals that 27.3% of the households had only one source of livelihood. However, about 13.4% of the households had three sources of livelihood. Less than 1% of the households derived their livelihoods from over three sources of livelihood.

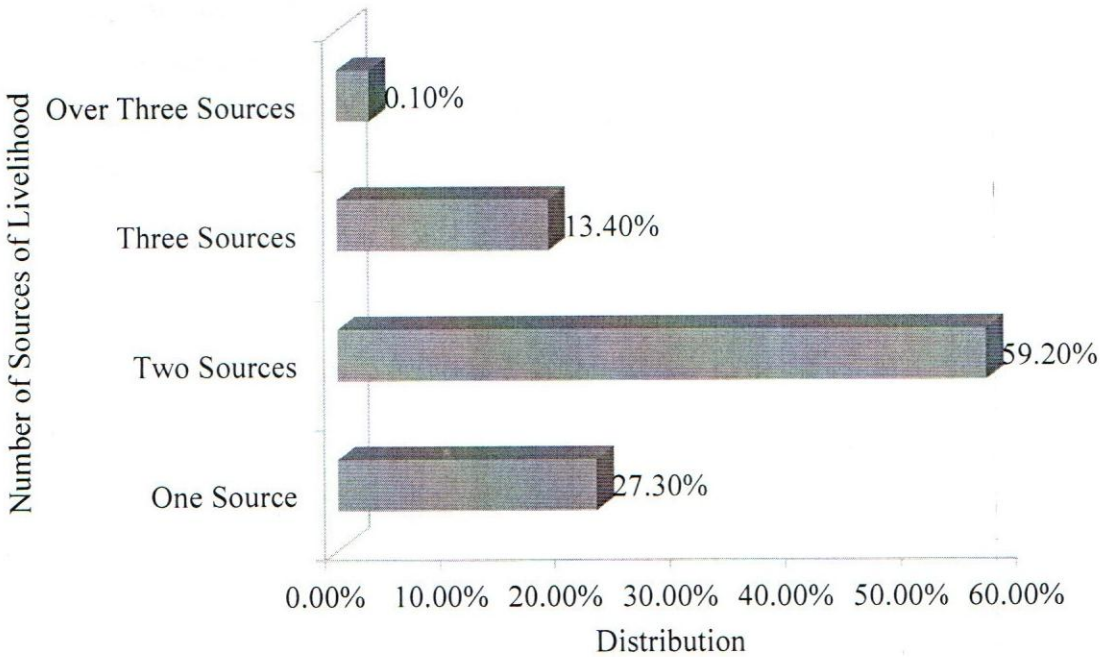


Figure 4: 23 Number of Livelihood Sources per Household

Engagement in diverse sources of livelihood was another important socioeconomic strategy employed by both the Pokot and Marakwet communities in livelihood diversification. Pursuit of

livelihood from more than one source was done within formal and informal sources. This is according to information discussions held with some of the respondents. For instance, some members of the two communities employed as teachers and in the civil service also owned retail outlets in the major urban centres in the locality. Others were employed as night guards while at the same time engaged in other income generating activities such as charcoal and firewood trade, with others engaged in trading of bee products.

4.4.3 Duration for Change of Livelihood Sources

A better understanding of livelihood diversification could also be achieved by examining how long households have derived their livelihoods from sources other than traditional pastoralism. According to results in Figure 4.24 below, majority of the households have had a different source of livelihood away from pastoralism for over 10 years. This position was confirmed by 39.6% of the respondents surveyed in this study. The study also established that some households have had pastoralism as their primary source of livelihood until about two years prior to this study. Households who have had alternative sources of from pastoralism accounted for about 9.4% of the households surveyed. Other households have had a change for livelihood for 2-4 years, 5-7 years and 8-10 years, which represented about 16.8%, 18.3% and 15.8% respectively of the households covered in this study.

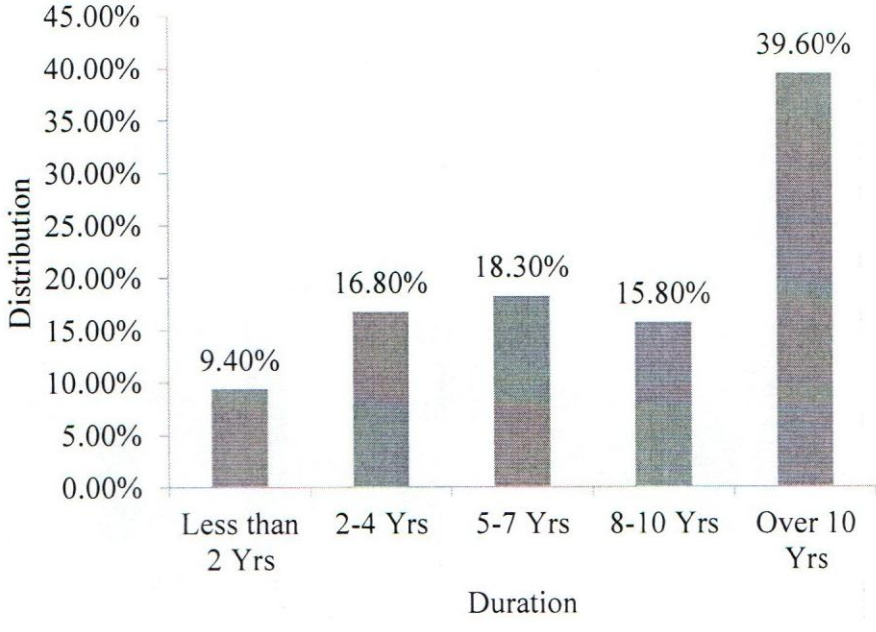


Figure 4: 24 Duration for Change of livelihood Source

4.4.4 Duration for Change of Livelihood by Ethnic Affiliation

The current study also found it appropriate to understand the duration of change of livelihood in the context of ethnicity. It is clear from figure that more members of the Marakwet community embraced alternative sources of livelihood earlier than their counterpart from the Pokot community. For instance, while about 59.3% members of the Marakwet community have had alternative sources of livelihood for over 10 years, there were only 25% members of the Pokot community who have had a change of source of livelihood in the same period. Although more members of the Pokot than Marakwet communities have had a change of livelihood in the last 8-10 years, the difference is small as figure 4.25 below shows. But more evidence that members of the Pokot community have embraced alternative sources of livelihood lately is seen in their high number among households that had a change in source in the four years prior to the study. See Figure 4.25 below for more information on duration of change of livelihood along respondents' ethnic group.

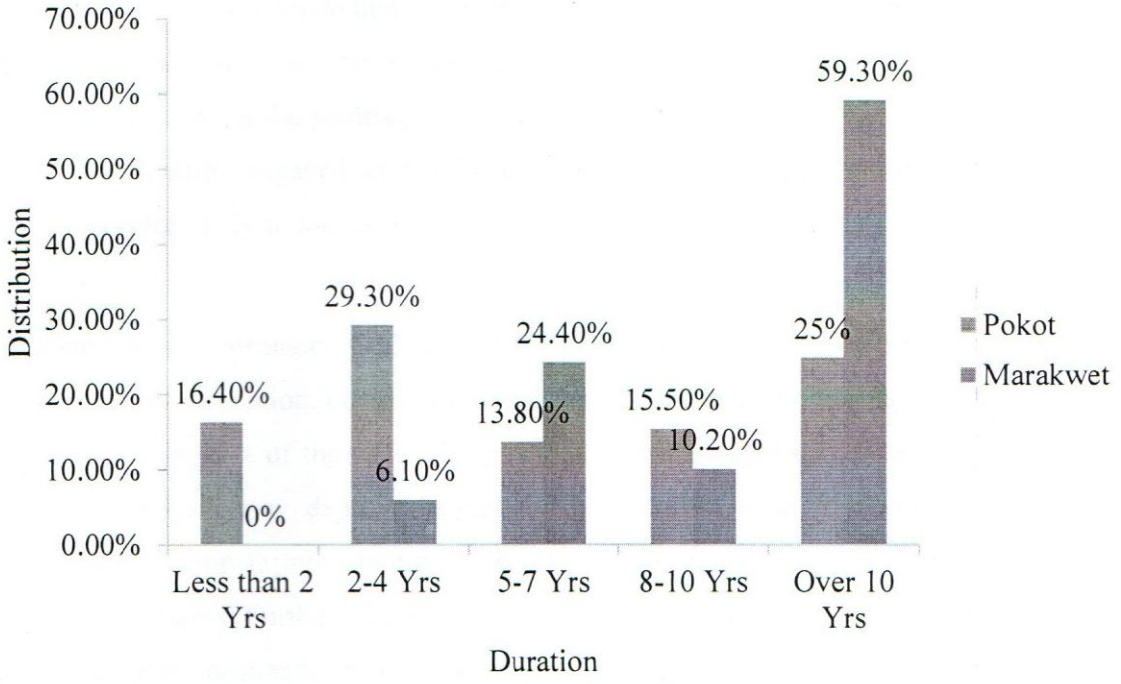


Figure 4: 25 Duration for Change of Livelihood Sources by Ethnic Affiliation

This study measured duration of livelihood at interval level, with Pearson Correlations used to test the relationship between livelihood duration and conflict situation. Results in Table 4.5 suggest that there was a significant relationship between the duration of livelihood pursuit and conflict situation between Pokot and Marakwet communities. This conclusion is arrived at following test results (P>0.05). The study, however, wishes to point that given the positive value of r, that there was a direct relationship between the duration of pursuit of alternative sources of livelihood and conflict situation between Pokot and Marakwet communities.

Table 4: 5 Duration of Change of Livelihood and Conflict Situation

Duration of New Livelihood	Conflict Situation				Total
	Reduced	Increased	No Change	Unable to tell	
< 2 Years	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
2-4 Year	47.1%	.0%	.0%	52.9%	100%
5-7 Years	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
8-10 Years	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100%
Over 10 Years	63.8%	22.5%	13.7%	.0%	100%
Total	76.7%	8.9%	5.4%	9 .0%	100%

r= -0.112, P= 0.002

It is clear from Table 4.4 above that cases of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities remained low until when change to alternative sources of livelihood marked over ten years of existence. This supports the positive r result, which suggested that the more the years members of these communities engaged in pursuit of livelihood, the more conflicts between the two communities were likely to increase.

The current findings resonates well with Wade's (1992) arguments that land transformation by human activity-deforestation, conversion to cropland , pasture and other modifications – , which now involves over 40% of the terrestrial globe and that repeated use of initially good land for agricultural purposes may deplete the soil of its nutrients leading to infertility. Livelihood activities such as crop farming require land clearing and conversion of previous grazing lands into agricultural farms. Further, many years into crop farming may also mean conversion of more grazing lands into farmlands thus further restricting pastoral activities to smaller and smaller areas. This may result in initial discontent among livestock keepers if unchecked conflicts between livestock keepers and crop farmers. The situation would be worsened if crop farming is largely under irrigation as additional crop farming would imply larger supplies of water to crop fields normally in expense of livestock. A further reason for the escalation of conflicts as more years of crop farming go by is found in Dahal's (1994) observation, which holds that farmlands are not equitably distributed around the world. As years into alternative sources of livelihood advance and so do with the socioeconomic values of the resources being exploited is discovered. Many years into say crop farming will not only imply that more acreage of land being put under cultivation but also the emergence of a powerful clique of crop farmers. This group will use all possible avenues to annex more farmlands for cultivation thus excluding other land users. Conflicts will therefore inevitably rise due to this increased alienation. Different conflict fronts will emerge those pitting crop farmers amongst themselves, and those between crop farmers and livestock keepers.

Pursuit of alternative livelihoods such as crop farming is often instigated by pastoralist families who can no longer make a living from animal production alone and as a means of supplementing household food needs and diversifying their means of subsistence (Nori, 2008; Wisner, 2009).

This subsistence strategy, however, often involves land grabbing and the land which is good for crops is also often prime grazing land located in the humid and wetter areas along valley bottoms and foot hills. A physical challenge, however, comes from the very reason for which pastoralism, rather than crop agriculture was established in these ASALs in the first place – the unpredictability of the environment. Because of the land used for crop agriculture also interrupts seasonal livestock mobility and grazing availability, thus having a pronounced negative knock on effect to livestock feed security (Gizachew, 2008). Other alternative sources of livelihood such as charcoal, which this study is being pursued by respondents also has direct bearing on the quality of environmental resources, which traditional pastoral activities depends on. Environmental degradation arising from deforestation (due to charcoal burning and wood fuel harvesting), all result in low quantity and quality environmental resources. Destruction of few forests in pastoral areas by charcoal and wood fuel dealers results in low rainfall and loss of pasture land due to flooding. The short supply of the environmental resources due to unsustainable livelihoods leads to conflicts through intense competition for few available resources. This study therefore attributes the direct relationship between duration of pursuit of alternative livelihoods and increased incidences of conflicts to increased expansion of farmlands, land alienation and loss of quality and quantity environmental services.

4.4.5 Reason for Change of Livelihood Sources

Pursuit of alternative sources of livelihood is either influenced by factors that make traditional sources livelihood unfavorable or alternative sources more favorable. By examining factors that necessitated a change of livelihood, the current study sought to understand the pool and push factors in livelihood pursuit. The fact that traditional source of livelihood was abandoned due to the fact that it was prone to conflict appeared to be the greatest factor influencing change of livelihood. Respondents who said that they abandoned their traditional source of livelihood because it was prone to conflict accounted for a massive 70.3% of all the respondents covered in the study. The need to diversify income as a factor influencing a change of livelihood sources was cited by 7.4% of the respondents. Some respondents felt that their traditional source of livelihood (pastoralism) was least rewarding thus saw the need to shift to other sources of livelihood. This position was taken by 8.9% of study respondents. The general uncertainty surrounding traditional source of livelihood as a factor occasioning change of livelihood was a view supported by 13.4% of the respondents as Figure 4.26 below shows.

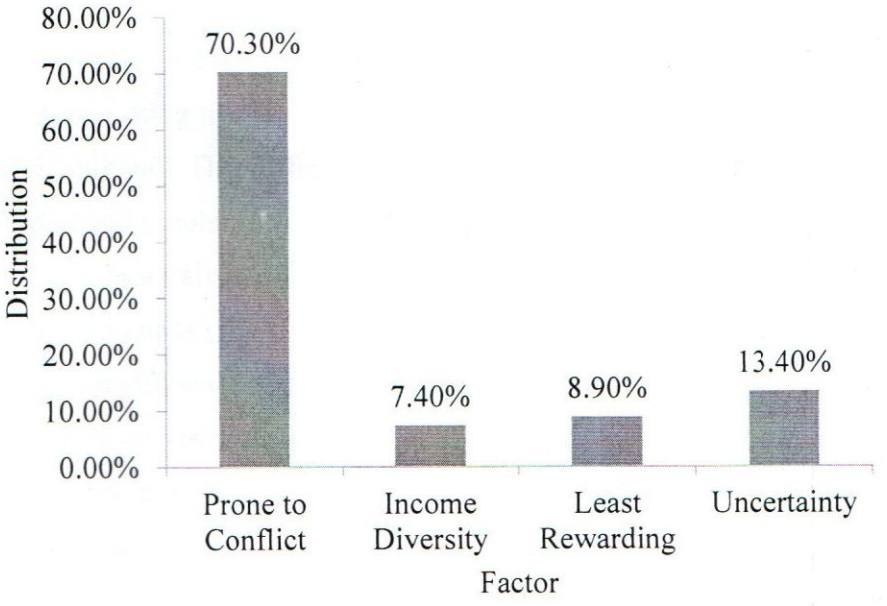


Figure 4: 26 Reason for Change of livelihood Source

This study measured factors occasioning change of livelihood at nominal level, and given that conflict situation was also measured at nominal level, the study considered Chi-square as the most suitable statistical measure to test the association between the two. Statistical test results in table 4.6 indicate that there was a significant association between reason for change of livelihood and conflict situation. This conclusion is arrived at given chi-square results ($P<0.05$) on the association between contributing factors and conflict situation. The association between contributing factors and conflict situation were not only significant but also strong given Cramer's V value of 0.681.

Table 4: 6 Relationship between Reason for Change of Livelihood and Conflict Situation

Reason	Conflict Situation				Total
	Reduced	Increased	No Change	Unable to tell	
Prone to conflict	87.3%	.0 %	.0 %	12.7 %	100 %
Income Diversity	100 %	.0 %	.0 %	.0 %	100 %
Least Rewarding	.0 %	100 %	.0 %	.0 %	100 %
Uncertainty	59.3 %	.0 %	40.7 %	.0 %	100 %
Total	76.7 %	8.9 %	5.4 %	8.9 %	100 %

χ^2= 280.922, df= 9, p= 0.000, Cramer's V= 0.681

Although respondents appear to differ as to what may have influenced them to pursue alternative sources of livelihood, one thing that is certain is the growing difficulty in pursuing livelihood through traditional livelihood. The difficulty faced by traditional pastoralists has also been pointed by other studies and scholarly writings. Traditionally, Pokot and Marakwet communities, who together with other pastoralists occupy 80% of the total area of Kenya, areas commonly called Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) (Galaty *et al*, 1980). While some pastoralists still have access to grazing lands, traditional animal routes and watering points, some-including the ones the current study focused on-have lost them to other economic activities (Salih, 1987; Rigby, 1992). Consequently some pastoralists, among them Pokot and Marakwet communities, have found traditional pastoralism an increasingly difficult source of livelihood leading to their search for alternative sources of livelihoods. The difficulty faced by pastoralist is also well captured by other scholars. For instance, while looking at what might have occasioned rapid rural-urban migrations among formerly known pastoral communities, Cunnison (1966) and Frantz (1975) have attributed such migrations to the establishment of large settlements, plantation farming, wild life sanctuaries and urbanizations, which have not only closed migratory corridors but have also diverted water from livestock to irrigation agriculture thus considerably reducing grazing lands.

While livestock raiding has a long history among pastoral communities, traditional raiding had a redistributive function, whereby animals were transferred across social boundaries in situations of drought or when young men sought animals to pay out as bride price (Hendrickson et al, 1998; Spear and Waller, 1993). Traditional raiding also employed traditional weapons such as spears and bows and arrows, and was often directed by elders. And while lives were lost during such raids, the losses were less compared to what is witnessed today. Recent times have, however, seen the use of sophisticated conventional weapons, which are not responsible for raids of large stock but also huge human fatalities (Weiss, 2004: 27). But worsening the situation is the commercial angle modern day cattle raiding have assumed (Mkutu, 2003: 15). From the foregoing, it is clear that pastoralism as a source of livelihood is increasingly getting prone to conflict, thus making some members of pastoral communities to consider other sources of livelihood that are less-conflict prone.

4.4.6 Reason for Change of Livelihood Sources by Ethnicity

Although both Pokot and Marakwet communities are engaging in pursuit of alternative sources of livelihoods, their decisions appears to have been informed by different reasons if results in Figure 4.27 is anything to go by. While members of the Pokot community alone consider their traditional sources of livelihood as least rewarding and faced with uncertainty as their main reasons for pursuing alternative sources of livelihood, their counterparts from the Pokot community consider income diversity as their main reason for pursuing alternative sources of livelihood. The fact that traditional sources of livelihood are prone to conflict as a factor contributing to change of livelihood was considered by respondents from both Pokot and Marakwet communities. However, more members of the Marakwet community appear to consider this as a factor influencing change of livelihood sources as Figure 4.27 below shows.

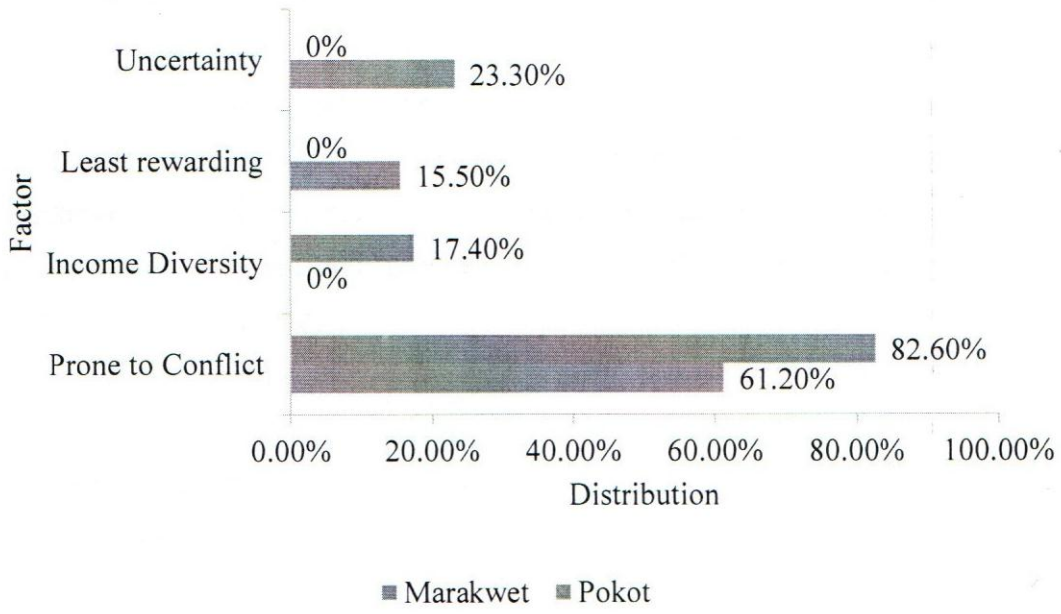


Figure 4: 27 Reason for Change of livelihood Source by Ethnic Affiliation

While some members of the Marakwet have practiced a bit of sedentary agriculture alongside pastoralism, Pokot community on the other hand has stayed with pastoralism as the sole source of livelihood. As already pointed out, most of the Pokot land is largely dry and rocky, which without irrigation cannot support agricultural activities. But even if the Pokot community chose to engage in irrigated agriculture, they cannot afford it on their own without external support.

The overreliance on pastoralism by Pokot community coupled with the difficulty pastoralism as a source of livelihood face implies therefore that respondents from the Pokot community one would find the future of pastoralism as being uncertain and also least rewarding. They are likely therefore to cite uncertainty and least rewarding as their main reason for engaging in alternative sources of livelihood. As a source of livelihood, pastoralism is prone to conflict. As earlier noted competition for pastoral resources notably water and pasture, and cattle rustling have made been the main causes of ethnic conflicts among pastoral communities, therefore this explains why the two communities cite increased cases of pastoral conflicts as driving them toward alternative sources of livelihood.

The current study has not only confirmed that indeed both Pokot and Marakwet communities are undergoing livelihood transformation, but also that these transformations have been occasioned by pool and push factors. The findings of the current study are in concurrence to other studies that have found the future of pastoralism as a source of livelihood being uncertain. Demonstrating on the extent to which pastoral communities are being pushed away from their traditional sources of livelihood, Wisner (2009) points out population pressure, which has increased substantially thus contributing to a proliferation of unplanned settlements which block migration routes and encroach onto pastures. Annual population growth in Kenya's pastoral areas is estimated at 2.8%, and is expected to double the pastoral population every 25 years. Pastoral areas are particularly sensitive to such growth, as each pastoral household requires a minimum herd of 40 sheep/goats, and a few milking cows and/or camels to be food secure. Such increases in human and animal populations are difficult for the rangelands to sustain and create a variety of challenges.

While some members of these communities still practice pastoralism as a source of livelihood, they have over the years experienced low rewards accruing from pastoralism. This study has indeed noted in Figure 4.24 that dwindling pastoral rewards has compelled and pushed some members of the two communities away from pastoralism as a source of livelihood. This fact has been supported by a study by Nori (2008) among the Borana Community. Nori (2008) found that daily milk yield among the Borana pastoral community declined from about 4 litres to 0.75 litres per cow within a period of 10 years. Similarly Wisner (2009) found that only 15% of pastoral

communities were food secure. Further, pastoral communities are increasingly losing livestock to drought and diseases, while others sell their animals at throw-away prices in the face of these calamities.

Changing from traditional to alternative sources of livelihood is not new among pastoral communities. The findings of studies by Ndagala (1992) Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) are in many respects similar to the findings of the current study. Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe (2003) while analyzing the changing livelihoods strategies of the Maasai community in the face of continued pressure on grazing lands, noted a high influx of Maasai Moran into Tanzania's major urban centres where they work as night guards. What makes Maasai Moran prefer or being preferred as night guards is well illustrated by Ndagala (1992) a decade earlier. Morans serve as the military wing of the Maasai community; keeping vigil against cattle raiders and wild animals that many times prey on their cattle. The author further observes that secluded lives of Morans before graduation also prepare them for military-like occupation. Like any other pastoral communities, Pokot and Marakwet communities also have structures that secure them from the aggressors. While the current study did not specifically come across a member of these two communities deriving livelihood from night guarding, informal discussions with some respondents pointed to the fact that some of members from the two communities were not getting livelihood through night guarding in the area but possibly in other parts of the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The study focused on the effectiveness of livelihood diversification on the management of ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The study was guided by three specific objectives; to analyze current mechanisms employed in the management of ethnic conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities, to examine the effect of livelihood strategies in the management of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities, and to assess the relationship between livelihood diversification and the status of ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. The study collected data largely from primary sources through administration of interview schedules. The current study also collected data from secondary sources mainly through review of literature and relevant documents. Data collected was then organized and analyzed both descriptively and inferentially and subsequently presented in tables and figures.

5.2 Summary

The following summary of the study findings are based on the objectives of the study, data collection, data analysis and interpretation.

5.2.1 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict Situation

A substantial number of the responds believed that ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had reduced following pursuit of alternative livelihood by members of the two communities. This position was supported by 76.7% of the respondents. However, about 8.9% of the respondents felt that ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had actually increased following livelihood diversification. Some respondents observed that the adoption of alternative sources of livelihood has not changed at all the status of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities, a view that was supported by about 5.4% of the respondents. However,

about 8.9% of the respondents could not tell whether or not ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities had increased or reduced (Figure 4.7).

5.2.2 Main Causes of Ethnic Conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet Communities

The major causes of ethnic conflict between Pokot and Marakwet were largely centred on pastoralism as a source of livelihood. In particular, cattle raiding, competition for pasture, water and farmlands were main causes of conflict between the two communities. About two thirds of these conflicts were caused by cattle raiding, which in effect accounted for about 65% of the incidences of conflicts as cited by the respondents. Competition for pasture/grazing areas also played a significant part in conflict between these communities, where it contributed about 25% of the conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Competition for water and farmlands accounted for about 7% and 3% respectively of all the conflicts between the two communities (Figure 4.8)

5.2.3 Mechanisms of Managing Pokot and Marakwet Ethnic Conflicts

Negotiation, litigation, police intervention and coercion were the main mechanisms used to resolve the conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Negotiation and coercion accounted for 61% and 34% of conflict management mechanisms used to resolve the disputes between the two communities. Adjudication and police interventions as conflict management mechanisms were resolved less than 10% of the conflicts between the two communities (Figure 4.9)

While respondents from Marakwet community tended to favour community based interventions, those from Pokot communities appeared to prefer institutional/government initiated interventions. For instance, while about 61.2% of the respondents from the Marakwet community valued negotiation (peace meetings) only 35% of the respondents from the Pokot community favoured the same. Further, while coercion was preferred by 42.2% of the respondents from the Marakwet community, only a paltry 3.5% of respondents from the Pokot community considered the mechanism. Further examination of figure 4.10 below reveals that about 19% of the respondents from Pokot community against just 3.4% of their counterpart from

the Marakwet community favoured police intervention as a mechanism of resolving ethnic conflict. (Figure 4.10)

5.2.4 Livelihood Strategies of Members of Pokot and Marakwet Communities

Members of Pokot and Marakwet communities sourced their livelihoods from formal employment, crop farming, dairy farming and business. Business as a source of livelihood was pursued by 52% of the respondents, with diary and crop farming serving as a source of livelihood to about 10.9% and 20.30% of the respondents respectively. Crop farming was the second most common source of livelihood to the two communities. Formal employment was a vital source of livelihood to about 16.8% of the respondents, thus making it the third most popular source of livelihood to members of Pokot and Marakwet communities surveyed.

A higher proportion of the respondents with post-primary education had formal employment as their main source of livelihood. Dairy and crop farming as sources of livelihood was dominated by respondents with secondary level of education and below. Business as a source of livelihood appeared to be favoured by all respondents not withstanding their levels of education (table 4.3). Males dominated formal employment and business as sources of income. All the formal employees among the study sample were males. Males also accounted for 51.6% of businesses compared to just 14% held by females. With regard to crop farming, females occupied 78.5% of crop farming activities against 40.9% held by their male counterparts. Dairy farming as a source of income also had almost twice the number of females compared to that of males (Figure 4.20).

Both members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities had substantial engagement in business as a source of livelihood with the former and latter having 47.4% and 58.1%involvement respectively. Crop farming is also another source of livelihood that was heavily pursued by the two communities though more of the Marakwets than Pokots considered it as a source of livelihood. Dairy farming and formal employment as sources of livelihood were pursued exclusively by members of the Marakwet communities according to the sampled population (Figure 4.19).

5.2.5 Livelihood Diversification Strategies of Pokot and Marakwet Communities

The engagement of several members of the household in livelihood pursuit and deriving livelihood from several sources were the main livelihood diversification strategies adopted by members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities surveyed. However, majority (62.5%) of the households had only one of their members actively engaged in livelihood pursuit, with about 25.1% of the households having two of their members as active participants in livelihood pursuit. Households with three and four of their members engaged in livelihood pursuit accounted for about 10.5% and 1.9% respectively of the respondents (Figure 4.21). Most or 59.2% of the households had two sources of livelihoods being pursued concurrently, with a further 27.3% of the households having only one source of livelihood. However, about 13.4% of the households had three sources of livelihood. Less than 1% of the households derived their livelihoods from over three sources of livelihood (Figure 4.22).

5.2.6 Factors Influencing Change of Livelihood Strategies

The decision to pursue alternative sources of livelihood was informed by a number of factors. Seventy point three percent (70.3%) of respondents said that they abandoned their traditional source of livelihood because it was prone to conflict. The need to diversify income as a factor influencing a change of livelihood sources was cited by 7.4% of the respondents. Some respondents felt that their traditional source of livelihood was least rewarding thus saw the need to shift to other sources of livelihood, a position that was taken by 8.9% of study respondents. Uncertainty surrounding pastoralism as a source of livelihood and as a factor occasioning change of livelihood influenced about 13.4% of the respondents (figure 4.24).

5.2.7 Duration of Change of Change of Livelihood Source

Thirty nine point six percent (39.6%) of the households had a pursued a source of livelihood different from pastoralism for over 10 years. The study also established that some households have had pastoralism as their primary source of livelihood until about two years prior to this study. Households who have had alternative sources of from pastoralism accounted for about 9.4% of the households surveyed. Other households have had a change for livelihood of 2-4 years, 5-7 years and 8-10 years, which represented about 16.8%, 18.3% and 15.8% respectively of the households covered in this study (Figure 4.23).

5.2.8 Change of Livelihood Duration and Conflict Situation

There was a significant and direct relationship between the duration of livelihood pursuit and conflict situation between Pokot and Marakwet communities. Conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities increased as the number of years in which individuals pursued their alternative source of livelihood increased (Table 4.4).

5.3 Conclusions

5.3.1 Theoretical Conclusions

This current study was anchored on Multiple Livelihood Model and Conflict Theory. The thrust of Multiple Livelihood Model is that macro-level economic changes in developing countries have compelled individuals and households of all social and economic backgrounds to diversify their sources of income. The analysis of people's strategic response to economic crisis, especially the significance of formal and informal sectors as sources of livelihood fits well into the framework of livelihood diversification, which was the focus of this study. Similarly, the model's view that individuals and households develop different livelihood strategies based on the nature of their employment, skill, access to resources, socio-economic background and place of residence in many ways concur with the findings of this study. Pokot and Marakwet communities were found to have different strategies of earning a livelihood, some of which differ greatly from their traditional sources of livelihood. Some derived their livelihoods from formal employment, business, crop and dairy farming. Informal discussions also revealed that some members of the two communities also eked a living as guards and from charcoal trading. The current study also found that many households in the two communities had diversified their sources of livelihood, with some having as many as three sources of livelihoods and deploying more than one member of the households in livelihood pursuit. Some worked as guards while simultaneously engaging in charcoal trade. Those in formal employment also had set up retail business as secondary sources of income. Multiple Livelihood Model has therefore been found to be adequate in explaining aspects of the study that focused on livelihoods.

Conflict theory stresses the existence of opposing forces in the life of individuals and society in general. It views society as a collection of competing interest individuals/groups, each with their own motives and expectations. The theory assumes members in society have different values,

interests or expectations, which vary according to one's position, ability, and wealth (Abraham, 1982; Rahim 1997). This study used the ideas of Coser (1967), Dahrendorf and Collins on conflict in its analysis of conflicts between the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Dahrendorf traces human conflicts to power distribution in society, and defines power as the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance. Coser argues that conflict can both be integrative as well as disintegrative, with the former being responsible for helping society release hostilities, create norms for dealing with conflict, and develop lines of authority and judicial systems. Collins identifies economic resources/material conditions, power resources/social positions within organizational networks and cultural resources/ control over the rituals that produce solidarity and group symbols; as some of the powers individuals/groups compete for.

Just like conflict theorists contend that conflict centres on competition for power and resource mobilization, the current study also found that conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities is caused by competition for pastoral resources, which include cattle, water and grazing and farm lands. Possession of livestock and land to these communities is not only a means to achieving an economic resource but also a socio-cultural power. Therefore conflicts between the two communities over these resources are not only meant to gain economic leverage but also an opportunity for socio-cultural expression. Similarly, just like Collins argues that members of conflicting parties find moral justification to engage in conflicts, members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities also engage in the conflicts collectively as a sign of commitment to community's moral calling. The current study has also confirmed that conflict can both be beneficial and destructive to society just like Coser contends. Persistent conflicts have generally retarded development and created mistrust among the two communities. But conflict has also prompted these communities to creatively develop conflict management systems some of which target the structural causes of conflict such as livelihood diversification and emphasis on formal education as a long term goal of addressing conflicts between the two communities. This study wishes to cite these as integrative roles of conflict. The current study has therefore found conflict theory especially the ideas of Coser, Collins and Dahrendorf as being relevant and adequate for the analysis of this study especially aspects that focused on conflict.

5.3.2 Empirical Conclusions

Interpretation and analysis of data collected from interview schedules and informal discussions show that ethnic conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities are largely livelihood based and centres on pastoral resources notably water and pastureland. But the social-cultural and economic value accorded to livestock has exacerbated hostilities between the two communities through cattle rustling. Although the rewards and losses accrued from these conflicts do not directly affect all members of the community, management/resolution of these conflicts are approached communally.

With regard to conflict management, a number of mechanisms have been put in place over the years to try and resolve conflicts among the two communities. Mechanisms such as coercion though preferred by 36.3% of members of the two communities, has not had an enduring effect in terms of delivery of peace. The shortcomings of coercion far much outweighs its benefits thus serving no significant purpose as a conflict management mechanism. Negotiation was found most useful by 81% of members of the two especially when spearheaded by community elders. The special position of community elders in these communities especially their role as community's gate keepers if well harnessed can go a long way in providing durable solutions to conflicts between the two communities. Although litigation and police intervention were minimally used as mechanisms of conflict management, they proved quite effective in the few instances they were employed, thus suggesting the need for their enhanced adoption.

Livelihood diversification especially the pursuit for alternative sources of livelihood would prove useful in lowering incidences and intensity of conflicts between Pokot and Marakwet communities if well implemented and managed. Otherwise unfocused pursuit of livelihood through the exploitation of resources such as land and water, which incidentally are highly demanded by pastoralism as a source of livelihood may exacerbate rather than reduce ethnic conflicts between the two communities.

Pastoralism as a source of livelihood is increasingly being threatened by both natural and man made activities. Climate variability leading to loss of pasture and water as well as flash floods is rendering the practice a difficult source of livelihood. The conversion of grazing lands into farmlands, and diversion of few water sources to irrigation as well as the destruction of few

forests and shrubs for charcoal and wood fuel harvesting have all made pastoralism a not so much desired source of livelihood. Respondents indeed confirmed by citing that pastoralism as a source of livelihood is not only least rewarding but also has uncertain future. Added to this is the commercial angle contemporary cattle rustling activities have assumed all suggesting that the future of pastoralism is indeed bleak.

5.4 Recommendations

The current study makes the following general and policy recommendations that need to be considered for the achievement of a more sustainable peaceful co-existence among Pokot and Marakwet communities. Additionally, this study has made recommendations on areas which may require further research.

5.4.1 General Recommendations

This study was concerned that persons/groups pursuing livelihood from different sources often perceived each other as competitors. This study noted that most of these alternative sources of livelihoods may have been adopted without undertaking adequate considerations of their possible negative impact to already existing sources of livelihood. The study recommends for better training in the fields of livelihood especially the complementarily role of diverse sources of livelihoods. Such trainings could even enable say livestock farmers to have working arrangements to harvest crop residue for animal feed or graze in fallow farms between seasons. Similarly crop farmers could consider livestock keepers as potential sources of organic manure and animal driven farm machineries.

5.4.2 Policy Recommendations

Comprehensive Resource Sharing Mechanism

Pastoral resources where conflicts have been witnessed are pasture land and water resources. Diversion of water channels by some groups and individuals especially for crop farming was done without due regard to other water users notably pastoralists. Since water is essential to both crop farming and pastoralism it becomes necessary for authorities in the water and agricultural sectors to intervene and help communities come up with a comprehensive resource sharing mechanism.

Security Provision

The study established that there are fears, mistrust and suspicion between members of the Pokot and Marakwet communities arising from the consequences of conflicts over pastoral resources. Conflicts over these resources have resulted into deaths, loss of property, displacement and environmental degradation. Although police intervention was found to be rare in conflict situations involving the two communities, the study found these interventions to be very effective in the few occasions it has occurred. This study therefore recommends that the government boosts police deployment in the area to help stem the escalation of conflicts between the two communities, particularly those prompted by cattle rustling and revenge attacks.

5.4.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The current study established that some members of Pokot and Marakwet communities have had alternative sources of livelihood for varied periods, with some being less than two years and others over ten years. It was not immediately clear to the study whether there were any members of the two communities that would be described as having had successful livelihood transitions from traditional pastoralism to current sources of livelihood. This study is thus recommending for further study to be done on factors influencing successful livelihood transitions from traditional pastoralism to current sources of livelihoods.

Despite the dangers that pastoralism as a source of livelihood has faced over the years ranging from climate variability, pastoral conflicts and changing land use patterns, a considerable number of pastoral communities have continued to defy these disruptive factors. As already noted a large percentage of people form Kenya's ASAL regions still depend on pastoralism as their main

source of livelihood. This is a clear indication that pastoralists have developed mechanisms of overcoming these disruptive factors. This study therefore recommends for a further study on pastoralists coping mechanisms in their adaptation to climate variability, pastoral conflicts and changing land use patterns.

REFERENCES

Aboud, A. A. and Suudiya A. A. (1994) *Attitudes, Perceptions and Development of the Pastoral Areas of Northern Kenya.* A Paper presented to the symposium on the Sustainable Development of North Eastern Kenya. Held at Sarova Shaba Hotel, Isiolo, Kenya.

Abraham, M. F. (1982). *Modern Sociological Theory*: *An Introduction.* New Delhi: MacGraw

Agrawal, A., (1994) Rules, Rule Making and Rule Breaking: Examining the fit between Rule System and Resource Use. In E. Ostrom, R. Gardner and J. Walker (eds*). Rules, Games and Common Pool Resources* Ann Arbor, EE, UU., University of Michigan Press.pp.56-67

Alabi, R.A, A.O Esobhawan, M.B. Aruna. (2006). Econometric Determination of Contribution of Family Poultry to Women's Income in Niger□Delta, Nigeria. *Journal of Central European Agriculture,* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp.753 – 760.

Bailey, J.L ,(1987) "Hot Fish and Bargaining Chips" Journal of Peace Research Vol 5pp 257.

Barret, A. and Beardmor, R. (2000). 'Poverty reduction in India: Towards building successful slum upgrading strategies.' Discussion paper for Urban Future conference, Johannesburg.

Barrett CB and Luseno WK. (2004). Decomposing producer price risk: A policy analysis tool with an application to northern Kenyan livestock markets. *Food Policy* 29:393–405.

Barth, F. (1973). "*A General Perspective on Nomad-Sedentary Relations in the Middle East*", in C. Nelson(ed), The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the wider society, Berkeley Institute of International Studies, University of California, Research Series No. 21. pp74

Bassi, M. (2003).Enhancing equity in the relationship between projected areas and local communities in the context of global change: Horn of Africa and Kenya. URL: http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/CCA-MBassi.pdf, date accessed: 2/06/2011.

Baxter P.T.W. (1993). The "New" East African Pastoralist: An Overview. In: Markakis J. (ed) *Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*, Macmillian, London.pp. 203-210

Baxter P. and Ikobwa V (2005). Peace Education, Why and How. In *Forced Migration: Education in Emergencies.* Refugees Studies Centre in Association with Norwegian Refuge Council.

Bernstein, Lisa. (1992). "Opting Out of the Legal System: Extralegal Contractual Relations in the Diamond Industry," *Journal of Legal Studies* 21: 115–157.

Bingham, Lisa Blomgren,Tina Nabatchi, Jeffrey Senger, and Michael Scott Jackman. (2009). "Dispute Resolution and the Vanishing Trial: Comparing Federal Government Litigation and ADR Outcomes." *Ohio State Journal of Dispute Resolution* 24 (2): 1–39.

Birch Izzy, Shuria Halima. (2001). *Perspectives on Pastoral Development. A Casebook from Kenya.* Oxfam 2001. London.

Blake, R.R., Shepard, H.A., & Mouton, J. S. (1964). *Managing intergroup conflict in industry.* Houston, Texas: Gulf.

Blench R. (2000). *Extensive pastoral livestock systems: Issues and options for the future.* GCP/JPN/005/ JPN. FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), Rome, Italy.

Bonfiglioll A. and Watson, (1992). *Pastoralists at a Crossroads. Survival and Development issues in African Pastoralism.* NOPA. Nairobi.

Brenner, O (1982). "Relationship of Education to Sex, Managerial Status and Managerial Stereotype", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol 67, pp 380-383.

Broch-Due V. (1990). "Livestock speak louder than sweet words": Changing Property and Gender Relations Among the Turkana. In: Baxter P.T.W. and Hogg R. (eds) *Property, Poverty and People: Changing Rights in Property and Problems of Pastoral Development*, University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology and International Development Centre, Manchester.

Campbell DJ. (1984). Responses to drought among farmers and herders in southern Kajiado District, Kenya. *Human Ecology* 12(1):35–63.

Carlos, E. and Gabriel, D. A. (2005). "The Cost of Disputes in Companies and the Use of ADR Methods: Lessons from Nine Latin American Countries." MIF Study, Multilateral Investment Fund, Washington, DC.

Chevalier, J. and Buckles, D. (1995). *A Land without Gods*: *Process Theory, Maldevelopment and the Maxican Nahuas.* London: Zed Books.

Coser, L. (1967). *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*. New York: The Free Press.

Crisp, Jeff. (2003). "No solutions in sight: the problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa," New Issues in Refugee Research Working Paper No. 75. Geneva: UNHCR.

Crow, B (1995) *Sharing the Ganges*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Coppock D. L. and Desta (2007), Pastoralism under Pressure: Tracking System Change in Southern Ethiopia. *Human Ecology* 32 (4), pp.465-486.

Cunnison, I. (1966). *Baggara Arabs*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Dahal, D. R., (1994) *"A Review of Forest User Groups". Case Studies from Eastern Nepal:* Kathmandu, Nepal; ICIMOD

Dejene A. and A. Abdurahman (2002). The Root Causes of Conflict among the Southern Pastoral Communities of Ethiopia: A Case Study of Borana and Degodia. In: Conflict in the Horn: Prevention and Resolution. Report of Ethiopia National Workshop. Addis Ababa. OSSREA pub.pp89-101

Desalegn, C. E, M. S. Babel, A. Das Gupta, B. A. Seleshi, and D. Merrey (2004). Farmers' perception about water management under drought conditions in the Awash River Basin, Ethiopia. A paper submitted for possible publication in the *International Journal of Water Resources Development.*

Dixon, William J. (1996). "Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlements," *International Organization* 50: 653-681.

Ellickson, Robert C. (1991). *Order without Law: How Neighbors Settle Disputes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Epprecht, M., L.V. Vinh, J. Otte and D. Roland-Holst. (2007). Poultry and poverty In Vietnam. HPAI Research Brief, No:1- Year, 2007.

FAO. (2002). Improving Access to Natural Resources for Rural Poor: A critical Analysis of Central concepts. New York: Economic and Social Department.

Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO). (2002). Improved animal health for poverty reduction and sustainable livelihoods. *FAO Animal Production and Health Paper* 153.

Galaty, J. D, Aronson, P. and Chouinard, A. (1980). *The Future of Pastoral Peoples:* Proceedings of a conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, 4-8 August, 1980. Ottawa. International Development Centre.

Gibson C.C. and Koontz T. (1998). *When "Community" Is Not Enough: Institutions and Values in Community-Based Forest Management in Southern Indiana*, Volume 26, Number 4, December 1998 , pp. 621-647(27).

Gizachew, L. (2008). Status of Feed Resources in Arid and Semi-Arid Lowlands of Ethiopia. In Proceedings of Sub-regional workshop on Managing East African Rangeland for better response to feed crises. FAO: Addis Ababa.pp.43

GlobalWitness.*NaturalResourcesinConflict*Availablehttp/www.globalwitness.org/pages/en/natural_resources _in conflict, accessed on 29th July, 2013.

Government of Kenya. (2008). *Marakwet District Development Plan 2008-2012.* The Government Printer.

Gueye, E.F., (2007b). The role of family poultry in poverty alleviation, food security and the promotion of gender equality in rural Africa. *Outlook on Agriculture,* 29: 129-136.

Hansen, K and Vaa, K. (2004). *Reconsidering Informality Perspectives from Urban Africa:* Upsalla: Afrikaininstitutet.

Hendrickson, D., Armon, J. and R. Mearns. (1998). 'Conflict and Vulnerability to Famine: Livestock Raiding in Turkana, Kenya.' Drylands Programme Issues Paper no. 80. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.

Hinnant, J. (1978). "The Guji: *Gadaa* as a Ritual System". In: Paul Baxter and Uri Almagor (eds.): Age, Generation and Time: Some Features of East African Age Organizations.pp.132-135

Hogg R. (1987). Development in Kenya: Drought, desertification and food scarcity. *African Affairs* 86(**1**):47–58.

Hogg R. (1988). Water harvesting and Agricultural production in semi-arid Kenya. *Development and Change* 19(1):69–87.

Homer- Dixon, T. F., (1994). "Environmental Scarcity and Intergroup Conflict" In *World Security: Challenges for a New Century* pp. 290-313. New York: St. Martin's Press

IFC (International Finance Corporation). (2006). "Evaluation of the PEP SE ADR Projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Macedonia." Washington, DC. Jorquiera,

ITDG (Intermediate Technology Development Group). (2005b). *Livestock market access initiative: Pre-assessment and feasibility analysis, northeast Turkana.* Intermediate Technology Development Group—East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya.

Jackson, W. (2003). Methods: Doing Social Research. Toronto: Pearson Education, Inc.

Kaimowitz, David. (1996). *Livestock and Deforestation, Central America in the 1980s and 1990s: A Policy Perspective.* Center for International Forestry Research, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Kasanga, K. and N.A. Kotey (2001). *Land Management in Ghana: Building on Tradition and Modernity.* International Institute for Environment & Development, London.

Kazimbaya-Senkwe, Barbara M. (2004). Home Based Enterprises in a Period of Economic Restructuring in Zambia. In *Reconsidering Informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa*, Hansen, K. T and Vaa, M (eds) Nordiska Afrikaininstitutet: Uppsala

Lane Charles. (1996). *Pastures Lost. Barabaig Economy, Resource Tenure, and the Alienation of their Land in Tanzania.* Initiatives Publishers. Nairobi.

Lane C. and Moorehead R. (1994). New directions in rangeland and resource tenure and policy. In: Scoones I. (ed) *Living with Uncertainty: New Directions in Pastoral Development in Africa*, Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd, London.

Le Billon, Philippe. (2000). "The Political Economy of War: An Annotated Bibliography," ODI Network Paper 33, London: Overseas Development Institute.

Legesse, A. (1973). *Gadaa*: *Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*. New York: Free press.

Lowi, M.R., (1996) "Political and Institutional Responses to Trans boundary Water Disputes in the Middle East" in *Environmental Change and Security Project Report,* pp. 5-8. Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center.

(2000). *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System.* Asmara: The Red Sea Press, Inc.

Little PD, Smith K, Cellarius BS, Coppock DL and Barrett CB. (2001). Avoiding disaster: Diversification and risk management among east Africa herders. *Development and Change* 32:401–433.

Likert, R. (1931). "A technique for the Measurement of Attitudes". *Archives of Psychology.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Livestock in Development. (1999). Livestock in Poverty Focused Development. Crewkerne, UK: Livestock in Development.

Luoga, E. J., Witkowski, E. T. F. and Balkwill, K. (2000). Economics of Charcoal Production in Miombo Woodlands of Eastern Tanzania: Some Hidden Costs Associated with Commercialisation of the Resources. *Ecological Economics* 35: 243-257.

McCabe, J. T. (2003). "Sustainability and Livelihood Diversification among the Maasai of Northern Tanzania". *Human Organization* 62: 100-111.

McCay, Bonnie J. and James M. Acheson (1987). *The Question of the Commons: The Culture and Ecology of Communal Resources.* Jucson: University of Arizona Press.

Meshack, C. K. 2003. *Transaction Costs of Community Based Forest Management: Empirical evidence from Tanzania.* M.Sc. Thesis: University of York.

Miller, C A. (2003). *A Glossary of Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies*, Geneva: University for Peace.

Mishra, S., (2007). Household Livelihood and Coping Mechanism During Drought among Oaron Tribe of Sundargarh District of Orissa, India. *Journal of Social Science,* 15 (2): 181 – 186.

Mkutu, K., (2003). 'Pastoral Conflict and Small Arms: The Kenya-Uganda Border Region Saferworld.

Monela, G.C., Kajembe, G.C. Kaoneka, A.R.S. and Kowero, G. (2000). 'Household Livelihood Strategies in the Miombo Woodlands of Tanzania: Emerging Trends. *Tanzania Journal of Forestry and Nature Conservation* 73: 17-33.

Moorehead R. (1991). *Structural Chaos: Community and State Management of Common Property in Mali.* D.Phil Thesis, The Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton.

Mung'ong'o, C and Mwamfupe, D. (2003). *Poverty and Changing Livelihoods of Migrant Maasai Pastoralists in Morogoro and Kilosa Districts, Tanzania.* Dar es Salaam; Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Mustapha, Abdul R. (1992). "Structural Adjustment and Multiple Modes of Social Livelihood in Nigeria". In *Authoritarianism Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of*

Economic Reform in Africa, Seminar Proceedings no.26, ed. P. Gibbon, Y. Bangura, and Ofstad, 188-216. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Mwandosya, M. J., B.S. Nyenzi, and M. L. Luhanga. (1998). *The Assessment of Vulnerability and Adaptation to Climate Change Impacts in Tanzania.* Dar es Salaam: Centre for Energy, Environment, Science and Technology (CEEST).

Ndagala, D. K. (1998). Tanzania. In C. R. Lane (ed.), *Custodians of the Commons: Pastoral Land Tenure in East and West Africa*, London: Earthscan Publications Ltd. Pp. 150-168.

Niamir, M. (1990) Four Topics from Dr. M. Niamir: A Paper Presented to the 6th Regional Workshop on Pasture Management for East Africa; Held at Egerton University, Njoro, Kenya.

Nori et al. (2008). Browsing on fences. Pastoral land rights, livelihoods and adaptation to climate change. IIED issue paper no. 148.

Oster, M. (1995). Strategic Management for Non Profit Organizations. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Owusu, Francis. (2001). Urban Impoverishment and Multiple Modes of Livelihood in Ghana. *The Canadian Geographer.* XLV (3): 387-403.

Rahim, M. (1997). "Styles of managing organizational conflict: a critical review and synthesis of theory and research", in Rahim, M., Golembiewski, R. and Pate, L. (Eds), *Current Topics in Management,* JAI Press, Greenwich, CT, pp. 61-77

Rakowski, C. (1994). "Governance and Divergence in Informal Sector Debate: Focus in Latin America 1984-1992". *World development.* 22(4): 501- 516.

Redcflict, M. (1993). Survival Strategies in Rural Europe: Continuity and Change. *Sociologia Ruralis.* XXVI (3/4) 1297-1307.

Rees, J. (1995). *Natural Resources*: Allocation, Economics and Policy. London: Methuen

Rigby, P. (1992). *Cattle, Capitalism and Class.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Rogerson, C. (1997). "Globalization or Informalization? African Urban Economies in the 1990s. in *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities* ed. Rakodi, C. 337-370: Tokyo: United Nations Univresity Press

Salacuse, J. W. (1993), "Implications for Practitioners." In *Culture and Negotiations.* Edited by Guy Oliver Faure and Jeffery Z. Rubin. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Sandole D, Merwe H. (1993). *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice. Integration and Application.* Manchester University Press. Manchester.

Scoones, I. (1998). "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis". Institute of Development Studies, *IDS Working Paper* No. 72.

Scott, W.R. (1998). Organizations: Rational, Natural and Open Systems. New Jersey: Prentice Hall International.

Shemyakina, O. (2008). The Effect of Armed Conflict on Accumulation of Schooling: Results from Tajukistan. [Online], Available: http://www-scf.usc.edu/~shemyaki/research.html

Smucker, Thomas A. and Ben Wisner, (2008). Changing household responses to drought in Tharaka, Kenya: vulnerability, persistence and challenge. *Journal Compilation at Overseas Development Institute. Blackwell Publishing.*

Spear, T. and Waller, R. (1993). Being Maasai: ethnicity and identity in East Africa. Oxford: James Currey with Mkaki na nyota, EAEP and Ohio University Press.

Stiefel, Mattias. (1999). "Rebuilding After War: Lessons from WSP," Geneva: War Torn Societies Project.

Stinchcombe, A. L. (1983). Economic Sociology: Studies in Social Discontinuity. New York: Academic Press.

Suliman, M. (1999b). *The Nuba Mountains of Sudan: Resource Access, Violent Conflict, and Identity.* In Buckles, D. (ed.). Cultivating Peace; Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management. Accessed May 2011 on World Wide Web: http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/doc/The_Nuba_Mountains_of_Sudan.doc.

Tache, B. and B. Irwin (2003). Traditional institutions, multiple stakeholders and modern perspectives in common properties: accompanying change within Borana pastoral systems. Securing the commons, No. 4.

Umar Abdi (ed). (1994). *Symposium for the Sustainable Development of North Eastern Kenya.* Kenya Pastoralist Forum. Nairobi: Crescent of Hope.

UNDP Drylands Development Centre. (2006). *Making rural markets work for the poor.*Nairobi: UNDP

VicRes. (2008). *Harnessing Bio-resources for socio-economic transformation for Eastern Africa,* 1st BIO_EARN\VicRes Scientific Conference, 24-27th November 2008, Entebbe, Uganda.

Wade, R., (1992) "Common Property Resource Management in South Indian Villages" in *Making the Commons work: Theory, Practice and Policy* (ed) Daniel W. Bromley et al, (1990) Governing the Market. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.pp.112

Weiss, T., (2004), 'Guns in the Borderlands. Reducing the Demand for Small Arms', *Monograph No. 95,* Institute for Security Studies, South Africa.

White C. (1990). Changing Animal Ownership and Access to Land Among the Wodaabe (Fulani) of Central Niger. In: Baxter P.T.W. and Hogg R. (eds) *Property, Poverty and People: Changing Rights in Property and Problems of Pastoral Development*, University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology and International Development Centre, Manchester

Wisner, B. etal. (2009). *At Risk: natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*, London: Routledge.

World Bank. (1995). *Mexico Resource Conservation and Forest Sector Review*, World Bank Report

Yamane, T. (1973). Statistics, an introductory Analysis (3rd ed.). New York: Harper and Row.

Zartman, W. (2000). *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict Medicine.* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers

APPENDIX I
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS BETWEEN POKOT AND MARAKWET COMMUNITIES

1. Profile of Respondents

a) What is your age

- ☐ Below 20 Yrs
- ☐ 20-30 Yrs
- ☐ 31-41 Yrs
- ☐ 42-52 Yrs
- ☐ 53-63 Yrs

b) What is your Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

c) What is your highest level of education

- ☐ No formal Education
- ☐ Primary
- ☐ College
- ☐ Secondary
- ☐ University

d) What is your ethnic community

- ☐ Pokot
- ☐ Marakwet

e) What is your religion

- ☐ Roman Catholic
- ☐ Protestant
- ☐ Evangelicals
- ☐ Traditional religion
- ☐ Others. State.....

2. Conflict Management Mechanisms

1) Which of the following describes the frequency of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities

- ☐ Very frequent
- ☐ Frequent
- ☐ Rare
- ☐ Very rare
- ☐ Cannot tell

2) What would you say is the main cause of conflict between Pokot and Marakwet communities?

- ☐ Cattle raiding

ERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRA

- ☐ Competition for pasture
- ☐ Competition for water points
- ☐ Competition for farmlands
- ☐ Others. State.....

3) What action does your community take in the event of conflict with the other community?

- ☐ Report to Police
- ☐ Organizes for revenge
- ☐ File a suit in courts of law
- ☐ Organize peace meetings
- ☐ Others. State.....

4) How often do you seek police intervention in the event of conflicts with Pokot/Marakwet?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

5) Which of the following best describes police response to conflicts in the area?

- ☐ Very fast
- ☐ Fast
- ☐ Slow
- ☐ Very slow
- ☐ Do not intervene at all

6) Which of the following best captures the effectiveness of police in managing conflicts between the two communities?

- ☐ Very effective
- ☐ Effective
- ☐ Cannot tell
- ☐ Not effective

7) How often do you seek court intervention in the event of conflicts with Pokot/Marakwet?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

8) Which of the following best describes courts response to conflicts in the area?

- ☐ Very fast
- ☐ Fast
- ☐ Slow
- ☐ Very slow
- ☐ Do not intervene at all

9) Which of the following best captures the effectiveness of courts in resolving conflicts between the two communities?

- ☐ Very effective
- ☐ Effective
- ☐ Cannot tell
- ☐ Not effective

10) How often do you organize peace meetings in the event of conflicts with Pokot/Marakwet?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

11) Which of the following best captures the effectiveness of peace meetings in resolving conflicts between the two communities?

- ☐ Very effective
- ☐ Effective
- ☐ Cannot tell
- ☐ Not effective

12) How often do you organize revenge attacks in the event of conflicts with Pokot/Marakwet?

- ☐ Very often
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Not at all

13) Which of the following best captures the effectiveness of revenge attacks in managing conflicts between the two communities?

- ☐ Very effective
- ☐ Effective
- ☐ Cannot tell
- ☐ Not effective

3. Sources of livelihood

1) Use the table below to fill the profile of members of your household.

Member	Age	Gender	Level of education
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			

2) Use the following table to identify member's of household with respect to their occupation

Member of household	Occupation
1.	
2.	
3.	

4.	
5.	

3) For members of household engaged in income generating activities, use the table below to indicate their sources of income.

Member of household	Source of livelihood
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

KEY: 1. Crop farming. 2. Dairy farming. 3. Formal employment. 4. Charcoal Business. 5. Trading in firewood. 6. Others.

3 Livelihood Diversification and Conflict

1) State any source of livelihood other than pastoralism

.....

2) How long have you pursued the above as a source of livelihood?

- ☐ Less than 2 Yrs
- ☐ 2-4 Yrs
- ☐ 5-7 Yrs
- ☐ 8-10 Yrs
- ☐ Over 10 Yrs

3) What made you engage in current source of livelihood?

.....

4) State whether you have experienced conflicts within or without community in pursuit of current source of livelihood?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

5) Which of the following best describes the level of conflicts between your community and other communities since the adoption of current source of livelihood?

- ☐ Reduced
- ☐ Increased
- ☐ Remained the same

EGERTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY