



PEACE OR INTO PIECES

Conflict Analysis and Mapping for
Isiolo and Marsabit Counties



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ACRONMY

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National Government

To both Isiolo and Marsabit County Governments

TO THE COMMUNITIES

ACRONYM

AS	- AL-Shabaab	NDMA	- National Drought Management Authority
ASAL	- Arid and Semi-Arid Lands	NETIP	- North Eastern Transport Improvement Project
CBO	- Community based organizations	NGO	- Non-governmental Organizations
CDC	- County Drought Coordinator	NPR	- National Police Reservists
CEWS	- Conflict Early Warning Systems	NPS	- National Police Services
CEWARN	- Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism,	NRM	- Natural Resource Management
CIDP	- County Integrated Development Plan	NSC	- National Steering Committee
CIFA	- Community Initiative and facilitation Assistance	ODM	- Orange Democratic Movement
CPC	- County Peace Committee	PACIDA	- Pastoralist Community Initiative Development and Assistance
CVE	- Countering Violent Extremism	P/CVE	- Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism
DPP	- Deepening Democracy Programme	PNU	- Party of National Union
FGD	- Focus Group Discussion	REGABU	- Rendile, Gabra, Burji
FGM	- Female Genital Mutilation	SATUME	- Samburu Turkana Meru
GBV	- Gender Based Violence	SGBV	- Sexual and Gender Based Violence
HODI	- Horn of Development Initiative	STD	- sexually Transmitted Diseases
IEBC	- Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission	UNDP	- United Nation Development Programme
IGAD	- Inter-governmental Authority on Development	VE	- Violent extremism
IGW	- Isiolo Gender Watch	VEO	- Violent Extremism Organizations
INGO	- International Non-Governmental Organizations		
IPL	- Isiolo Peace Link		
KDF	- Kenya Defense Forces		
KII	- Key Informants Interviews		
KNUT	- Kenya National Union of Teachers		
LAPSSET	- Lamu Port and South Sudan Ethiopia Transport		
MID-P	- Merti Integrated Development Programme		
MNA	- Member of National Assembly		
NCCK	- National Council of Churches of Kenya		



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Importantly, I would like to thank Isiolo Gender Watch's partner Minority Rights Group International for which without their support this work would not have been possible. While many actors, have undertaken such work, IGW new programmes provides new insights into the conflict in the two counties by focusing on prevention perspective vis a vis the establishment or strengthening of conflict early warning mechanism.

While it is difficult to acknowledge all those people who have participated in the study individually, I wish to thank all community groups and their representatives who suspended their activities to interact with us.



Executive Summary

For a long time Northern Kenya has remained incessantly locked in conflict over ethnicity, local politics and the use of natural resources. While inevitably the use, access and control of natural resources are contested, managing conflict in the region remains generally complex and highly dynamic. With history of rivalries and old age competition over use of resources, social transformation continues to compound more reasons for conflict.

With several factors and actors at play, conflict in Isiolo and Marsabit has some level of similarities both in trends and scale with Land; Small Arms, Ethnicity and Devolution politics playing a significant role in shaping conflict between the different ethnic groups and areas.

While the two counties make home to the pastoralists communities, the conflict in Marsabit and Isiolo is perpetrated by armed groups who have support from prominent figures and other actors such as elders who make conduit for arms and finances to their in-group. The Government should also end the hard approach to security issues that has always resulted use of force and brutality; gross human right violations, mass killing, rape and displacement of communities. While conflict in Northern Kenya varies in pattern, conflict in the area points to ineffective arms control and government in ability to effectively take charge of the region.

National Government

- Empower Independent Boundary and Electoral commission (IEBC) and institutions such as Interior ministry to end or resolve all land and boundary issues.

- Enhance state security presence by deploying more security officers and as well use the National Police Reservists (NPR) in countering raiders/bandits due to their understanding of local context and familiarity with the terrain
- Lay strong foundation for access to justice and security with consideration in use of customary law and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.
- Enhance the use of softer approach in security and as well create central coordination of all security issues at both county and national level
- Strengthened existing non-institutional Peace building structures such as the Council of Elders and religious leaders as part of resolving and enhancing peaceful co-existence between local communities.
- Take inventory of all peace actors to enhance better coordination and strengthening of all traditional conflict resolution mechanism

To both Isiolo and Marsabit County Governments

- Enhance equal and fair distribution of resources amongst all the Ethnic groups, this includes employment and other economic opportunities that comes with devolution.
- Enhance and make critical investment in water sector
- Provide Support to the county peace structures particularly the committees and enhance rapid response capability to avert loss of lives and property

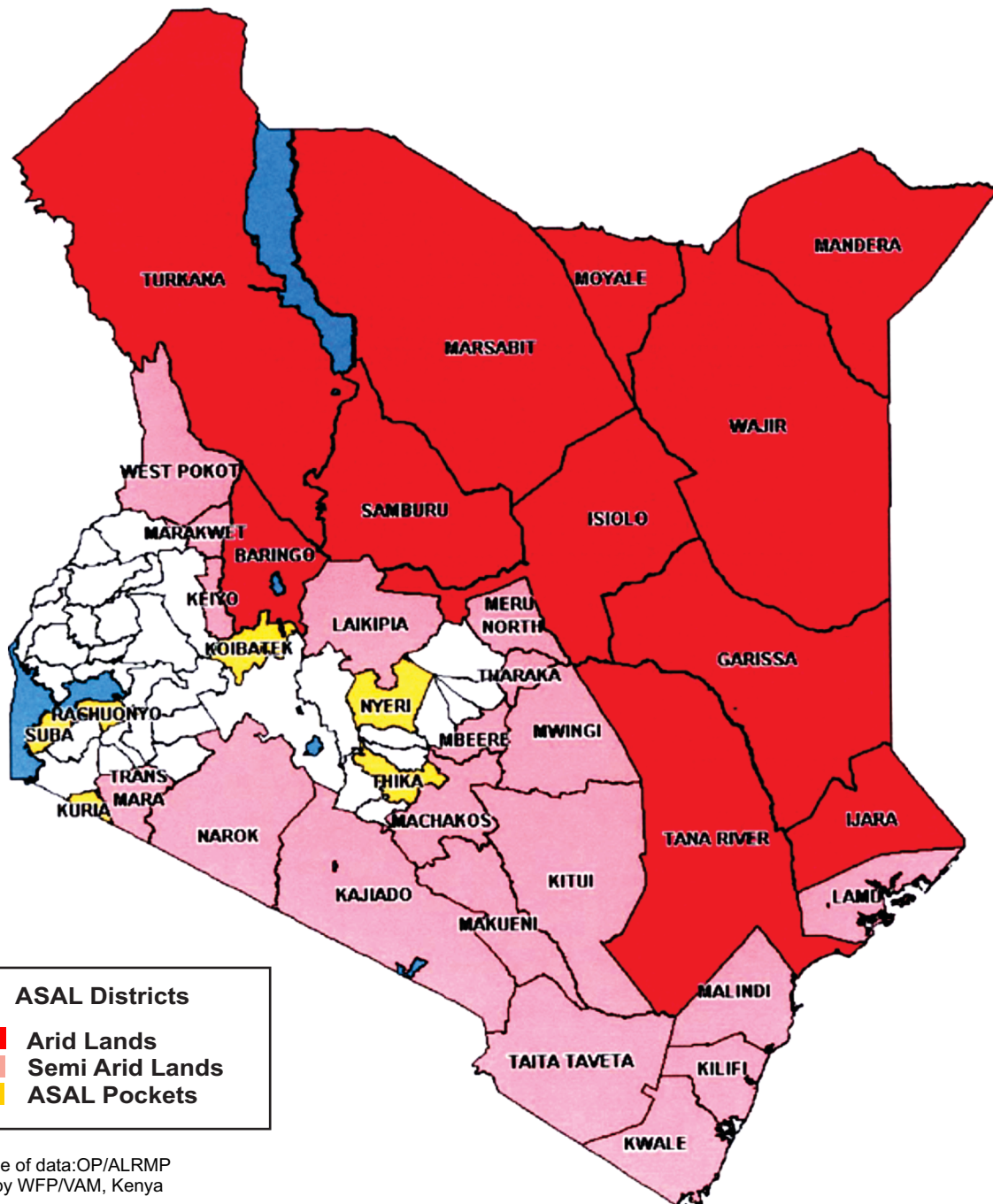
- Support establishment of conflict early warning mechanism/system to enhance sharing of information between different parties.
- Apply the concept of conflict sensitive development (CSD) in enhancing peace. This is key particularly in areas that are contested.
- Fast-track existing county cohesion strategy and innovatively support the development of legislations that support the use of traditional resource governance knowledge.
- Continuously support and improve the existing peace accords and declarations i.e. Modogashe-Garissa declarations while Supporting inter-county mechanism through NRM governance through pushing for appropriate legislation's and policies

TO THE COMMUNITIES

- Use the institution of elders and enhance reciprocal resource sharing plan during drought and other stress period
- Adopt livelihood strengthening and diversification based on context. Encourage local communities to embrace other non-livestock based enterprise such Non Timber and Forest product (NTFP).
- Revert to old ways of resource governance and particularly activation and joint use of strategic rangelands and contingency boreholes in areas contested.
- Share early warning and relevant information useful to development other key partners/stakeholders

KENYA

ARID AND SEMI ARID LANDS



Source of data: OP/ALRMP
Map by WFP/VAM, Kenya

The boundaries and areas shown and used and the diagrams used on this map do not imply official endorsement by the United Nations

Chapter 1.0 : Conflict Overview

The counties of Isiolo and Marsabit have largely remained peace fragile in Northern Kenya. Situated North of Kenya's capital, Nairobi, Isiolo and Marsabit have witnessed the most deadly and unprecedented conflict levels. These have remained dynamic, violent and militarized. While such conflict manifests itself in form of sporadic killings, livestock raids, highway banditry and displacement, conflict in North varies in intensity, scale and duration. Often planned with some level of precision and sometimes with support from local politicians, the changing conflict dynamic points to a complete shift from the traditional resources-based conflict to more of land and boundary and / or political contest.¹ This sharp rise in conflict follows the promulgation of the 2010 constitution that significantly changed the country's governance landscape and introduced a highly competitive politics between the various ethnics groups in the new devolved units beginning March 2013 elections.

With a cumulative population of about 727,787 people during the 2019 census (Marsabit 459,785² and Isiolo 268,002³), the two counties makes home to various pastoralists groups. Situated within the arid zones, Isiolo and Marsabit counties are characterized by low rainfalls and very high temperatures, making it mainly suitable for livestock keeping. The two counties also have some pockets which support crop farming especially along the bank of River Ewaso Ngiro and Kinna area in Isiolo, while in Marsabit County; Saku constituency remains a high agriculture potential

area. The region suffers from frequent droughts and therefore intense competition over scarce natural resources, making access and control of these resources key survival strategy for pastoralists and their herds with sometimes slightest contact triggering conflict. While such environmental factors traditionally pit pastoralist's communities against each other, there is a pointer to new wave of conflict: ethno-based political conflict and expansionism agenda, which is pursued by all groups. The government's inability to end conflict in Northern Kenya, on the hand, explains the waning trust levels in the state security machinery and, on the other hand, the somewhat cold attitude towards Kenya's government since 1963⁴ based on marginalization and seclusion of the region voice from national political and development discourse.

57 years since independence nothing much has changed in the region. Both colonial and successive regimes seem to read from same script. The glaring disparity between other regions and Northern Kenya pointed to a different country until 2007 when construction of Isiolo-Moyale highway started. To date, Kenya's newspapers still write about Northern Kenya as the American writer *Negley Farson* who wrote about the region in 1960s; "As one half of Kenya about which the other half knows nothing and seems to care even less [about]". In the colonial days, the British referred to the inhabitants as 'hostile tribes' and banished them to the periphery.⁵ The local experience under the hands of colonialist later influenced and led to resistance of Kenya's first black independent government.

¹ Interview with Peace Committee chair, Merti township, Cheraab ward, Isiolo County.

² Data source 2019 census report

³ Data source 2019 census report

⁴ Interview with ward administrator, Cheraab Ward, Isiolo County

⁵ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000226464/residents-of-northern-kenya-are-not-citizens-of-a-lesser-god>

Northern Kenya wanted to break away and form the greater Somalia. The heightened insurgency activities around this period, led to the killings of the first African colonial District Commissioner Daudi Wabera and Senior Chief Hajj Galma Dido in 1963 on their way to Isiolo from far flung Modogashe town in Sericho ward at the tripartite border of Isiolo, Wajir and Garissa in a bid to influence the local communities against the move. The two were seen as stumbling block to the 'independence' of Northern Kenya.

This situation has largely been sustained by successive regimes and as a means to garner political support where government or influential personalities are perceived to take sides. An exemplary case is was when an operation was launched in Isiolo and Samburu East districts only for it to be called off after the Prime Minister raised concerns on the manner at which the operation was being conducted while on a visit in Samburu in 2008. The fact that the announcement to stop the security operation was made in Samburu, which is believed to be an ODM stronghold, convinced the Boranas that high political stakes are involved in this conflict.⁶ Such narrative is reinforced by the 2007/2008 conflict between Isiolo and Samburu with each district respectively perceived as aligned to the national parties. Isiolo was seen to be pro-Kibaki led Party of National Unity (PNU) and Samburu, pro Orange democratic Movement (ODM) led by Rt Hon Raila Odinga.⁷ The 2013 general election also presented the same scenario in Marsabit where ODM was seen as Gabra allied and United Republican Party led by the current Kenya's

Deputy President, William Ruto was seen as pro-Borana due to his close ties with the current Marsabit Governor Mohamed Ali who then lost it to current Treasurer CS, Ambassador UkurYattani who vied and won on ODM ticket.⁸ In Isiolo, the 2007 election almost resulted in conflict after Isiolo north MP seat was hotly contested with Hon Samal becoming second to the current Governor Hon Dr Mohammed Abdi Kuti who was defending the seat then. However the 2013 election saw formation of chopper alliance in which the very same Turkana candidate Hon Samal Lomwa was elected alongside the current Governor who was senator then alongside the former Governor Godana Doyo in the same line up and the current women representative Hon. Rehema Dida who lost in 2013. Despite the alliance, the Borana community felt the loss of MP North was perceived as "loss of political power" and consequently the loss of the ownership of the district (County).⁹

While it is difficult to attribute rising conflict to only one driver, conflict in Northern Kenya, particularly in Isiolo and Marsabit, is perpetuated by the availability of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in possession of the civilians. While proximity to fragile countries, such as Somalia, Ethiopia and even South Sudan, makes arms acquisition easy, most respondents for this study believe that the demand for these weapons is pushed up by weak state security presence in the region and the often slow response during frequent raids. The police inability to respond comes from the challenges of the terrain and sometimes the command that is mostly slow and indecisive in

⁵ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000226464/residents-of-northern-kenya-are-not-citizens-of-a-lesser-god>

⁶ http://www.undp.org/content/dam/kenya/docs/Amani%20Papers/AP_Volume1_n.7.pdf

⁷ FGD discussion with all ethnic group in Marsabit County.

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⁹ Key informant Interview with a local CBO staff.

planning counter attack.¹⁰ With the raids becoming more commercialized and political, arms demand by pastoralists groups will continue to rise in Northern Kenya. While Marsabit conflict is more of internal problem, in Isiolo most violent conflict is perpetrated by external forces (outsiders), as pointed by increased attack from the Somalis in Garissa and Wajir, Rendille in Marsabit (Laisamis) and Samburu from Samburu East (Samburu). While the concept of raids was practiced historically in the frontline, of late the strategy has changed, with several cases of livestock 'raid' reported as bandits off-load livestock en route to markets in Isiolo or Nairobi on Isiolo-Moyale highway.¹¹ This is a common occurrence around in Laisamis sub-county.

While key claims arise due to contested ownership of areas endowed with resources, past government administrative measures such as *The Outlying District Ordinance of 1902* and *The Special District Ordinance of 1934* made Northern Kenya a closed area whilst indirectly reinforcing claims by the ethnic groups in areas or district that are named after them. In Marsabit, the latest conflict at Horender in which 13 people were killed including three police officers¹² points to revenge after a similar attack on Gabra in which twelve people were killed,¹³ allegedly by Borana from Ethiopia.

Further measures such as the *Preservation of Public Security Act* of 1960s in the wake of the Shifta War marked the beginning of heightened human right abuses as several security operations were mounted in the region as containment strategy. Such operations were Wagalla (Wajir), Malka-Mari (Mandera) and Da'aba (*The period of Stop*) in Isiolo,

where people and livestock were confined in an area to counter the insurgency group (Shifta) that pursued the dream of greater Somalia. All people living within Northern Eastern Province NEP were required to register and carry identity papers, curfew orders and movement restrictions were in operation, stock seizures were used as a form of communal punishment for *shifta* activity, security forces could arrest and detain any person without warrant for 28 days and all northern Kenyans were required to live within designated government villages, where screening exercises were used to establish any potential connections between civilians and *shifta*.¹⁴

The proximity to international border especially between Marsabit (Kenya) and Ethiopia sometimes also presents risks of geopolitical conflict, with incursion of militia from southern Ethiopia into Kenya's territory, harassing local civilian populations in Sololo and Moyale Sub-county. Such conflict overwhelms the already strained peace structures and with risks of diplomatic spat between the two countries, significantly affecting regional peace agenda. In 2015, the Ethiopian army entered Kenya without permission and without informing the Kenyan government **six times** under the same pretext with Kenya's Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Amina Mohamed, giving the Ethiopian ambassador to Nairobi, Dina Mufti, until 23 October 2016 to explain why Ethiopian troops had once again made a raid into Kenyan territory.¹⁵

Described as old and longest conflict in Marsabit is about identity, land and political rivalry and the competition for rangeland resources. This situation

¹⁰ FGD with Borana Community Marsabit, county.

¹¹ FGD With Borana Community Marsabit County.

¹² 13+killed+in+Marsabit+attack&oq=13+killed+in+Marsabit+attack&aqs=chrome.

¹³ <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2019/08/12-people-killed-in-marsabit-attack-by-ethiopia-militia/>.

¹⁴ Legacies of Empire: State Violence and Collective Punishment in Kenya's North Eastern Province, c. 1963–Present

¹⁵ <https://www.tesfanews.net/ethiopia-army-incursion-angers-kenya/>

led to Turbi massacre in July 2005, where at least 53 Gabra people, including 21 primary school children, were killed. The bandits left a trail of destruction at the trading centre and Turbi boarding primary school and burned to the ground the nearby group of dwellings; marking the beginning of longest protracted conflict that tipped south the relationship between the Borana and Gabra who speaks same language and as well subscribes to same cultural identity.

1.2 Objectives of the study:

The main objective of the study is to analyze the form, nature, dynamics including the players in the recurrent armed conflict in the study area and give recommendations that will help IGW and its partners to plan and implement its peace-related current project in Isiolo and Marsabit.

1.2.1 The specific objectives were to:

- i) Generate relevant background and analytical information about the conflicts in Isiolo and Marsabit
- ii) Identify the existing conflicts, its dynamics and level of conflict, the root causes, stakeholder perceptions, interests, positions, and motivation of key players in the conflict
- iii) Identify issues considered important to each of the key stakeholders (community, local authorities, affected families/individuals, traditional/religious leaders).

1.2.2 Methodology of the study

In order to achieve these objectives, the study concentrated in the two counties. Literature review, key informant interviews (KIIs) and Focus group Discussions (FGDs) were used, while in places which were difficult to access, a telephone interviews were conducted. The fieldwork was conducted from December 2019 to February 2020

1.2.3 Population of the study

The study targeted a number of individuals drawn from the local communities and ethnic group, respective county officials, politicians, NGOs, government agencies, elders, religious and traditional leaders. A total number 32 people (16 in each county) were reached through KIIs while another 120 people were reached through Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

1.2.4 Limitation to the Study

Key limitation of the study is the sensitive nature of conflict particularly in Marsabit. This reduces space for engagement and fear of backlash from respective community in sharing some information regarded sensitive. For instance, it was evident in FGDs in Marsabit that some speakers sought consent from opinion shapers on what to say and what not to say. Both counties are also large and this hindered movement and accessibility to special group such as combatants and frontline herders and / or other people involved indirectly in the conflict.

¹⁶ Oscar Gakuo Mwangi. "Kenya: Conflict in the 'Badlands': The Turbi Massacre in Marsabit District." *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 33, no. 107, 2006, pp. 81–91

Chapter 2.0 : Conflict Analysis

Isiolo County is in the upper eastern region of Kenya. Located between Longitudes 36° 50" and 39° 50" East and latitude 0° 05" South and 2° North, the county borders Marsabit to the North, Samburu and Laikipia Counties to the West and Garissa and Wajir County to South East and North East respectively. The County also borders Meru and Tharaka Nithi County to the South. With an area of 25,700km², Isiolo is about 280Kms north of the Kenya's capital, Nairobi.

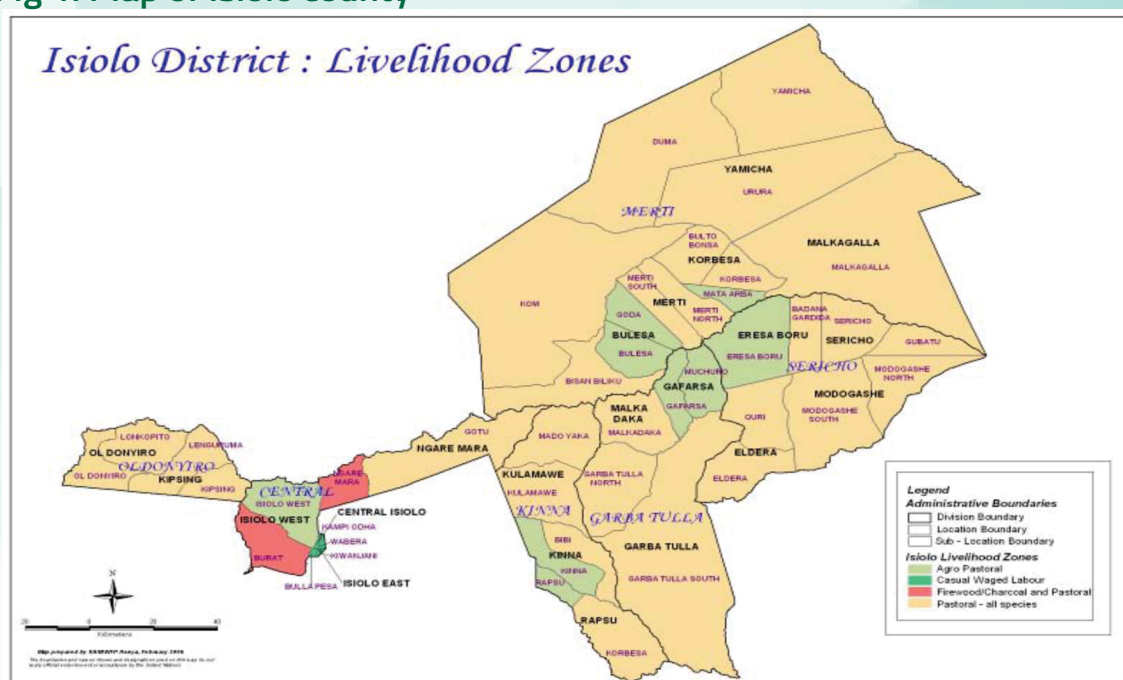
The county is classified into three ecological zones namely Semi-Arid, Arid and the very Arid. The vegetation in the county is mainly thorny bush with short grasses. The Semi-Arid zone covers part of Wabera Ward, Bulla Pesa Ward and some parts of Burat Ward in Isiolo North Constituency. It also covers some Southern part of Kinna Ward in Isiolo South Constituency.

The semi-arid zone covers five percent of the total area of the county and receives rainfall ranging

between 400-650 mm annually. The relatively high rainfall is attributed to proximity to Mount Kenya and Nyambene Hills in the neighboring Meru County. The Arid zone covers Oldonyiro, Ngare Mara and some parts of Burat Wards in Isiolo North Constituency and whole of Garba-Tulla Ward and northern part of Kinna Ward in Isiolo South Constituency. The zone covers 30 percent of the total area of the county, with an annual rainfall ranging between 300 mm and 350 mm. Most of the vegetation is grassland and few shrubs. Severe Arid zone covers Chari, Cheraab, parts of Oldonyiro Ward in Isiolo North Constituency and Sericho Ward in Isiolo South Constituency. These areas account for 65 percent of total area of the county. Rainfall received here ranges between 150 and 250 mm annually. The area is barren and very hot and dry most of the year.

Isiolo's conflict landscape changes rapidly and with different trends and drivers. With manifestation as

Fig 1. Map of Isiolo county



resource competition, a key conflict risks factor lies in ethnicity and supremacy battle between the five major ethnic groups referred to as the 'Big Five' that comprise of Borana, Somali, Samburu, Turkana and Meru. In recent years, conflict in Isiolo has largely been influenced by its strategic position and the anticipated construction of large scale infrastructure project such as the Lamu port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport corridor (LAPSSET), which transverse 9 counties in primarily pastoralists areas. The corridor may offer new economic opportunities in terms of employment and entrepreneurship but the project would also affect land use and livelihoods, in some cases exacerbating local tensions or giving rise to new ones.¹⁷ The LAPSSET Corridor Program is Eastern Africa's largest and most ambitious infrastructure project bringing together Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. This mega project consists of seven key infrastructure projects starting with a new 32 Berth port at Lamu (Kenya), Interregional Highways from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Juba (South Sudan), Isiolo to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), and Lamu to Garsen (Kenya), Crude Oil Pipeline from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Juba; Product Oil Pipeline from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Addis Ababa, Interregional Standard Gauge Railway lines from Lamu to Isiolo, Isiolo to Juba, Isiolo to Addis Ababa, and Nairobi to Isiolo, three International Airports: one each at Lamu, Isiolo, and Lake Turkana; three Resort Cities: one each at Lamu, Isiolo and Lake Turkana; and The multipurpose High Grand Falls Dam along the Tana River.¹⁸ Most of these projects are anchored in Isiolo coming with mix of new migrants and speculative land buying and land tussle over residential plots in Isiolo Township.

The anticipated stake in the LAPSSET has also seen Meru County claim Ngaremarā ward in Isiolo as its special ward with the Meru County government making investment in the area despite contest by Isiolo leaders. On its website Meru County government reports Ngaremarā being a special ward, Governor Kiraitu's Government is keen to uplift the living standards of the residents by providing them with sufficient water for domestic use and irrigation to boost food security.¹⁹ The claim in Ngaremarā points to game plan by Meru County to position itself as secure county for tourists to stay and access, Isiolo parks and game reserves through Ngaremarā.²⁰ While these narrative points to majority view by locals based on improvement of access roads in the area, the claim is also anchored on 2019 census which shapes resource planning and distribution for counties for the next ten years. Isiolo leaders on their part (individually and collectively) have opposed the claim, with Isiolo Nominated Senator Abshiro Halakhe in a rebuff telling Governor Kiraitu that Ngaremarā ward is in Isiolo County and it shall remain so: "The census numbers should not be the reason for our neighbours to start claiming part our land".²¹ The land tussle between the Meru and Isiolo is in court and with a restrain order in place on both counties not make any development on all contested areas.

In 2017, ten people were killed over boundary row between Meru and Isiolo²² while about another 7 people were killed over same boundary issue in 2018. The other deadly contest over land and boundary is Isiolo-Garissa which claim 21 lives (18 from Garissa and 3 from Isiolo)²³ while in 2019, 5 lives were lost all from Garissa side.²⁴ The 5 lives lost is

¹⁷ Adrian J. Brown, 2015 LAPSSET: The history and politics of an eastern African megaproject.

¹⁸ www.lapsset.go.ke.

¹⁹ interview with a member Waso Borana professional, a whatsapp based group.

²⁰ <http://meru.go.ke/content.php?com=31&item=429>

²¹ <https://www.pd.co.ke/news/politics-analysis/stop-claiming-our-electoral-boundaries-isiolo-mps-tell-meru-governor-13199/>.

²² <https://www.nation.co.ke/video/news/4146788-4010996-hma9urz/index.html>

²³ Source: Garba-tulla Peace Committees.

²⁴ Source Garba-Tulla Peace Committees.

²⁵ interview with Ward Administrator, Oldonyiro ward, Isiolo County.



over a period of a week and this has degenerated into unending skirmishes in the border town of Modogashe to date. While previously Isiolo grapples with land and boundary contestation with Meru, Marsabit, Wajir and Garissa, Laikipia County has become the newest entrant with clash between the *Ndorobo* and *Samburu* over *Narasha/Parkuruku/Tiamamut* group ranch. This latest conflict resulted in loss of five lives and burning down of several houses.

More often conflict in the rangeland is about resource use, access and control, which denotes pastoralist's ability to cope and survive the frequent drought witnessed in the area. Such ecological uncertainty and associated stress leads to convergence of different pastoralists groups in Isiolo for two reasons: one, Isiolo receives better rainfall and it has quicker pasture regeneration

ability than most of the counties in the North particularly Marsabit, Wajir and Garissa. Such influx increases contact and conflict. In 2018/2019, internal strain has emerged between the Borana and the Garreh²⁶ community in Isiolo as the latter abandoned its traditional grazing area in the West division and moved into the interior rangeland such as *Gotu, Kulamawe and Chari* without seeking grazing rights from the host communities. There is allegation that the local Somali communities are buying large herds of livestock particularly camels on behalf of other diaspora (Somali) community with intention to tap into the lucrative camel milk and other product in the most populous and growing Nairobi suburb, Eastleigh. The choice of such investment is informed by better climate in Isiolo and its proximity to Kenya's capitals, Nairobi and well developed transport network between Isiolo and Nairobi.

Fig 2: shows Conflict sub-set in Isiolo County

Sub-type	Conflict Description	Causes/Drivers
Isiolo Internal Conflict	This is internal conflict and is often between the Five (Five) major ethnic groups and is mostly common during electioneering period.	Political /economic rivalry, Land ownership, identity and poor governance
Isiolo External Conflict	This is external and the common form of conflict witnessed in Isiolo and it involves conflict between the host (residents) and other external communities/visitors from other counties. Current external conflict is between Isiolo and Garissa (NRM and Boundary dispute), Isiolo and Meru (Boundary), Isiolo and Samburu (Influx and cattle rustling), Isiolo and Marsabit (Rendille), and Isiolo and Wajir (Influx and boundary)	Mostly involves Land/boundary disputes, Natural resources (control and access), drought/climate change and Cattle rustling
Violent Extremism	Isiolo has high levels of radicalization and this is believed to be due to the presence of suspected sleeper terror cell and its proximity to fragile states such as Ethiopia and Somalia and internally VE hotspot counties. The County also has large vast unmanned area which is believed to provide safe transit to members of Violent Extremism Organization (VEO) and as well arms transfer	Presence of sleeper terror cell, Proximity to Porous border, unemployment, drug abuse (Kete), Peer influence and family breakdown



2.2 Conflict drivers in Isiolo

2.2.1 Competition over Natural Resources, frequent drought and Climate change

Drought remains one of major conflict driver in Isiolo. While climate change is an issue globally, the impact and consequences are evidently more real in the ASAL counties, particularly Isiolo and Marsabit. This is characterized by severe and frequent drought and sometimes floods that hurt both human and livestock well-being. While pastoralists oscillate between these disasters (drought, conflict and sometimes flooding), any imbalance, particularly drought, results into a highly degraded environment and diminished pasture and water resources, causing influx (over-concentration). This is exacerbated by constrained mobility which is hindered by security and change in land use.²⁷ As this critical survival strategy is activated, contact between different pastoralist groups increases in the few spots with pasture and water.

This marks the beginning of conflict. While over time, Isiolo has remained key drought survival area for most pastoralists' communities, Isiolo people have also migrated with their livestock to other places such as Marsabit in 1992, Samburu (Kauro) 2000 and Marsabit again in 2016/2017 drought.²⁸ The change in climate has also presented risks of flooding in the lower stream in areas such as *IresAboru*, *Gafarsa* (which was completely submerged) and part of Merti township and lower Cheraab in Garba-tulla and Merti sub-counties respectively. This flooding triggered immigration to

Chachu, on the Isiolo-Modogashe highway, which is a contested area, leading to a clash and loss of a life (a woman) and two injuries.²⁹ While drought occurrence is natural and slow onset disaster, the frequency is now worrying. The cycle has reduced over the years, from every ten years, down to every five years, further down to every two to three years. Currently every year is characterized by some dry spell.³⁰ It is important to note that a drought results in water and pasture scarcity, which consequently presents stiff competition between the 'immigrants' and the host communities with slightest 'provocation' resulting into a deadly clash. Isiolo's ability to attract rains and good browse regeneration over other ASAL counties has made it a choice for most pastoralists groups from Samburu, Marsabit, Wajir and Garissa during drought period. Another reason for the protracted conflict over resources in Isiolo is as a result of contestation over who owns and controls critical resources. Isiolo community accuses the Garissa community of abusing its generosity and use they overstay in altering boundary and claiming Isiolo's territory in areas between Garba Tulla, Modogashe and Kinna ward (*See land and boundary section below*).

2.2.2 Land and Boundary disputes

Land is a very emotive issue in Kenya. It has become a source of contest and protracted conflict in both rural and urban areas. This situation has persisted despite the existence of various land related laws, which often turns out to be disjointed, ineffective and political tool of marginalization. While such

²⁶ The **Garreh** are a sub-tribe of the larger ethnic group known as the Somali. They make dominant group living in Mandera County

²⁷ Key informant Interview with Kulamawe Deedha chair, Kinna ward, Isiolo County.

²⁸ Focus group discussion, Kulamawe, Kinna Ward, Isiolo County.

²⁹ Interview with DPC, Garba-tulla sub-county.

³⁰ <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/the-cycle-of-drought-in-kenya-a-looming-humanitarian-crisis>.

³¹ Isiolo Peace Link unpublished security situation report/assessment.

glaring gaps and inconsistencies in legislations affect enforcement and dispensation of justice, progressively Community Land Act 2016 recognizes customary land rights and authority to register and determine land use. While such opportunities for redress exist, conflict in Isiolo and generally Northern Kenya has continued unabated.

For instance, In July alone 2018, three people were killed in El-dera following a clash between Borana and Somali community over land in El-dera sub-location, Garba-tulla Sub-county. Subsequently, 47 household (about 250 persons) of Borana ethnic group were displaced from El-dera, leading to a loss of about 500 goats and sheep (Shoats) and ten camels by the fleeing community.³¹ While major conflict incidences have been reported between the Somali and Borana community over old rivalry, the current phase of conflict is exacerbated by land/boundary contest over who is to benefit most from the Lamu port and South Sudan Ethiopia transport (LAPSSET) and North Eastern Transport Improvement Project (NETIP) that is expected to commence this year. At nearly Sh100 billion, the Isiolo-Mandera highway will be the single largest infrastructure project in northern Kenya and one of the most expensive roads in the country.³² The road is expected to open up the area and ease travel that takes between two days and weeks depending on the season. During the study period, Garba Tulla sub-county community alleged their land as being annexed at *Kambi Bisquiti* and *Yaqbarsathi* (Machine) by Garissa and Meru counties respectively.³³ These two areas are regarded as station 8 and 9 under LAPSSET project. Other areas

contested are; *A'athaa* (abdibukur), *Bilqich* (tokochu), *Chachu* (Janju) and *Uchana* (Kambi samaki) with each community giving own names.³⁴

While these factors illustrated, push up conflict, the county also grapples, with new emerging conflicts out of the large scale infrastructure project such as Lamu Port and South Sudan Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) corridor and the planned construction of Isiolo-Mandera highway with every community claim land in the area a survey by standard newspaper team points that the pattern in the latest attack clearly points out to a well-coordinated plan to cause tension and displacement along the proposed LAPSSET corridor.³⁵ While major conflict has occurred between different groups in the past, recent escalation in conflict (between Isiolo, Meru and Garissa) is blamed on the anticipated construction of road infrastructure projects and political incitement. This type of conflict is often protracted and involves periodic killings, creating insecurity and forcing households along the borderline to flee and migrate with their livestock.³⁶

Internally, there is pressure emanating from the issuance of legal Notice No. 150 issued by Cabinet Secretary (CS) for Land Farida Karoney. The notice calls for the adjudication of all land in Isiolo, resulting into a spat between the county government and national political leadership, leading to a sharp rise in political temperatures. The difference over whether to adopt or revoke the legal notice has given birth to two political camps that would likely last until 2022 general election; with

³¹ Isiolo Peace Link unpublished security situation report/assessment.

³² <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/corporate/shipping/Building-plans-for-Sh85bn-Isiolo-Mandera-road-/4003122-5443978-85r75wz/index.html>.

³³ FGD discussion, Garba-tulla.

³⁴ In bracket are the names Somalis have given to those areas which are contested between Isiolo and Garissa county.

³⁵ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000181277/is-lapsset-cause-of-the-bloody-conflict-along-meru-isiolo-border>.

³⁶ Kennedy Mkutu (n.a) 'Pastoralism and conflict in the Horn of Africa', Report by the Africa Peace Forum/Saferworld/University of Bradford, p. 13.

each camp mobilizing their supporters to heckle the other group during even a national function. While the adjudication is expected to fast-track the issuing of title deeds, the legislators want the order revoked and a fresh one issued in line with the Community Land Act, arguing that there was no public participation before the notice was issued.³⁷ The county government team proponents who support the adjudication and the 'Pentagon' which comprises of the following national leaders: Senators Hon Fatuma Dullo (Elected) and Hon Abshiro Halakhe (Nominated), the two

Isiolo will likely get embroiled in another wave of conflict following the issuance of legal Notice No. 150. Issued in August 2019, the order is a missed-step and against the aspirations of Kenya's constitutions, which recognizes effective public participation as basis of accountability and decision making processes. Crafted devoid of the need and relevance to the context, the order predisposes the local communities to risks of land loss and possibly endless legal battle.

The notice is becoming a major source of conflict between the political leaders, severely affecting the fragile peace situation in the county. The formation of different camps allied to the proponents and those who are against the legal notice, if unchecked will greatly affects social cohesion ahead of 2022 polls. Those opposed to adjudication asserts that the process comes with risks of double claim and registration of the community land as a public land by the county government. The adoption of the legal notice as it is might result in estimated loss of about 2 million acres of land through the process or will give ownership to individuals who have fraudulently acquired land.

constituencies members of National Assembly (MNA) Hon. Abdi Koropu and Hon Hassan Hulufu and the Isiolo county women representative, Hon Rehema DidaJaldesa. The deputy governor Dr. Abdi Issa later joined the team in opposing the Legal Notice No. 150, accusing his boss of being insensitive to local community concerns.

2.2.1 The Large Scale investment and Wildlife conservation project

Kenya is pursuing a rapid growth agenda (Vision 2030); while these projects are expected to spur development and economic growth. Most pastoralists groups in Isiolo are of the view that these projects will cause displacement and work against the pastoralists groups by removing them out of their ancestral rangelands and blocking migratory routes that provide opportunity for mobility as key survival and resilience support mechanism for the pastoralist's communities.

Isiolo is set to host a number of infrastructure projects: the 6500- acre resort city, mid-land port, and airport amongst other flagship projects which are expected to open up Northern Kenya and integrate it into national economy.³⁸ In recent past, there has been an escalation of conflict, as different communities and counties claim ownership in areas speculated to host the projects. More often, lack of information on the project has even seen local leaders voicing concerns (on lack of information) and continued marginalization as well as inciting and fueling conflict between communities. One such particular case of inflammatory statement is the Isiolo international airport where Meru County claims ownership and with suggestion of even renaming the Airport in honor of Musa Mwariama, a

Mau Mau³⁹ fighter who hailed from Meru community, and as reinforced by the claim that 646.16 acres of the 809.5-acre airport was in Athwana ward, Meru County.⁴⁰

The latest land conflict is the KES 6.9 billion 400-megawatt wind energy project around Gambela-Ngaremara corridor purportedly in Tigania East, which sits on 18,700 acres.⁴¹ There is also fear amongst pastoralist's communities especially in Kulamawe, Kinna ward that these projects come with risks of rangeland loss considering huge chunk of land such projects requires. According to local communities, most of these areas have provided strategic survival pockets in the midst of frequent drought and famine. Reccuring conflict mainly related to land and boundary around El-dera has led to emergence of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from El-dera to Garba-tulla Township.

While pastoralists drop out⁴² speak in favor of the project as an alternative option for livelihoods through engagement in the construction phase to rebuild their lives back, those opposed to the project says it will lead to death of pastoralism, erosion of culture, faith and the rise of enhanced urbanization which marks the beginning of social decadence in Northern Kenya. These large scale infrastructure projects potentially trigger conflict and more territorial claim (externally) and speculative land buying (internally)⁴³

The emergence of wildlife conservation in Isiolo is also causing tension with a sharp division amongst

local communities on the position of conservation project. While those opposed to it cites conflict risks and land grab and aspect of bio piracy; movement of flora and fauna from its natural habitat to other areas, those supporting, view conservation as source of development through off take (livestock markets) programmes, bursaries and employment opportunities for local communities as scouts and rangers. The sharp division on the place of conservancy in Isiolo is as a result of increased conflict between Samburu and Borana since 2006 with the birth of Biliqo Bulesa Community Conservancy (BBCC). A respondent for the study in Merti town, Cheraab ward says "we see (conservation) as a foreign concept and leading to shrinkage of our rangelands, we are known to co-exists with wildlife".⁴⁴ Every drought cycle has brought the Samburu and Isiolo community into contact around Kom area with violent conflict occurring between the two groups. The local Borana pastoralists group accuses Northern Rangeland Trusts (NRT) for taking sides in the conflict by arming and supporting the Samburu's.⁴⁵

The debate has also seen sharp division between various entities, which culminated into a demonstration and march to Isiolo Governor's office and the County assembly premises to hand over a petition which was received by the County secretary Dr. Ahmed Galgalo on behalf of the Governor who was out on official duty. Todate, there is no known outcome of this petition.

³⁸ V2030-flagship-projects.progress-report-Nov-2014-pdf-Adobe-Acrobat-Reader.

³⁹ The Mau Mau (origin of the name is uncertain) advocated violent resistance to British domination in Kenya; the movement was especially associated with the ritual oaths employed by leaders of the Kikuyu Central Association to promote unity in the independence movement (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Mau-Mau>).

⁴⁰ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001305189/leaders-push-to-rename-airport>.

⁴¹ www.businessdailyafrica.com/news/ken-gen-suspends-400MW-wind-power-project-in-meru-over-land-row/539546-3878612-76a44c/index.html.

⁴² Pastoralists drop out refer to those who dropped out of pastoralism due to decimation of livestock by drought and loss of livestock to raid.

⁴³ Kennedy Mkutu Agade and Abdullahi Mboru 2018; Isiolo County, Kenya. Rapid assessment of institutional architecture for conflict mitigation.

2.2.1 Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)

Isiolo is best described as 'arms supermarket' and this is due to availability of all types of Arms that finds its way to the ready market in Isiolo and later to other proximate counties such as Meru, Laikipia and even Nairobi. The first incidence of arms in civilian hands in Isiolo is dated back to mid-1960s during the *Shifta* war⁴⁶ that had its epicenter in Isiolo. Lasting about four years from 1963 to 1967, the period marked the beginning of exclusion of the region and its people reinforcing the colonial attitude of a closed district. As the government rounds up all weapons in the civilian hands and suppresses the *Shifta*, a new wave of conflict between the Borana and Somali emerged in the 80s.⁴⁷ With manifestation as cattle rustling, the conflict was also as a protest against the penetration of missionaries into Isiolo, which was read by Somalis as the beginning of Christian dominance in Northern Kenya which should be resisted.⁴⁸ Rapid arms acquisition in Isiolo started in 1992 when 15 Borana men were tied together and killed at a place called *Kuro Barata* in Garba Tulla Sub-county.

This event led the Borana community on a long treacherous journey to acquire arms from Ethiopia through Moyale and this period around mid-90s became the hallmark of violence, raid and counter raids between the Borana and Somali. While the price and costs of arms differ variedly on type, age and the place from which one acquires it and the time (demand usually high when there is conflict),

most arms sources remains in Somalia and Ethiopia while the bullets sometimes believed to be 'sneaked' from the government ordinance factory in Eldoret, Uasin Gishu county by corrupt military officers. The main reasons for arms acquisition is due to weak or lack of state presence (security) and police unfamiliarity with the terrain and usually restrictive commands that 'keep' the police on the highway and only during the day.

A respondent, who is familiar with arms, states that the Russian made AK47 has greater demand due to firepower, light features (highly portable) and its ability to stand the harshest extreme condition, followed by the German-made rifle G3 and others in that order. The prices of this rifles are between KES 120,000 (1200 USD) - 150,000 (1500 USD) with bullets ranging between KES 150 (USD 1.5) and KES 200 (USD 2) also depending on the source. Despite the excellent features by AK 47, until some years ago, G3 was popular due to availability of bullets as one can easily acquires from the local police networks. *The police when asked push the blame to the Kenya Police reservists (KPR) citing loose command which give them leeway in selling the bullets and reclaiming it as used in the battle front or pursuit.(reference)*

⁴⁴ FGD Merti, Cheraab Ward, Isiolo county.

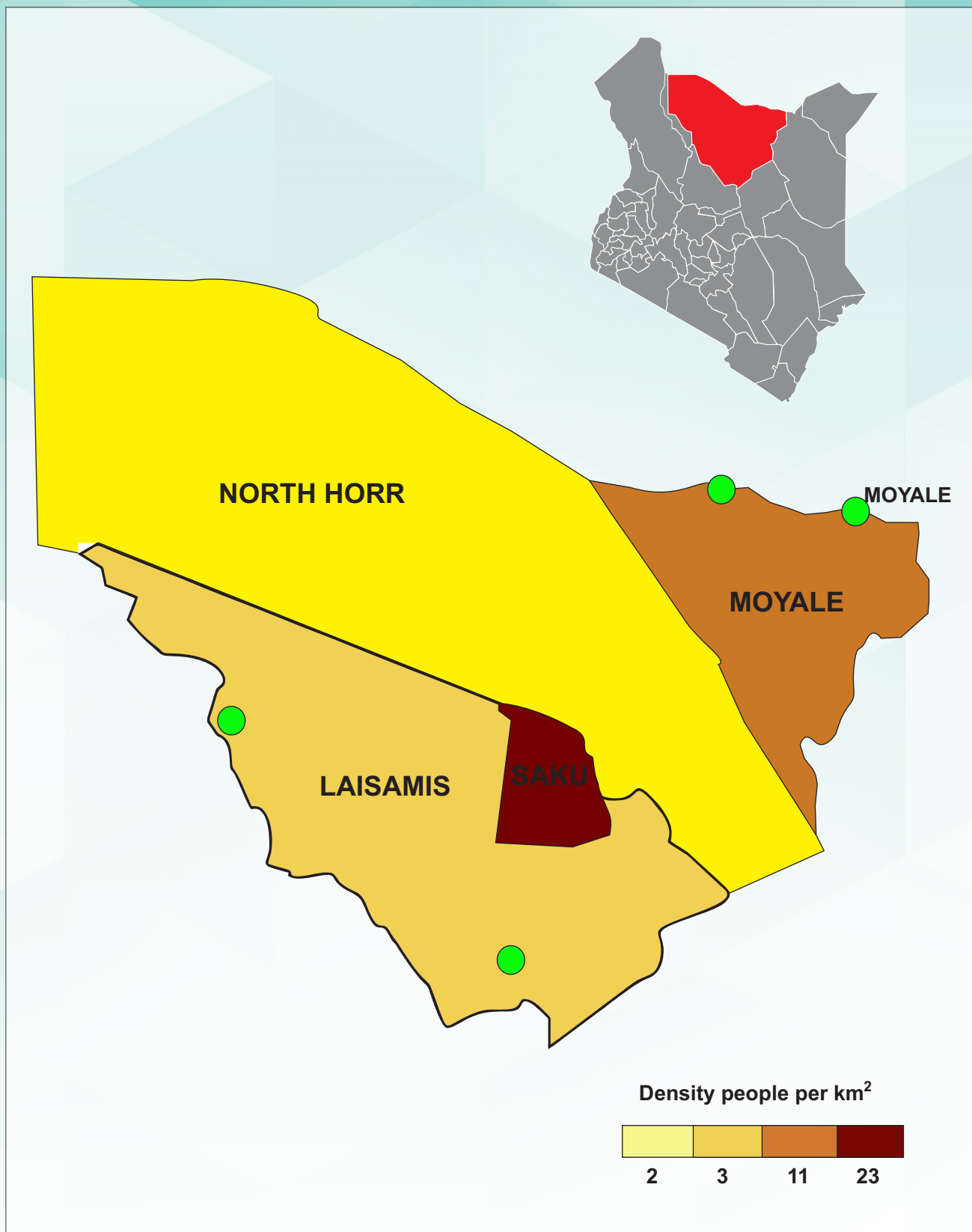
⁴⁵ FGD, Biliqo trading centre, Chari ward, Isiolo County.

⁴⁶ Interview with Peace committee member, Kulamawe

⁴⁷ Interview with an elder in Merti town, Cheraab ward, Isiolo County.

⁴⁸ Interview with an elder, Garba-Tulla, Isiolo County.

Fig 3: shows Map of Marsabit County



Chapter 3.0 : Conflict Analysis in Marsabit County

Marsabit County is located in the upper eastern region of Kenya. With an area of 70,961.2km², the county borders Ethiopia to the North, Wajir County to the North East, Samburu to the South East and Turkana to the West. It covers an area of and lies between latitude 10 58'N and 20 1' S and longitude 380 34'E and 410 32'E. With a population of 459,785 people, the County has four (4) sub counties namely North Horr, Moyale, Saku and Laisamis. With a poverty rate of 42.2 %⁴⁹, the County has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in Kenya at with 44.3% against the national average of 38%.⁵⁰ The county has four major livelihoods zones including: pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, fisheries and urban segregated in different proportions. Pastoralists dominate almost all parts of the four sub-counties with agro-pastoralists mostly notable in Saku and some parts of Moyale sub-counties.

Information from the Nairobi National Museum site notes that research on **Koobi Fora**, the exact location in **Marsabit** where some of the earliest hominids of **man** were found – effectively marking it as the **cradle of mankind**—is especially of interest to tourists, both local and international.⁵¹ The locals describe Saku as a highland in the north, with hilly picturesque landscape dotting the vast plain starting off archer's post in Samburu County. With history of unpredictable and recurrent violent conflict, the county has 14 ethnic groups, spread over the four sub-counties. (as shown on fig 3, map of Marsabit County on previous page).

While traditional pastoralists have been at conflict with each other over the resources, organizing raids and counter raid, conflict in Marsabit proves incessant and points to rapid social transformation due to rapidly changing environment, change in (pastoralists) institutions and embracing of new governance concepts, education and sedentary lifestyle.⁵²

While Conflict occurs between different ethnic groups, the most inexorable conflict in Marsabit is between Borana and Gabra over resource use and territorial claim and control of Marsabit politics. The conflict flare up in Marsabit worsened with the division of the older Marsabit district into two constituencies, namely Saku and North Horr in 1988, which than to end hostilities led to more contestation with each community accusing the other of pursuing expansionism agenda and once in a while in voter importation during the election years from Ethiopia. Than end the hostilities, the split of the constituency, led to motivation for more territorial claim, consequently making political competition in Marsabit land based. In one of the FGD discussion in Marsabit central, a participants quips that 'a win is likely for a politician who can trigger conflict and or can cause displacement of other communities in resource endowed pockets or areas perceived as your stronghold'.⁵³ It is important to note that such events results in resource mobilization from kins and even alliance members. Such supports are usually money, arms and even reinforcement of fighters from other areas within

⁴⁹ Marsabit County CIDP 2017-2022

⁵⁰ Marsabit County CIDP 2017-2022

⁵¹ <https://www.potentash.com/2016/08/06/travel-cradle-mankind-not-left-historians-alone-kenya/>

⁵² Interview with Executive Director Marsabit Women advocacy and Development organization

⁵³ FGD interview Boru Haro village

and even Ethiopia. Such unprecedented and highly politicize environments, brews unprecedented level of hate and mistrust in a group that share most cultural traits and language.⁵⁴ This strain leads both groups to operate within realm of ethnicized political ideology and 'transformative' institutional that shapes resources acquisition such as land and even doing businesses. In Marsabit each group also own and run enterprises as part of strategy to reduce contact and portrayal of economic power or prowess, and reduce prospect of empowering an enemy who might use your resources in harming you. The new wave of conflict, resulted in disruption of social activities such as inter marriages, burials and other social system such as resource sharing, rangeland or raid surveillance together to disruption in market and even in activities such as fundraising to help vulnerable community member in helping them access education and medical care.

The competition is so rife that the two groups have embarked on rapid investment plans and acquisition of land to reinforce (county) ownership and dominance over the other. There is also stiff competition in access to education within Marsabit and transition to other levels either through scholarship programmes and who holds most plum jobs in the public service, private or NGO sector. The placement within the public service is shaped by connectedness to key and prominent personalities in the government and or perceived alignment to national political leaders.

While traditionally the two groups organize raids together and or sometimes even raid each other, the current conflict mainly involves around devolution politics, boundary and territorial claim of resource endowed areas. Notable is rapid


expansion of settlement on the outskirt of Marsabit Township along the Marsabit-Moyale highway about fifteen kilometers (Kms) in places such as *Horender* and even *Segel* to reinforce ownership and possibly to tap into huge trade opportunity between Kenya and Ethiopia as a result of the highway.

While conflict in Marsabit is old and chronic, the open hostilities between the Borana and Gabra intensified after Turbi massacre in 2005, in which over 62 people were killed, followed by displacement and destruction of properties. Most respondent's opines that competition for Saku, an area of 2,078 km² (802 sq. mi) is informed by its role in Marsabit politics as the county headquarter, potential (highly fertile) and perfect weather; this factors makes Saku a choice for settlement by the elites and business community, with local politicians and professionals hatching plans on how to acquire more land for redistribution to their own community members at a subsidized prices or even sometimes free for a vulnerable member. The settlement patterns in the high economic areas in both Moyale and Marsabit has led to a manifestation of conflict in various forms with segregated settlements emerging in the towns. *An interviewee for this study says;*

"Each group has its own market; a Boran cannot buy goods or services from a Gabra premises and vice versa. Any position contrary to this is seen as an act of betrayal and has consequences. To counter, your community from acquiring goods or service, respective community groups and or professionals fundraises to set up businesses"

The current conflict in the county is as result of tension and alignment before the 2013 devolution

⁵⁴ Interview with Burji elder, Marsabit township




politic,⁵⁵ than end the mistrust between the Borana and Gabra, the split of Marsabit into two constituencies creates more tension with increased land and boundary shaping the election of political leaders anchored on his/her position on land (expansionism agenda) and economy. The challenge of poorly defined and politically influenced boundaries is not unique to Marsabit only but even to Isiolo and other ASAL Counties; so stiff that more often it results into violence that lasts from one election term to another. In both the counties, local communities believes, that election losers are said to fuel more conflict; for relevance and to undermine the individual at the helm by grossly affecting service delivery and as strategy to position themselves ahead of the next general election.

The mistrust and rivalry between the Borana and other ethnic group under the leadership of Gabra, led to formation of political alliance, which encompassed Rendille, Gabra and Burji (REGABU). The purpose of the alliance was to challenge the Borana dominance and influence in both political and economic terms. In what was locally seen as a window of 'negotiated democracy' the outfit negotiated five seats (Governor, Senator, Saku and Moyale parliamentary seat and the women representative position with exception of Laisamis and North Horr constituency seats which is exclusively Rendille and Gabra area. The Borana on the other hand single handedly went into election with two gubernatorial candidates, splitting votes and consequently losing the election. The aftermath of the 2013 general election led to flurry of events and subsequently reorganization of the Borana ethnic group for 2017 election in which a Borana Candidate won the Governor with the support of Rendille who this round formed part of

the alliance. The Rendille was given the senate position amongst other key position in the executive arm of county government and the local county assembly. The 2013 first devolution politics marked the beginning of spiraling conflict; every group believed that the Marsabit county ownership is determined by who holds political and economic power and that all must be done to achieve it. This led to serious split between different groups, making ethnicity, the basis of seeking power and rediscovering new identities and relationships. Than stopping hostilities and delivering services, devolution, than sparks hopes, compounds conflict in Marsabit, with those in power supporting their respective communities in more territorial claim by establishing security posts and other social amenities such as schools, dispensaries and boreholes.

The split of the old Marsabit District ignites new power play and interest particularly between the Borana and Garba in the expansive county, with each group accusing each other as aggressors. The 2013 general election propelled into limelight an otherwise silent ethnic outfit under the auspices of *Rendile, Burjiand Gabra* (REGABU), that has been instrumental in local teacher's union politics which effectively locked out the Borana ascension into local Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) leadership. An interviews with locals reveals that the outfit was formed to challenge the Borana leadership which was seen as either combatant and has a firm grip on various district level head that continuous to seclude others from decision making tables. While the outfit was instrumental in teachers union elections since 1990s, its effectiveness was tested again during the 2013 elections with the groups seen as minority if separate, winning almost all the seats. By end of



2012, through massive voter and resource mobilization by the outfit, almost all the winners were known based on how each alliance member has fielded a candidate and which seats they will go for.⁵⁶ This complex interplay of ethnic based politics and proximity to porous border and fragile states particularly Ethiopia continue to shapes ethnic conflict in Marsabit County as each group embarks on issuance of the national identification cards to foreigners in their reigns and how they will subsequently votes alongside their ethnic group during election years especially along the border polling stations.

3.1 Conflict drivers in Marsabit

3.1.1 Ethnicity and Local politics

Marsabit County continues to experience a wave of violence that mainly points to identity conflict between the two large ethnic groups in the county; Borana and Gabra who shares same language, similar culture and traditions. While several efforts have been put in place to facilitate peace process conflict, often conflict in Marsabit also has international dimensions with any tension between the same communities in one country resulting into a spill over into the other country.⁵⁸ The complexity of conflict in Marsabit arise out of its ethnic make that comprise of *Borana, Gabra, Samburu, Turkana, Rendille, Elmolo, Dasanach, Burji, Konso, Somali, Wayyu, Sidama* amongst others.

The conflict in Marsabit is as a result of contestation over natural resources, land and boundary disputes and degraded environmental which precipitates livelihood loss through event such as

drought and ethnic based conflict. While the Gabra and Borana use to co-exist together, with close relationship through intermarriages and or even raiding others together, the shift from pastoralism to sedentary lifestyles and the advent of politics shapes prejudices and mistrust between the two communities. For instance the Gabra sees the Borana as 'combatant and colonizers' which must be rejected by Gabra's. This led to a process of 'self-discovery' and marks the hallmark of Marsabit politics, through sustained narrative that is reinforced by the elite and political leaders.⁵⁹ While the use of derogatory names when talking about each other's identity has gone down, the Borana were referred to as *gaa'da* (Of unpleasant stench), the Gabra were referred to as twenty Eight (28) because of their numbers in Marsabit County, while Burji's and Rendille were respectively referred to as *irgdhimes* (red lipped) and *Injires* (beaded).

The rise of new clan such as Wayyu further complicates the situation, with the Borana seeing as political affront to undermine its status by causing further division and split within it. The Waayu, originally Watta which was part of the Borana ethnic group was seen as a politically-motivated to reduce numerical strength of Borana Community.⁶⁰ The change in Kenya's governance landscape through devolution now marks the beginning of heightened conflict and competitive politics due to immense resources that goes to the county government either as employment or business opportunities, which from experience shows that non-aligned community politically is locked out of the immense opportunity Marsabit County has received between KES 4 Billion in 2013 to about

⁵⁵ Interview with Marsabit County NDMA staff

⁵⁶ Unpublished Marsabit County Cohesion department report: The Genesis and contextual analysis of conflict in Marsabit County

⁵⁷ Interview with Saku sub-county peace chair

⁵⁸ Interview with FGD Gabra elders, Saku, Marsabit County.

⁵⁹ www.nation.co.ke/counties/marsabit/The-elsuive-peace-in-marsabit/344478-4807162-1312fye/inex.html

KES 8 billion in 2019/2020 under the county budgetary allocation.

While the conflict trends evolves and involves also other groups, conflict in Marsabit is mainly seen as contestation between the Borana and Gabra with both accusing each other for playing hate laced politics and expansionist agenda. the split of the old Marsabit constituency than end conflict became a scar that remains to haunt Marsabit community as politicians used it to stoke emotions and balkanize their communal votes; land issue as emotive as it is, become a motivation factor for politicians to use, locking the county in deadly conflict cycle. While several peace effort has been in place, little has been achieved, with previous attempts at peace processes through community-led cross-border efforts, such as Maikona and Dukana Peace Accords that initially brought peace between the Gabra and Borana in 2006, have not proved durable⁶¹

There is also supremacy battle between the Borana and Gabra in national politics, where Gabra's believe that the Borana community is not happy with the national appointments of the then late Dr. Bonaya Godana who held the envious position of powerful foreign affairs minister and a repeat of the same scenario through appointment of Amb. Hon. UkurYattani as the Cabinet Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Treasury in Mid-January 2020. While the Gabra community accuses Hon Dido Rasso as the man behind the renewed conflict, the Boran group on the other hand sees the former Governor and current CS Finance Hon UkurYattani as the man who has borrowed and perfected divisive politics that was introduced by the late Dr. Bonaya Godana who ensured all the departmental heads from the Borana ethnic group were either demoted or moved on transfer to be replaced by his Gabra community. (start from here)

Fig 4: Shows the number of constituencies and wards in Marsabit County

Sub County	Area in Sq. Km	No. of Wards	No. of location	No. of sub-locations
Saku	2052	3	11	22
Laisamis	20,290.2	5	11	30
North Horr	39,248	5	13	18
Moyale	9,370.7	7	23	42
TOTAL	70961.2	20	58	112

Table Source: Second County Integrated Development plan for Marsabit county 2017-2022

3.1.2. Land and Natural resources

While the county is generally vast and large, Marsabit conflicts point to contestation over land as a result of change in political and administrative boundaries. A Borana Elder, points to an influence of then the Foreign affairs minister, the late Dr. Bonaya Godana as having a hand in change of administrative and political boundary which led to loss of land by the Borana in places such as Shura, Segel, Horonder, Muthe which are all inhabited currently by the Gabra and administered by the District Commissioner in North Horr 200 Kms away. While the Gabra community refutes these allegations, the Borana believes that have had Turbi and Forolle remained within Moyale constituency, Marsabit would today have enjoyed peace.⁶² The contestation of land/boundary in areas such as 'Shur' has greater resilience risks as Borana cannot access pastures in this area and Chari rangeland in Isiolo County which is slightly endowed and with pasture and water round the year. Equally the Gabra's have to make through Laisamis to Marsbittownship rather than move through Qubiqallo area which is dominated by the Borana community.


The Gabra's in turn complains of massive displacement by the Borana in areas such as Gabra schemes, Kubi Qallo through armed conflict and mostly arson and highway banditry. The Gabra's equally complain of increased hostilities and the new wave of current conflict to political incitement by the current SAKU Constituency Member of National Assembly (MNA) Hon Major retired Rasso who have openly supported the occupation of his Borana community in contested areas such

Horonder (last conflict incidence reported in this place) and use of the National Government-Constituency Development Fund (NG-CDF) in initiating project in contested areas as part of strategy to reinforce ownership. The Borana on the other hand blames the Former Governor and current CS Finance Hon UkurYattani and North Horr Member of parliament Hon Chachu Ganya of doing the same during the first devolution government, holding local National governments leaders in altering boundary.

3.1.3 Small Arms and Light Weapons


The problem of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Marsabit is due to its proximity to Somalia, South Sudan and Ethiopia which have some form of anarchy. While Ethiopia grapples with issue of Oromo insurgency, Somalia is in state of anarchy following the fall of Said Barre government since 1991. It is important to note that any conflict in Ethiopia has ramifications in Marsabit, Kenya, making arms trade easy due to porous border that exists between the two countries. In Marsabit every group is said to have acquired arms for self Defence and weaker presence of state security machinery and out of Ethnic polarization and historical rivalries between the different groups.

Arms in Marsabit is said to come into the county mostly from Ethiopia, Somalia and Uganda. While other communities also engage in arms business, this line of business is mostly pursued by the Somali community. From Somalia, the arms route is through Wajir and Mandera into the county, while from Ethiopia, the arms comes through Moyale town or other border towns such Dukana. From



south Sudan/Uganda, the arms are smuggled through South Horr or Loyagalani. Like in Isiolo, the most popular arms is the Russian made AK 47 and German riffle G3 and other deadly weapon such as the US assault rifle M16 and carbine. While the cost informs choice, pastoralists also consider other factor such as performance, portability, durability and ease of ammo acquisition.

While AK47 is the most popular owing to also reliability, most people believe that G3 ammunition is easy to acquire based on availability from crooked police office and National Police Reservists(NPR) who sale and seek replacement from the police. The problem of Small Arms and Light Weapons in Marsabit has a long history. Among the first communities to be armed were the Daseenach both from Abyssinia and Kenya by the Italian in 1933 as part of raiding and making ungovernable the British protectorate such as Kenya. In Marsabit, the warring communities with the help of politicians and professionals engage in fundraising to buy more arms while disarmament has been public relation exercise as respective communities negotiate and influence the disarming team through bribes and only surrender faulty weapons.



Chapter 4.0 : Conflict Early Warning and Early Responses

The Conflict early warning and early response is a concept that is gaining momentum in the field of peace building and conflict management. It's becoming critical tool for planning interventions and reducing conflict risks through appropriate data collection, analysis and dissemination of the same to key stakeholders in effectively designing what interventions to carry out, and avert loss of lives and or even property. While the success of the process lies in containing conflict, early warning system must be responsive to the context and foresee any possible risks by providing user(s) with clear indicators, phases of conflict and possible scenarios. It is also important to note that the area(s) under study falls within the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD),

Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism,

CEWARN launched in 2002 that brings together Seven (7) member states namely, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan and Eritrea. The basic underlying mission of **CEWARN** is to assess situations that could potentially lead to violence or conflicts and prevent escalation, primarily focussing on avoiding conflicts related to cross-border pastoralist and other associated issues.⁶³

Experts argue that for Conflict Early Warning Systems (CEWS) to be reliable, the framework must encompass collection of information (characteristics in relation to type of conflict in relation to trends and context), Actors and trigger events, analysis and recommendation. The framework must facilitate the development of scenario building that would lead to the most appropriate response options- in view of the

conflict at hand.

While Isiolo has immensely benefited from the Deepening Democracy programme (DPP) which supported establishment of Joint Operations and Command Centre and women situation room on accounts of its fragility especially during election period, , Marsabit County has no known local institutional based early warning systems making it difficult for stakeholders to coordinate or even avert conflict. Post-election, the Joint operation and Command Centre has continued to serve Isiolo residents as coordination centre for Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) partners in the wake of rapid radicalization in the county. However both counties report to have some level of conflict indicators that can be utilized in planning as capture below.

4.1 Common Conflict early warning Indicators in Isiolo and Marsabit

- Mass movement of people to areas perceived as safe
- Abandonment of traditional grazing reserves
- Rumors and Propaganda
- Disappearance of men/young people
- Report of armed group
- Night meetings
- Drought and rapidly diminishing water and pasture resources
- Livestock influx in areas that are endowed.
- Social media outburst
- Tension
- Foretellers-prediction through palm readings, shoe tossing
- Rapid acquisition of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW)


- 
- Food prepositioning
 - Reduce contact or Social ties between different groups such as buying from each other, burials and wedding
 - Increased in ethnic based fundraising
 - Increased vehicle movements at night
 - Incitement from politicians
 - New faces/strangers reported
 - Footprints
 - Enhanced surveillance activities (Shalfa)
 - Reports of broken or shifting alliances



Fig 5: Shows Conflict hotspot in Marsabit County

Sub-County	Conflicting tribes	Types of conflicts	Geographical location of the conflicts
Moyale	Gabra/Borana	Resource based	Elle Dimtu/Forolle
	Borana/Degodia	Cattle rustling Resource based conflict: water and pasture	Badan Rero/Wajir
	Borana/Garre	Resource based:Cattle rustling -Illegal settlement/Dispute over land	Godoma/Watiti
	Borana/Gabra	Land dispute	Funan Nyatta/Bosnia Junction
	Sakuye/Gabra	Land dispute	Godhe
	Burji/Gabra/Garre*/ Boran*	Land dispute	Gubalticha
Saku	Gabra and Borana	Land disputes	Shurr,Horonderi and Shegel
	Rendille and Borana	Land disputes/ Grazing area/ cattle rustling	Badassa,songa,Leyai and Kituruni
	Burji and Borana	Political	Marsabit town
Northorr	Gabra and Borana	Resource based conflict/Negative ethnicity	Forolle and Magado
	Gabra and Borana	Resource based conflict/Negative ethnicity	Dukana/Dilo
	Gabra,/Dassanach/ Hammer/Arbore	Resource based conflict/Negative ethnicity	Illeret/omorate/south omo
	Borana,Turkana and Gabra Dassanach	Resource based conflict/Negative ethnicity	Sarimo,Buluk,Sabarei,Hito,Galas,medate,Lales a,el Hadi,Balesa saru
	Gabra and Samburu/Rendile	Resource based conflict ,boundary and political incitement	Arapal, Sarima and Illaut
	Gabra and Turkana	Resource based conflict	Sarima
Laisamis	Samburu and Turkana	Resource based conflict	As mentioned above.

Chapter 5.0 : Conflict Actors in Isiolo and Marsabit Conflict

The 1990s' analyses of impacts of actors' interventions in conflict prone areas yielded a humanitarian critique that triggered introspection and self-assessment among aid agencies leading to a search for new approaches that weren't counterproductive (didn't do harm)(<https://conflictsensitivity.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Beyond-the-Concept-A-documentation-of-case-studies.pdf>). Conflict People "actors" to refer to all those engaged in or

being affected by conflict. This includes individuals, groups and institutions contributing to conflict or being affected by it in a positive or negative manner, as well as those engaged in dealing with conflict. Actors differ as to their goals and interests, their positions, capacities to realise their interests, and relationships with other actors

Figure 6: Adopted from Safer World Conflict Analysis Manual

Interests, goals, positions, capacities and relationships

Interests: the underlying motivations of the actors (concerns, goals, hopes and fears).

Goals: the strategies that actors use to pursue their interests.

Positions: the solution presented by actors on key and emerging issues in a given context, irrespective of the interests and goals of others.

Capacities: the actors' potential to affect the context, positively or negatively. Potential can be defined in terms of resources, access, social networks and constituencies, other support and alliances, etc.

Relationships: the interactions between actors at various levels, and their perception of these interactions.

Chapter 5.1 : Peace Actors in Isiolo and Marsabit

In this section we are looking at formal peace building institution in Isiolo and Marsabit counties as follows:

5.1.1: County Peace Committees (CPCs)

Formally known as District Peace Committees, the structure was adopted from the Ghana. In KENYA, the idea of peace committee was conceived first in Wajir County in early 1990s by group of women who realized that women and children bore greatest brunt of conflict. Wajir women came together and used the platform in sensitizing the communities on the importance of peace.

While this started taking shape, National Steering Committee (NSC) on peace building and conflict management scaled up the idea leading to adoption in most of the ASAL Counties, coastal and rift Valley region and even Nairobi. In Isiolo and Marsabit, the peace committees had their own share of success and challenges emanating from political influence. It is in public knowledge that devolution affects peace committee operation as where one puts his/her allegiance matters most following rifts between the Governors and the county commissioners who are ideally to co-chair the process. In Isiolo, the election of CPC chair like the annual election of Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) officials is highly followed with a lot of interest as it gives the indication to which political camp would likely win. In both Isiolo and Marsabit, the lack of support greatly affects its operation especially rapid response. Other functions of the peace committees are:

- i) Provide and enhance opportunity for early warning and response
- ii) Formulate local level peace agreements and

declarations such as Modogahe Garissa declaration and Maikona and Dukana declaration in Marsabit amongst other previous and existing peace agreements

- iii) Advocate for peaceful co-existence and reduction in violence and armed conflict
- iv) Oversee negotiations and other mediation processes between the warring communities.

5:1:2 Nyumba Kumi

This initiative is the clustering of households into units of tens to enhance community policing strategy at household level with aim of curbing criminal infiltration into community especially in the wake of heightened radicalizations in Country. Both counties of Isiolo and Marsabit have in place the committees working closely with the National government and state security agencies especially in providing early warning on any incidents that might potentially trigger security risks. However, it is important to point out that the Nyumba Kumi members need enhanced training and linkage with other actors for rapid response. A serious challenge cited by the committees is lack of motivation whatsoever, which significantly affects their effectiveness.

5:1:3 County Policing Authority

Though has provision in law through section 41 of the National Police Service Act (2011), which has mandate to establish the County Policing Authority, this initiative has flopped due to resistance by the national government due to fear that the county government and civilian might interfere with the police work despite security being a national government function. wholly This is a body that should incorporate members of the

county government, security while each of the 47 county governments are mandated to establish the county policing authority the process has completely stalled

The National Police Service Act (Section 41:8) mandates the chairperson of the Council of Governors, in consultation with the Cabinet Secretary in charge of Security, to issue and publish the Gazette guidelines to follow during the nomination, appointment, removal from office, vacancy of office and filling of vacancy of members of the Authority. Both Isiolo and Marsabit have no Policing Authority in place

5.1:4 National steering council

With a vision to "A peaceful, secure and prosperous Kenya", the National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC) is an interagency committee that was established in 2001 and a secretariat to support bringing together of local peace actors in a bid to co-ordinate and consolidate efforts geared towards peace building and conflict management in Kenya as well as cross-border. The unit was established in 2003 within the within the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government. As an interagency, the unit serves and coordinates Kenya police and the national police reservists.

5.1.5: The Amaya Initiative

Amaya Triangle Initiative brings together the four counties of Baringo, Laikipia, Samburu and Isiolo with the aim of adopting sustainable policy approach towards addressing the common development challenges affecting the area including insecurity, resource based conflicts, food insecurity, environmental challenges, drought emergencies, natural resource management and

livelihoods. According to Baringo County Drought Coordinator (CDC), the initiative identified five (5) key focal areas under the common intervention initiative namely:-

- i) Infrastructure Development;
- ii) Water, irrigation, environment, and natural resource development;
- iii) Livestock development;
- iv) Tourism and cross border trade and
- v) Education and training.

5.2 Non institutional Peace building Institution in Isiolo and Marsabit

5.2.1 The elders/ traditional resource governance elders

The institution of resource management famously referred to as Deedha is uniquely structured resource management's strategy that encompasses, conflict and even environment. While the institution of the elders is primarily to manage rangeland, the concept focuses on seasonal mobility which accelerates influx and contact that leads to violence over pasture and water. In all the study areas, the institution has been weakened by politics and social transformation with elders assuming the role operating from the town and not in the frontline. Other key challenge is that the institution is highly politicized and is also involved in driving respective ethnic group expansionism agenda, making it insignificantly weak in addressing the challenge due to its partisan approach and new sets of laws which makes the country open to everybody as far as living and resource access is concerned. There is also greater influence from the local administrators and with cases of bribery reported making the elders allow others access pasture and water with minimal consultation with other stakeholders.

Today the institution faces more legitimacy issues based on how it's constituted;-through election unlike traditionally when it was based on knowledge and active participation in pastoralism

5.2.2 The National Police Reservists (NPR)

Locally referred to as home guards, the NPR has provided the much protection to local pastoralists communities for ages now. While in the past they were poorly armed, NPR provided critical reinforcement to mainstream security officers such as the Kenya Police and specialized services such as anti-stock theft unit (ASTU) due to knowledge of the area and ability to track bandits and livestock during the raids on the rough terrain that characterized northern Kenya. The unit since establishment in 1948 has been doing police work voluntarily providing seamless platform of enhancing peace, security and stability in many parts of the country without the need of putting up many police stations.⁶⁴ However, there is narrative that NPR is susceptible to abuse by politicians and rampant report of the arm use in illegal activities such as poaching and raiding other communities. Currently disarmed, the NPR were placed under the supervision of divisional police boss and were given a small stipend at the end of every month making it competitive and arousing a lot of interest from the local politicians who see beyond provision of security but as means to employment for their supporters or kins.

5.2.3 The use of declarations and peace agreements

The use of declarations first emerged in 1973 as Lokirima Peace Accord which committed the

Turkana people in Kenya and the Matheniko of Uganda to agree to a ceasefire and co-exist peacefully. In later years, other agreements/declarations have emerged between different ethnic groups such as the Al-fatah declaration-1993, Mohamed Subayr-aulyahan Accord-1998, Modogashe-Garissa Declaration-2001, Garee-Ajurana peace Agreement-2001, Abdallah-Maqabul peace Agreement 2003, Borana-Garee peace Agreement-2008, Maikona-Walda peace declaration 2009, Abudwaq-Abdalla accord-2010. However, Modogashe-Garissa which was brokered in 2001 formed the mother of all agreements as it involved Nine districts (now counties) such as Isiolo, Marsabit, Meru, Mandera, Garissa/IJARA, Wajir, Samburu, Tana River and Nairobi, Laikipia was included in 2011, making it effective in 10 counties since then.

The declaration was signed by community leaders and local administration and was expected to SALW proliferation, address rising conflict while providing platform for engagement and opportunity for enhancing resilience through resource sharing. The agreement also foresaw the need to reduce opportunity for growth of violent extremism by managing movement of refugees and registrations of aliens. The Dukana-Maikona declaration was signed in 2009 but though mainly expected to end conflict between the Borana and Gabra, it was also used as deterrence to other communities living in the larger Marsabit County. The formulation of this accord also saw the involvement of Borana and Gabra from Ethiopia in the process.

⁶² <https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/letters/Leaders-should-let-Matiang-i-disarm-police-reservists/440806-5147684-rw1dp/index.html>

⁶³ www.igadregion.org/the-igad/

⁶⁴ <https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/letters/Leaders-should-let-Matiang-i-disarm-police-reservists/440806-5147684-rw1dp/index.html>

Chapter 6.0 : Overall Conflict Response Mechanism : Existing strengths and gaps/challenges

Despite various conflict drivers in both Isiolo and Marsabit, conflicts can be described either in terms of occurrence or levels. Grimble and Wellard, 1997 argue that conflict could occur at micro–micro or micro–macro levels, i.e. among community groups or between different community groups. While may arise due to resource use, what we have in Isiolo and Marsabit is Micro-Macro type (out group) type of conflict due conflicting resource use and resource governance structure. The Garba and Borana despite in conflict subscribe to traditional resource governance system called *Deedha* which supports resource managements, particularly grazing and holistic management of environment. The concept of Deedha (grazing pattern) which is highly dynamic is a dictated by the amount of rainfall received in the Deedh/Deedha (rangelands)

In ending the hostilities, different actors have also used different strategies such as the use of declarations which brings two or more communities together mostly through formulation of Accords or agreements which binds communities together. Though enforcement has been an issue, such declaration has been able to reduce the level of violence. While the 2001 Modogashe-Garissa declaration was multi district (now counties), Dukana- Maikona declaration was formulated in 2009 after the heightened tension between the Gabra and Borana following the 2005 Turbi massacre.

Table 7: Show respective institutional strength, gaps and suggestions for improvement

No.	Response mechanism	Strength	Gaps	Comments
1	The Council/Institution of elders/religious leaders The Council/Institution of elders/religious leaders	Acceptability and well-endowed with ADR (Alternative Dispute resolution) knowledge. Isiolo and Marsabit have strong council of Elders	Risk Political influence which might affects it work Lacks capacity in addressing modern conflict. Non responsive especially in areas that require rapid response. This is due to lack of institutionalized support	Provide capacity building training on new ways of resolving and managing conflict Enhance inter-ethnic and inter faith relationship
2	Grazing committees/Deedha councils	Knowledge of traditional resource governance mechanism utilize indigenous rangeland management practices and conflict resolution Play key role in resource management i.e. pasture & water	Lack logistic for surveillance Legitimacy an issues in some places Cases of bribery and corruption amongst some elders	Support capacity in rangeland management and inter-communal resource sharing Support capacity in peace building and conflict management Government to support enforcement of grazing committee rules/regulation Provide logistic supports such as bikes and fuel
3	County Peace committees	Enjoys close working relationship with the security team Well knowledgeable on modern ways of resolving conflict and with ability to interact with early warning information as part of effecting response. Hierarchical, Well-structured/grounded from County to sub-location level Enjoys some support from local peace actor such as NGOs/County governments	Risks political influence Changing governance landscape affects operation and its legitimacy Low literacy level amongst most members Poor conflict data management owing to knowledge and capacity gaps to have office	Provide capacity building opportunities on peace building and conflict resolution Train on collection and use of early warning information and conflict data management Support operation plans-Office, vehicles and fuel Makes it vibrant and legitimate by allowing the process to be co-chaired by the County commissioner and Governor
4	Existence of declarations such as Modogashe/Isiolo-Meru accord of 2013 Maikona-Dukana Declarations of 2009	More inclusive and vibrant- and responsive to the context.	Lack of enforcement/ perationalization Inability to enforce payment of fines	There is need for awareness and dissemination Support operationalization through legislations
5	National police reservists(NPR)	Knowledge of the terrains Better understand security context and dynamics i.e. cultures They are hardy and mostly experienced herders	Selection and recruitment criteria is prone and open to abuse Lack central command – No Inspections &Monitoring Lack of motivations for NPR scouts Lack of Accountability -Arms and Ammunitions usage	Support training on use of arms Create central command based on the need of local context Provide stipend and allowance Provide logistics to enhance patrol/surveillance

Chapter 7.0 Stakeholder Analysis and Mapping in Isiolo and Marsabit Counties

Stakeholder identification, management and engagement are a prerequisite and key requirement in peace and security sector. Establishing who works where and with detailed analysis of capacity and gaps, stakeholder analysis provides peace actors with opportunity for close coordination and collaboration especially in terms of early warning and response coordination.

Fig 8 and 9: provides a snapshot of actors in Isiolo and Marsabit County

stakeholder	Type	Thematic area	Area of operations
National government	Government	Various with strong mandate in peace and security	Across the county
Isiolo County Government	Devolved unit	Health, water, Agriculture, Early Childhood Development (ECD) amongst other devolved and shared functions	Across the county
Isiolo Peace Link(IPL)	CBO	Peace building/conflict management, Countering Violent Extremism (CVE)	Wabera, Bulapesa, Burat, Ngarembura, Oldonyiro, Kinna, Garba-tulla, Chari, Cheraab, , Isiolo township
United Nation Development Programme(UNDP)	INGO	Peace building and Conflict management	Isiolo County
MERTI INTERGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME(MID-P)	Local NGO	Resilient livelihood, climate change, Governance, Peace building, Natural resource management	Across the County
CARITAS	NGO	Livelihoods and disaster risks reduction (DRR) programming, Natural resource management, peace building and conflict management	Across the County
Mercycorps	INGO	Livelihoods, Market systems development, climate change/natural resource management	Across the County
Action Aid	INGO	Livelihood, Governance/advocacy, peace building and conflict management/relief operations	Across the county
National Drought Management Authority(NDMA)	State agency	Drought management, capacity building, peace building and conflict management, disaster coordination	Across the county
LAY VOLUNTEERS INTERNATIONAL	INGO	WASH, Livelihoods, peace building	Across the county
Waso Trust land project	NGO	Natural resource management, peace building and conflict management, Advocacy on Land and Land rights	Across the county
pastoralists women for health & education(pwhe)	NGO	Peace building and conflict management, Governance and women rights including girl child education	Across the County

Fig 9: Peace Actors (Stakeholders) in Marsabit County

stakeholder	Type	Thematic area/Activities	Area of operations
National Government	Government	Various mandate with strong focus in peace and security, coordination, policy formulation and building cohesion between different communities	Across the county
County Government	Devolved Unit	Health, water, Agriculture, Early Childhood Development (ECD) amongst other devolved and shared functions including security programmes/ cohesion building	Across the County
National Drought Management Authority (NDMA)		Support emergency operations i.e. water trucking, etc. Support training of county peace committees and as well facilitate peace dialogue initiatives. Enhance support and development of county level early warning mechanism Enhance and support existing resource sharing protocol between different communities. Support drought management and climate change	
Strategies for Northern Development	Local NGO	Support and Initiation peace clubs in schools Facilitating intercommunity, cross border dialogue meetings NATURAL resource management and provision of hay and silages during the drought	Marsabit, Wajir and Mandera Counties
Caritas, Marsabit Office	Faith based Organization (FBO)	Supporting grassroots level peace structures and engagement meetings Promotion and support coordination forums for peace stakeholders	Marsabit
National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK)	Faith based Organization	Support peace dialogue meetings Support negotiations and mediation between different ethnic groups	Marsabit
Pastoralist Community Initiative and Development Assistance (PACIDA)	Local NGO	Support peace building and conflict management training Support inter communal sports activities Provide early warning as appropriate	Marsabit
Horn of Africa Development initiative (HODI)	Local NGO	Support peace building and conflict management training Support inter communal sports activities Provide early warning as appropriate	Marsabit County
Community Initiative and Facilitation Assistance (CIFA)	Local NGO	Peace building and conflict management/Cohesion building Natural Resource Management	Marsabit
Pastoralists integrated support Programme (PISP)	Local NGO	Cohesion building Engaging local leaders in peace building and conflict management, facilitating inter/intra community dialogues Supporting interethnic schools sporting events and schools peace clubs Natural resource Management (water resources)	Marsabit
Marsabit Women Advocacy and Development Organization (MWADO)	Local NGO	Peace building, advocacy and Governance	

National Government

- Empower Independent Boundary and Electoral commission (IEBC) and institutions such as Interior ministry to end or resolve all land and boundary issues.
 - Enhance state security presence by deploying more security officers and as well use the National Police Reservists (NPR) in countering raiders/bandits due to their understanding of local context and familiarity with the terrain
 - Lay strong foundation for access to justice and security with consideration in use of customary law and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.
 - Enhance the use of softer approach in security and as well create central coordination of all security issues at both county and national level
 - Strengthened existing non-institutional Peace building structures such as the Council of Elders and religious leaders as part of resolving and enhancing peaceful co-existence between local communities.
 - Take inventory of all peace actors to enhance better coordination and strengthening of all traditional conflict resolution mechanism
- Enhance and make critical investment in water sector
 - Provide Support to the county peace structures particularly the committees and enhance rapid response capability to avert loss of lives and property
 - Support establishment of conflict early warning mechanism/system to enhance sharing of information between different parties.
 - Apply the concept of conflict sensitive development (CSD) in enhancing peace. This is key particularly in areas that are contested.
 - Fast-track existing county cohesion strategy and innovatively support the development of legislations that support the use of traditional resource governance knowledge.
 - Continuously support and improve the existing peace accords and declarations i.e. Modogashe-Garissa declarations while Supporting inter-county mechanism through NRM governance through pushing for appropriate legislations and policies

To both Isiolo and Marsabit County Governments

- Enhance equal and fair distribution of resources amongst all the Ethnic groups, this includes employment and other economic opportunities that comes with devolution.

TO THE COMMUNITIES

- Use the institution of elders and enhance reciprocal resource sharing plan during drought and other stress period
- Adopt livelihood strengthening and diversification based on context.



