

**ROAD COMMUNICATION NETWORK AS A FACTOR
IN RESOLVING RECURRENT CONFLICT AMONGST
PASTROLISTS IN MANDERA AND GARISSA
DISTRICTS OF NORTHERN KENYA**

**A Thesis Submitted to School of Postgraduate Studies In Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Award of the Degree
of Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution of
Kampala International University**

BY

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DECLARATION

I Hassan Ismail Mohamed hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has never been submitted to any academic institution for award of a degree or the equivalent

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26.6.2009

APPROVAL

I confirm that this thesis has been done under my supervision as a University Supervisor and submitted with my approval

Signed Otanga Rusoke
DR OTANGA RUSOKE

Date 26 - 09 - 2009

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my beloved Mother (May Allah rest her soul in eternal peace) whom I lost, during the period of my study of this course, My Brother Adan (EVA) for his ever encouraging support and to my family for their patience and understanding.

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ABBREVIATION

ASAL- Arid and Semi Arid Lands

CDF- Constituency Development Fund

CIS- Collective Investment Schemes

CRI- Conflict Response Index

CRIT - Conflict Response Index Tree

DC- District Commissioner

DSO- District Statistics Office

GDDP- Garissa District Development Plan

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

ICRC- International Committee of Red Cross

KNHRC- Kenya National Human Rights Commission

KRCS- Kenya Red Cross Society

MDDP- Mandera District Development Plan

MOA - Ministry of Agriculture

MP- Member of Parliament

NAPAD- Nomadic Association of Peace and Development

NEP- North Eastern Province

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

PRA- Participatory Rural Appraisal

SPS- Statistical Package for Science

TV-Television

UN- United Nations

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

VHF- Very High Frequency

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ABSTRACT

The study was set out to establish the efficiency and effectiveness of improved road communication network in affecting the trends, intensity and impact of recurrent ethnic conflict among pastoralist communities of Garissa and Mandera. Over the years conflict has remained the major cause of under-development in the area. The conventional cause i.e scarcity of pasture, water, small arms proliferation e.t.c appears not to have eminent solution due to the deteriorating climatic change and global warming coupled with anarchy setting in the neighboring countries like Somalia and Ethiopia.

The research was conducted comparatively through a survey of Bulla Nasib in Garissa and Bulla Handadu in Mandera. A sample size of 350 respondents was drawn from the two villages. Primary data was collected using questionnaires, observation, and from existing secondary data.. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling. The samples had equal chance amongst each selected cluster. Using PRA tools like pair-wise ranking, Venn diagram and conflict response index the information gathered was analyzed and computed using proportions, frequencies and inferences.

The results of this study found that improved road network will reduce conflict incidence by 64%, reduce conflict intensity by 46%, increase response time by 74% and minimize future conflict occurrence by 54%. The study recommends that the government allocate 10% of its annual revenue over the next 15 years to be used to construct effective road communication network and improve quality of life in Northern Kenya to prevent the cyclic occurrence of pastoralist conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

What inspired me to undertake this research were based on two issues. One my family was a victim of ethnic pastoralist conflict twice, back in the early 1960's before I was born and in 1983 when I was a young boy in both cases we lost all our livestock and were left destitute. The second reason was the continued deterioration of climatic condition and global warming that was perpetuating the conventional causes of pastoralist conflict which was scarcity of water and pasture that appears not have eminent solution.

Mandera, Garissa, Wajir and Ijara are the four districts making North Eastern Province (NEP). Due to the vastness and remoteness of these four districts the government subdivided them into 11 districts in 2007 in a bid to bring the government services closer to people.

The two districts that the study targeted; Garissa and Mandera are pastoralists inhabited by Somalis who lead nomadic way of life. These people are predominantly Muslims. They are constantly on move the in search for water and pasture for their livestock. These constant movements bring them in contact with different ethnic groups and it is common for conflicts to occur due to the competitions for the scarce resources in the area. The situation has been aggravated by the worsening climatic conditions in these areas as the rains have become erratic and are unreliable. The situation on roads and other communication systems are bad in Mandera as three districts of greater Mandera have no single road of tarmac hence making response to conflict situations completely unattended to or response received after lives and properties were destroyed. The district

suffered recurrent drought, human diseases and food crisis, livestock endemics, clan clashes and recently, locust invasion.

Garissa district is divided into five livelihood zones; camel/shoats, agro-pastoral, pastoral cattle/sheep, pastoral of all species and business / formal employment.

In all the districts of North Eastern Province ethnic violence has torn through rangelands, villages and towns. Throughout the province, there are over 500,000 survivors of conflict affected directly or indirectly. There are internally displaced persons who live in Lafey and Danaba of Mandera district and over 250,000 refugees from Somalia brought in by violent conflict and they live in Dadab in Garissa district.

Many families have their homes and livelihood destroyed. Many have been killed or maimed. Others have been tortured both by illicit gangs and government security personnel working to restore peace. Several innocent women, daughter, wives and sisters have been raped. (United Nations Development Programme, <http://undp.org>. UNDP Website)

The people who live in the province are entirely Somalis. Due to the large vast land in which they live from Tana River in Coast Province to Isiolo in Eastern Province, through entire Northern Kenya into the state of Somalia, Southern Eastern Ethiopia and Djibouti. This community has had little external influence from outside communities due to the dry and harsh climatic condition that has kept off other communities from the region.

The environmental Isolation has made them divide themselves into sub-ethnic groupings (or Clans). The Somalis share a common language, religion, geography, history ancestry and physical traits and as an Ethnic group they share the same beliefs, customs, values and norms because of the common background (Ray 1990)

Ethnicity as result of clan division is highly prevalent thus excluding others from mainstream participation of social affairs because of their clan identity (Ray, 1990).

The root cause of ethnic conflict can be political, economic, religious linguistic, cultural or racial. The reasons why ethnic differences lead to conflict includes sense of injustices, poor resource distribution, economic, political competition, reaction to prejudice and discrimination (Ray 1990)

Prejudice and discriminatory policy by the government whether by *de facto* or *de jure* that the region is not economically viable for macro investment and that the insecurity and conflict are major issues to address made the area underdeveloped for along time. (KNHRC, 2006). The stereotyping of the people from the region as lazy and only dependent on government relief aid has caused more suffering and continued to wreak the livelihood of the people.

The Region suffered underdevelopment during the colonial era when the colonialist's bid of ethnocide, cultural colonization and attempted forced assimilation all failed to change the Somali community culture who were Muslim (Wendy, 2007)

The main source of livelihood of this community is pastoralism; they People keep cattle, sheep, goats and camels. They live in symbiosis with their animals in a disequilibrium environment and over 60% of the populations practice nomadism i.e. moving entire family with herds from place to place while 20% of them are transhumance i.e. part of the people travel with animal while the rest stay at villages at best watered areas which have the longest pasture season. The greater part of the population makes direct living from their herds. They consume meat, milk from which they make yoghurt butter and cheese. Though some pastoralists rely on their herds it is becoming impossible to base subsistence solely on animals. Most pastoralists therefore supplement or diversify their diet by trade, crops from farmers or government relief food (Simpkin, 2005).

The adaptive strategy that would have supported this disequilibrium system is highly hampered by lack of or inadequate communication system. There are no tarmac road networks, isolated telephone network available in discrete towns, the Marginal cost to operate trade is prohibitive and prices of essential commodities are above, the reach of many poor people. (Field, 2005).

Pastoralism is a dynamic production system and change in the appearance of pastoralism, is inevitable. One such change is to shift towards commercialization of or market oriented livestock production (Simpkin, 2005) which is only possible through improved communication networks roads, air, sea and electronics.

There is no pastoral development or emergency response blue prints that exist, especially for North Eastern province. (Simpkin, 2005). Conflict in Pastoralist system is common but

great opportunities exist for impact and positive change during and following conflict. Although alternatives are few for many livestock owners, diversification opportunities and alternatives livelihood to livestock keeping is mandatory with properly designed and established communication links.(ICRC,2005)

Conflict in Pastoralist communities is mainly over scarce natural resources (Pasture and water). Poor communication in Northern Eastern Province has limited the adaptive strategy of the communities both during hardship (when help to cope is needed) and "soft" plenty (when conditions are good)

Other causes of conflict amongst the pastoralist could be frequent drought, migration, territorial disputes, proliferation of small arms, colonial border demarcation, poverty rangeland degradation and collapse of traditional institution, more recent phenomenon includes commercialized cattle rustling (Halake and watson, 2003)

The ASAL, Arid and Semi Arid Lands, have continued to suffer, underdevelopment due to persistent conflict and security situation. The government expenditure on the region is mainly on security with very little going towards development. This mindset of expenditures on security had been on from 1967 when the Somali community agitated and wanted to break away to Somalia from Kenya , The government over the last 45 years has adopted a neglecting attitude with no macro investment in the region.

The research has looked into how lack of effective communication caused or precipitate conflict in pastoralist communities. The variables for study were how effective

communication affected the number of conflict incidents, affected the intensity of conflict, escalated or cooled conflict situation, provided timely response interventions to the people affected or are at risk of conflict, reduced the impact of conflict on victims and provided support for conflict tracking strategy to avoid occurrence of future conflicts. Underlying issues related to why effective communication affected conflict responses in a given way was studied using descriptive analysis.

Statement of the Problem

Conflict incidence in pastoralist communities of North Eastern Province has remained one of the major causes of underdevelopment in the region. Potential investors have feared to penetrate the region, making pastoralism the only main source of livelihood for the region. The recurrent conflict is caused mainly by deteriorating environmental conditions. Other causes of conflict amongst the pastoralist could be frequent drought, migration, territorial disputes; proliferation of small arms, colonial inter-clan border demarcation, poverty, rangeland degradation and collapse of traditional institution, more recent phenomenon includes commercialized cattle rustling. (Halake and watson, 2003 These causes have continued to limit the coping strategies of the local population affected by conflict.

In the 1980's and early 1990's conflict has been the same in all the districts of North Eastern Province. There appears to be gradual change in conflict trends over the year. Mandera continues to be the most volatile while in Garissa there seems to be a decline. Many of the socio-economic characteristics of the two districts remain the same except for Garissa getting accessed by a standard tarmac road.

The research looked into how lack of effective communication has caused or precipitate conflict in pastoralist communities. The study looked into how effective communication affected the number of conflict incidents, the intensity of conflict, and escalation of conflict or reduce tension in conflict situation, provided timely interventions to .the people affected or are at risk of conflict, reduced the impact of conflict victims and provided support for conflict tracking strategy to avoid occurrence of future conflicts.

The researcher explored how improved communication such as road, rail or sea networks and electronic communication such as telephones, T.V, internet and media advertisement effected conflict situation. There is need to find out how many past clan militia that have reformed and are involved in livestock trade.

The effect of the improved road network on small traders i.e. kiosk vendors, food stores, hawkers , revenue to council and cross-cultural interaction due to livestock traders from other communities coming to Garissa can not be underestimated. The town is gradually modernizing with many high class hotels coming up. Conversely the life of the people living in Wajir and Mandera has not changed. In Mandera ethnic divisions is high, poverty, illiteracy, disease prevalence is still prevalent. The district has all the characteristic of any rural setting and there is no sign of economic empowerment seen in the near future.

The introduction of constituency development fund (CDF) made the central government not to undertake Macro projects like construction of standard road network. There is

always a push to make people believe, the government has given its best through the CDF thus making the hope of having improved road network an illusionary hope.

The Purpose of Study

The purpose of study was to identify the effectiveness and efficiency by which improved roads and other communication systems affected the trends of recurrent ethnic conflicts in pastoralist communities in North Eastern Province . The study entails comparative analysis of the impact of the existing tarmac road in Garissa and the rough road access to Mandera.

Research General Objectives

The general objectives of the study was to comparatively analyze the efficiency of improved roads and other communication system in reducing the trend, intensity and impact of recurrent ethnic conflicts among pastoralist communities of Garissa and Mandera.

Specific Objectives

- 1) To examine how existing road network affects alternative/diversify livelihood characteristics of pastoralist communities in Garissa and Mandera.
- 2) To examine how existing roads and other communication systems in facilitating rapid services and relief deliveries during conflicts in the pastoralist communities.

Research Questions

- 1) To what extent do improved roads communication network manifest in alternative/diversify livelihood characteristics amongst the pastoralists' communities in Northern Kenya?
- 2) To what extent do improved roads communication network facilitate rapid conflict response, resolution and relief supplies in pre, post and ex post conflict periods in North Kenya ?

Scope

The research covered Garissa district which enjoys improved tarmac road link across Tana River from Coast Province and Mandera district of Kenya served by rough, marrum and lose soil road. The research based thorough focus on the two towns. Garissa serves also as the provincial headquarter of North Eastern Province and while Mandera lies at the further end, enjoys cross border trade with Somalia and Ethiopia

Past and present conflict incidents, trends and intensities were analyzed for the period 30 years (between 1980 to 2009). it looked at conflict in relation to economic trends. Values of real estates, livestock prices, essential commodities prices, rate of wealth accumulation were used as parameters of change. Transformatory effect of business opportunities to past armed bandits and clan militias was also explored in both districts.

Finally possibility of developing tracking conflict strategy in pastoralist communities was postulated in a view to make response to future conflict situation timely effective and

more efficient in the wake of poor communication and road networks.

Significance of the study

There are number of reasons why the government needs to address development disparities within its borders. For meaningful development to be achieved each part of the country has to be supported to exploit its resources sustainable and to the fullest.(Grace, 2005) The ASAL region is endowed with high livestock population but scarce resources like, pasture and water that often cause ethnic conflict that is quite disastrous. With the deteriorating environmental conditions and global warming there is less likelihood that this disequilibrium environment can hold these large population of livestock any more.

Improved communication through tarmac roads, electricity, telephone connection, open external and local markets that guarantee value for product, value addition development may go along way in helping the pastoralist community explore the diversified opportunity and start livestock rearing for commercial purpose rather than subsistence as it is currently. Though the road link considered in this study is in Coast Province of Kenya, it has served Garissa town, and thus is monumental evidence to policy makers that North Eastern province is not a dependant province rather, it is due to the states failure to help them explore its potentials.

As the province continues to suffer the stereotype mindset that security is a priority issue and vast government expenditure running into fortunes go into wastage in form of security personnel night outs and fuel. The government needs to make a paradigm shift, that security will be improved by making opportunities available for the people to easily diversify their source of livelihood. Thus the construction of standard tarmac road

network within the province and across into Somalia and Ethiopia will not only improve security but will generate immense revenue for the government.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Perspective

Garissa and Mandera are pastoralists inhabited by Somalis who lead nomadic way of life. These people are predominantly Muslims. They are constantly on move in search of water and pasture for their livestock. These constant movements bring them in contact with different ethnic groups and it is common for conflicts to occur due to the competitions for the scarce resources in the area. The situation has been aggravated by the worsening climatic conditions in these areas as the rains have become erratic and are unreliable

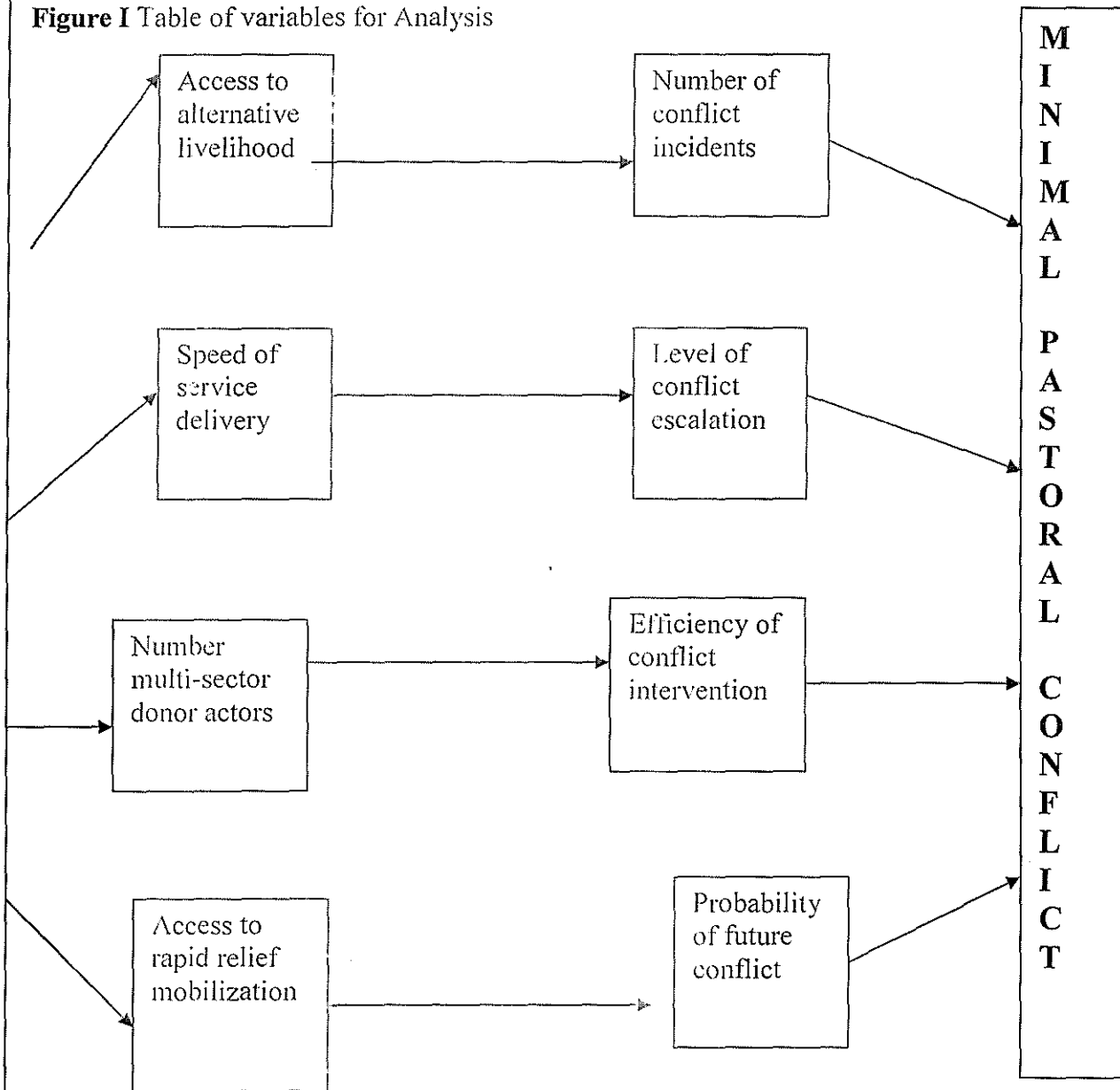
Pastoralist system has already faced several changes: one of the major shifts has affected pastoralist diet observed after 1970's. Consumption of maize and other cereal increased while milk and meat intake fell. Unfortunately; the need to sell more animals to obtain cheaper high-energy cereal has not been parallel by improvement in marketing and transport facilities (ICRC 2002). Access limitation complicates the delivery of both Government and Non-Governmental organization services in North Eastern Province. Many youths in North Eastern Province have never been to school and the network of access roads and other forms of communication is limited. (Field, 2005)

Livestock marketing in Northern districts is poorly established and livestock prices depressed. Government security personal in most parts of rural setting have no radio communication network. This is a constraint to improving security and information flow (ICRC 2002). The area has suffered cyclic conflict incident and as the distance are great, there being no telephone services in most areas with roads in poor condition there is need to find the correlation between improved roads network and conflict situation.

Conceptual Framework

This research attempts to isolate the contribution of communication to conflict and look into how lack of effective communication has caused or precipitate conflict in pastoralist communities. The variable for study was how effective communication affected the number of conflict incidents, the intensity of conflict, escalated or cooled conflict situation, provided timely response interventions to the people affected or are at risk of conflict, reduced the impact of conflict on victims and provided support for conflict tracking strategy to avoid occurrence of future conflicts.

Figure I Table of variables for Analysis



Review of Related Literatures

There are many research studies that were done earlier that looked into causes of conflict in pastoralist communities of Northern Kenya but they were short of critically finding out the effect of lack of efficient communication systems in the area.

Conflicts in ASAL areas have become normal phenomenon with humanitarian organization flying in emergency supplies and medical doctors to rescue the victims and those at risk. Kenya Red Cross Society (KRCS) has over the years been pre-occupied with erratic and highly violent conflicts. Some emergency responses reach the victims while it is long over due and the damage is already done due to inaccessible rural settings.

While this odds are the common features of ASAL areas it is important to note that the arid lands constitute 80% of Kenya's land mass supports 75% and 25% of nation's livestock and human population respectively and inspite of these limitation the Kenya government estimates that 30% of the country's future economic growth will come from the Arid region (Simpkin, 2005)

In 2001, the estimated value of the livestock in the Arid and semi arid (ASAL) was 70 billion Kenya shillings. In 2002, livestock production accounted for 10% of the GDP and 30% of farm gate value of agricultural commodities.(Simpkin 2005). In 2002, Livestock contribution to GDP was estimated to be 25%. The livestock sub sector accounts for 90% of employment, and more than 95% of family incomes in ASAL area. In the high and medium potential land, which occupies 20% of the country, livestock provide employment to more than 50% of Agricultural labour force (MOA, 2002)

Thus the study looked in to the effect of improved communication on incidents of pastoralist conflict in North Eastern Province with a comparative analysis of Garissa District served by improved tarmac road and Mandera district access by rough marrum with loose soil roads and remote communication.

From experience, it seems that development is successful when all the players are rowing in the same direction, for this to happen, very skilful communication strategy is needed.

(Grace, 2005). Expansion and construction of an efficient communication strategy is a policy issue and has to be looked at from a long term perspective. Most times impact of the policy can be clearly divided into short and long term. In the short term putting up massive road networks in a bare arid land tends to be expensive and often seen as wasteful by others but “Throughout history government seem to have served three major purposes; maintaining order (Preserving life, and Protecting Property), providing public goods. And promoting equity” (Hula, 2001)

Like a medical process a doctor trying to save life of a patient . the process of treatment may be painful sometimes cutting into the human body part but the pain is necessary towards healing .. After an effective treatment the patient is much better off and can enjoy longer and fruitful lifetime and contribute better to society. (Grace, 2005).

Just like the above analogy, there is need to prioritize objectively on developments. If lot of money investment is used to put up an efficient road and other communication networks the immediate flow of large volume trade may not be seen overnight but at the

end the economy of the region may revived. “The cost of maintaining order and promoting equity is greater than money, it venally means a tradeoff of basic values (Hula 2001). An efficient communication service will not only reduce conflict incidences but constitute support for every business in the region. The increased connectivity will also make an impact on the living standards and productivity of many nomadic pastoralist in the most remote end of country. (Field, 2005)

Government investment to have efficient communication system will not only reduce conflict to minimum but will equally have the following notable positive impact on Kenya. Government can also promote social equity through policies that do redistribute income (Hula, 2001).

1. Food relief subsidy reduction: Instead of getting steady revenue generation from the pastoralist economy many times the Government is called upon to give food relief if pastoralist is affected by drought and other climatic shocks. The pastoralists ability to sell off livestock in time of hard conditions and get good value for his animals is greatly hampered by lack of efficient communications network (Grace, 2005)
2. Increased goods, services, direct and indirect jobs: Not only will efficient communication contribute to increase in sale of livestock at end markets. The process will also contribute to the development of human resource capital in Northern Kenya. Introducing effective new communication technology and better safety condition in the livestock production systems will generally improved life

of pastoralist, unemployed youths who are often recruited as warriors in pastoralist conflict will get jobs, the environment will be safeguarded as surplus animals will all go to the market ,livestock will be diversified through seeking jobs in majors towns i.e often the illiterate pastoralist persons makes the best security guards in Nairobi(Field, 2005)

3. Attracting foreign investments: The ASAL area of Northern Kenya makes 75% Kenya's land mass with improved communication; the land will attract foreign investments to harness massive water harvesting schemes for irrigation in fruit production. The closure of the area due to lack of efficient communication systems has led to lack of knowledge of the vast highly productive land. A recent visit by Dubai investment group is already making bilateral agreement with Government to invest in Tana River district.(Ismail, 2008)

The ASAL region was under emergency law till 1992; This has kept many investors off the region. The policy of discriminatory development was real as it was both by *de facto* or *de jure* (Ismail, 2008). For any state to achieve progress, holistic developmental initiative must be started and both policy and attitudinal changes has to start right from head of state to the powerful cabinets and along the provincial administration to village level.

If the area is made accessible with efficient communication system with tarmac road links between the major towns, a young hawkker can overnight travel from Mandera buy or sell his merchandise in Nairobi and go back the same day at minimal cost. Currently bus fare from Mandera to Nairobi is KSH 3000 for one way with two night's stopovers. The

minimum a person needs to pay on transport and substance is about 15,000 KSH. Unless in drug business how can the many young capable youths in pastoralist setting engage in small business to generate such net profit margin? The lack of outlet for means of livelihood has made youth engage in raids, cattle rustling, and unending conflict over scarce resources. 'It has been suggested that raids are increasingly carried out by individuals without community support and often have economic motives' (MOF-U, 2004)

The government through international funding program can invest in the putting up an efficient road networks and other communication infrastructures the people of Northern Kenya can jointly resort to establish collective investment schemes (CIS). (Watson, 2008)

While accessing capital at reasonable cost is crucial, the traditional sources of finance such as borrowing from banks and co-operatives have proven to be expensive and open to exclusion. Culturally, majority of the people in Northern Kenya are Muslims, thus interest charged by banks is unlawful according to the Islamic faith. The most cost effective form of sourcing funding is calling for direct investment schemes. This opportunity can be made available to people to purchase share at stock exchange, facilitated through CIS.

Collective investment schemes are the fastest growing investment product in the world simply because more traditional saving products like banks deposits and insurances administrated products have proven to be more expensive, less transparent and produce poor returns in comparison (Watson, 2005). The use of CIS as alternative funding will

reduce cost of further investment by the government, once efficient road and other communication networks are put in place.

The earliest way to ease reliance on donor funding and set upon a path of sustainable economic growth is to develop a robust capital market. Capital market is a market where domestic savings like CIS are used to finance domestic capital requirements. (Watson, 2005)

It took Kenya Red cross branch in Garissa 24 hours to access information on conflict at Fafi on the 7th of Jan 2009, where one person was killed and 14 other seriously injured over scarce water resources. Fafi is 80km from Garissa (KRCS, 2009). It cost the life of one person and over 32 houses completely burnt when Koromey a village 6Km way from Mandera was invaded in the recent ethnic conflict this is just the tip of the iceberg, many violent conflicts in the ASAL region gets to be known a week or so after the damage has already been done.

To make interventions, accessing some remote village where conflict is reported requires adequate planning and resource mobilization many of such items, includes, 4-wheel drive vehicles with double tank or enough containers to carry fuel, sufficient packed food and drinks supply, a VHF radio or satellite (Thuraya) phone, preparation of staff psychologically and escort vehicle for most NGO except Red cross which does not use security personnel

The police force should equally be equipped with necessary equipment and personnel to enable it respond effectively and in a timely manner to conflicts in Kenya . All-terrain

vehicles, communication gadgets and other essential security supplies should be allocated to conflict prone areas especially porous borders areas that hitherto have not known any peace. Along- term solution to prevention and management of pastoralist as well as other conflict lies squarely on deliberate construction and improvement of physical and social infrastructure in the affected area. This calls for a Marshall plan formulation and implementation in Northern Kenya (Mohamud, 2006)

The recent ethnic conflict in Mandera between the Murule and Gare clan left over 40 people dead before the government and policy makers came took a brace and sent security personnel. An intervention team led by Abass Guleit, the Secretary General of Kenya Red Cross Society, in the full glare of media, the security personnel wanted to stop the humanitarian aid organizations from accessing the victims in Elwak. He had to challenge them by saying "We will not stop you from torturing the people, but you cannot stop us (Red Cross) from providing the humanitarian assistance they need (KRCS, 2008). This rapid response was only possible due presence of mobile phones in Wargadud and Elwak but on the contrary since there is no efficient road networks, aeroplanes were used by the team and humanitarian supplies reached the area after a weeks time.

In responding to growing conflicts over the world, there has been substantial growth in spending on humanitarian relief and peacekeeping. In 1994 the UN spent over 4 billion US dollars on peacekeeping. The same figure as had been in the previous 48 years of its existence (Goodhand, 2001)

The UNDP's concept of human security and political freedom index highlight personal security as central part of human being. It also emphasizes the fact that poor people place

a very high value on personal security. Law and order can therefore be seen as a public good or entitlement. Many countries with a high level of trade openness are less likely to experience conflict. (Goodhand, 2001) Trade openness comes as a result of developed infrastructure and effective communication system.

In the pastoralist communities of North Kenya, the effect of conflict have been felt by almost everyone but the information on conflict is not available on record. With the death of thousands of people in direct conflict and massacre by government security operatives no one can access justice due to lack recorded information i.e. Garissa gubay', Malkamari massacre, Wagala massacre, Turbi massacre, among others. Presence of internally displaced persons in lafey and El Danaba, thousands of refugees in camps at Kakuma and Dadab, increased unemployment, poverty, destitution, under development poor roads, collapsed learning institution i.e. Garbatulla high school which was a prestigious national school, among others are the effect of conflict in Northern Kenya (NAP AD, 2008)

While the incidence of high level violence has reduced in the recent year, the trend is remarkable in Garissa district where improved road network has empowered the local population but the trend remains the same in Mandera and Wajir

Government must be committed to equitable resources allocation across the country. In some sectors such as road, return for public investment in troubled areas are reduced either by the destruction of infrastructures or by limited economic activity. Government then faces a trade-off between efficiency and equitable in its allocation of public expenditure (MOF-U, 2004)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the design procedure and methodologies which was used in collecting, analyzing and computing of data.

Research Design

This is a descriptive ex post facto research designed to obtain information needed, using mainly qualitative and quantitative paradigms. Questionnaires, discussions with key informant, and observation through transect walk was used to get information from respondents. The respondents were given equal opportunity to participate actively. (Mouton, 2001)

Target Population

The research was conducted through a survey of Bulla Nasib in Garissa and Bulla Handadu in Mandera town with total target population of about 10,000 people. Samples of 350 respondents were drawn from each of the two towns. Some discussions with key informant were done selectively.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A sample of 175 respondents was drawn from each of the two towns. Some discussions with key informant were done selectively. This includes the District Commissioners, two Mayors, District Roads officer, District Livestock production officers of the select areas but the area MPs could not easily be reached. The research carried was a study on Bulla

Nasib in Garissa and Bulla Handadu in Mandera to determine the influence of improve communication on pastoralist conflict.

To determine the sample size for the study several factors were considered; such as the variables, the type of research design, the method of data collection / analysis and the size of the accessible population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1997). Gay (1981) suggests that 30 cases or more are required for descriptive studies. Thus sample size selected was appropriate because of the limitation in time and finance to carry out the study

Data Collection Method

Primary data was collected using questionnaires, interviews and the existing data. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling where each of the respondents had equal chances of being interviewed. Using simple PRA tools like pair-wise ranking, Venn diagram and conflict response index, the information gathered were analyzed, coded and synthesized using frequencies, proportions, percentages and inferences

The quantitative methods emphasized were interviews for the government officials and questionnaires for traders, and general public administered by trained enumerator. Both formal and informal interviews were applied

Data Processing and Analysis

The data collected from the case studies was analyzed, coded and entered into a Computer. The data was then analyzed quantitatively. Using analogy conflict response index tree was designed and used to determine quantitatively the effect of effective

communication system on the incidence, intensity, impact, intervention and future of conflict occurrence. The data was presented in form of tables, graphs and charts

Limitation

The researcher administered questionnaires to 350 respondents out of 156 questionnaires were used for analysis. This low attrition is a threat to validity of the research

CHAPTER FOUR:

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

The objective of the research study was to explore the degree to which improved road communication network affects the recurrent conflict in pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya with critical analysis of Mandera and Garissa districts.

This chapter of the report provides illustration of the study findings and data analysis. Two sets of questionnaires were administered to sample groups identified. The first was administered to respondents who mainly consisted of the public, businessmen, teachers, pastoralist and livestock traders. The second questionnaire was used on public officers like District commissioners, District Officers; District works officer, local town council Major and District livestock officers as it became difficult to get the area MPs. Due to time and cost limitation. Out of the 350 questionnaires administered only 298 were received back for analysis. Only 156 questionnaires were analyzed that were fully filled

The data is presented with the first part dealing with how road communication network affected the characteristics of pastoralist livelihood, followed by role of conflict in conflict resolution and finally the policy gaps related discussion.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Area of resident

This section is aimed at establishing the area of residence of the respondents who were found at major Livestock trading centre in the districts. The respondents were categorized as being from the district, within Kenya and from outside

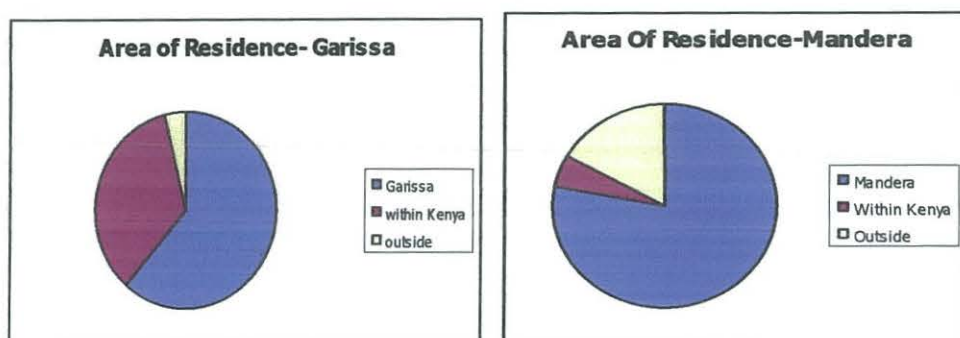


Figure 1- ratio of area of residence

35% of those from Garissa come from Nairobi, Mombasa, many outside Garissa i.e. while only 14% those from Mandera come from Somalia and Ethiopia while 5% come from outside Mandera but form within Kenya.. Mandera has more people from outside the country due to its proximity to Somalia and Ethiopia

Age

The results of the age disparities of the respondents for the two districts were.

Age (Yrs)	20-30	30-40	40-50	Over 50
Garissa (%)	20	38	26	16
Mandera (%)	13	29	32	26

Table 1: Age aggregate of Respondents

While in Garissa there more youthful respondents that over 50years in Mandera the over 50yrs were more common at trading centre. There are more youthful Traders in Garissa as compared to those in Mandera where there are older people.(i.e. 58%:42%)

Gender

The respondents were categorized as either Male of Female. In both districts there were more male than female respondents. There are 54% male respondents as compared to 46% female in Garissa while in Mandera 52% male to 48% females. There was more female gender based small food kiosk vendors business in Mandera than in Garissa making their percentage higher .

EFFECT OF COMMUNICATION ON LIVELIHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

Occupation of respondents

The occupation of the respondents was coded and was classified under the following groups.

Occupation	Garissa	Mandera	Frequency
Salaried	12	7	19
Livestock/ trade	30	19	49
Other business	14	11	25
Farmer	8	7	13
Religious leaders	2	3	5
Casual worker	12	8	20
Unemployed	8	10	18
Hoteliers	6	1	7

Table 2: Occupation of respondents

In both districts Livestock and livestock trade was the major occupation, other Business following. There were more salaried people in Garissa than Mandera and more unemployed people in Mandera than Garissa. Hoteliers featured more in Garissa than Mandera.

Source of livelihood

The major source of the livelihood of the people in the two districts were presented as

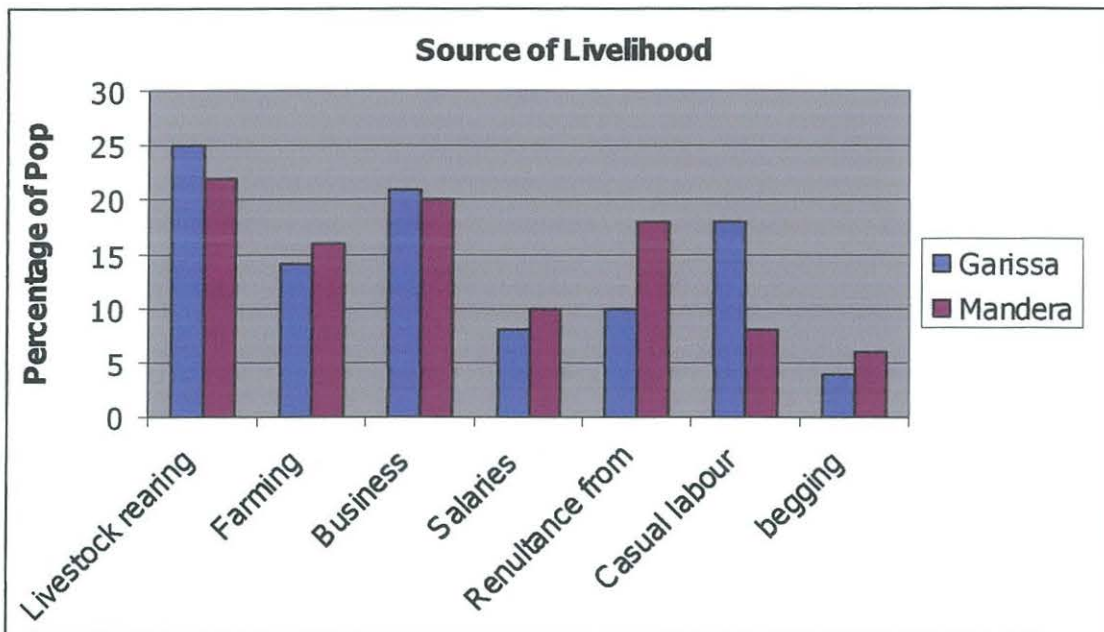


Figure 2 Source of Livelihood

While almost a quarter of the respondent of the population from Garissa depend mainly on livestock rearing and livestock trade only a fifth from Mandera do so. The percentage of destitutes who are begging on the streets is higher in Mandera than in Garissa. The people depending on remittances from relative appear to be almost twice in Mandera than Garissa. Livestock is the most reliable source of livelihood for all interviewed persons

Marketing Opportunities

In Garissa there is market day with majority of the traders within the market distance of 1-5 km. While in Mandera there is no livestock market day, thus people just bring them daily to find if there is any willing buyer. Generally there is no competition and enthusiasm in Livestock trade in Mandera. They said occasionally traders from Nairobi come but they exploit on the poor market situation.

Livestock pricing

Price of livestock was given as follows during normal times.

Livestock	Garissa		Mandera	
	Min	Max	min	Max
Goats	1200	4500	800	3000
Cattle	4500	20000	1500	12000
Camel	15000	42000	10000	25000

Table 3: Livestock prices

There is great disparity in livestock prices between the two markets. Cattle in Garissa Market are well priced as compared to Mandera. Key challenge mentioned is that Mandera is affected mainly by lack of demand and proximity to markets i.e. its 1000 plus kilometers from Nairobi with poor rough road network. Garissa has market outlets to Mombasa, Nairobi and export to Middle East through Mombasa port and the area is served by tarmac road.

Reason for livestock sale

The following reasons were given for sale of livestock by the respondents

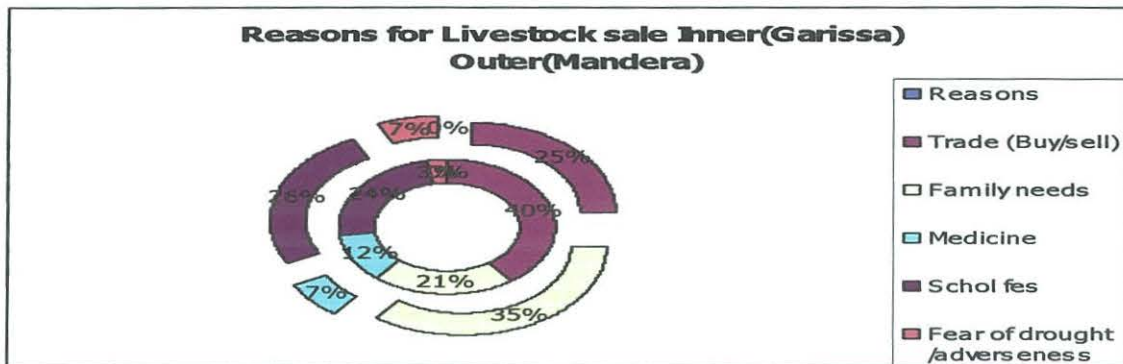


Figure 3 Reasons for selling livestock

Those in Garissa buy and sale livestock mainly for trade purposes and school fees and those in Mandera sale then mainly for family needs and school fees. The sale of livestock for fear of adversaries like drought and conflict is more than twice higher in Mandera than in Garissa. Concern of health featured more in Garissa than in Mandera with 12% people selling for healthcare as compared to 7% in Mandera.

Livestock price acceptance

While 45% of the respondent in Garissa feel comfortable with the price condition only 28% in Mandera are comfortable. I.e. Two-thirds of the population in Mandera are not happy with price as compare to about half in Garissa..

Market preference

Most respondents were in agreement that they would prefer to sell their animals' in Nairobi or elsewhere.78% of respondents in Garissa and 64% in Mandera preferred to sell then Animals in Nairobi.

For all those not preferring to take their animals elsewhere the following were their responses.

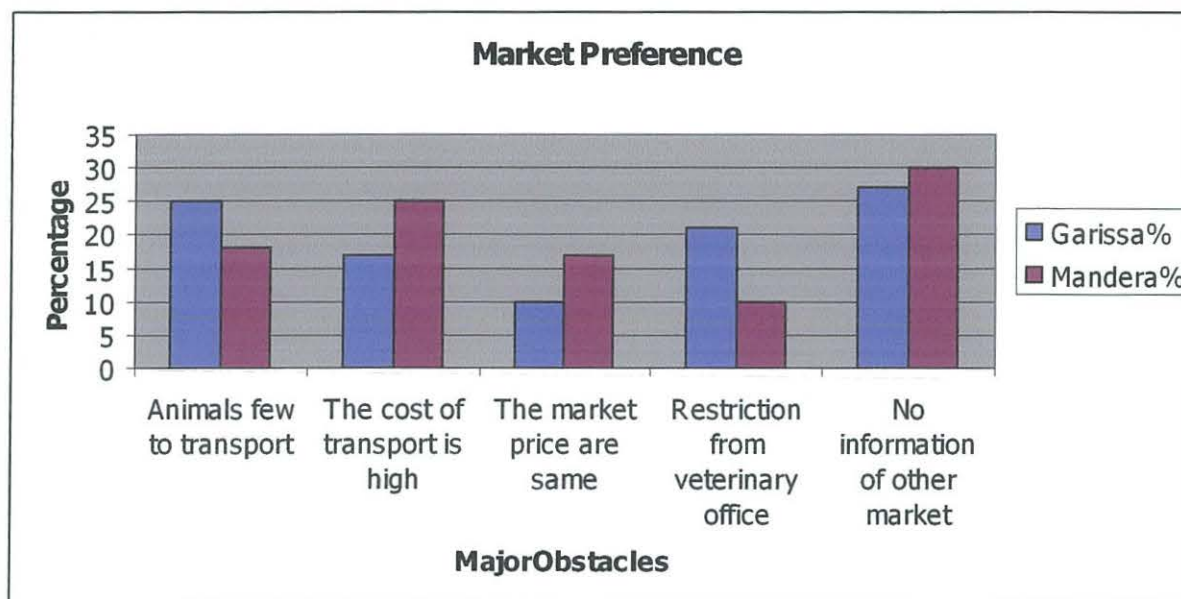


Figure 4 Obstacles to outside markets

Lack of proper information is the most pronounced obstacle facing the respondents both in Garissa and Mandera. Cost of transportation was the second major problem for the people in Mandera while for those in Garissa their livestock were few to be transported.

Availability of social services

The percentage of respondents who felt food was readily available was higher in Garissa 47% than Mandera 42%. For the other social services, the following were their responses

	Garissa	Mandera
Water supply system	38	17
Livestock/Veterinary service	27	21
Hospital	11	34
Education	24	28

Table 4: Availability of social services

In Garissa water supply, livestock and veterinary services were more readily available while in Mandera it was health and education ranked better.

Relief Food

When asked whether they receive government food relief 10% of the respondents said yes in Garissa as compared to 60% in Mandera confirmed that they receive famine relief food from the government. For those who confirmed receiving food aid, the years for which they received this relief food were represented as follows.

Years	Garissa	Mandera
Less than 1 year	27	12
1 – 2yrs	39	28
3 – 4 yrs	24	32
More than 4 yrs	10	28

Table 5: Duration of famine relief distribution

More than half the respondents in Mandera have been receiving relief food aid for four years and above. This often causes dependency and destroys the coping strategies of the community

ALTERNATIVE LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

Access to Finance And Capital Market

The respondents were asked on varies aspects on finance, access to financial institution collective investments systems and capital market.

The respondents were asked the number of banks institution in the area. 76% in Garissa said there are more than 5 banks while in Mandera 94% respondents say that there are two banks only.

In terms of access to bank loans

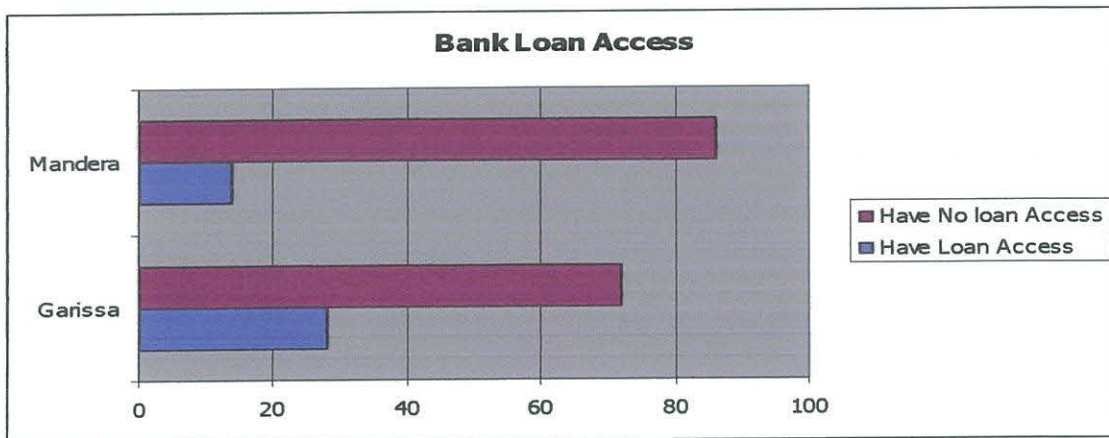


Figure 5: Access to financial support

in Garissa 28% respondents say they can access loans while in Mandera 14% respondents said they can access loans, in Garissa those who said yes cited Gulf Africa, East Africa community Bank, KCB, Family Bank, equity bank as major loan providers.

Majority of people said they cannot access bank loans i.e. 72% in Garissa and 86% in Mandera. They give their reasons for lacking of access to the loans due to culture i.e. Sheria compliance which prohibits interest payment and earnings.

Collective Investment Systems/ Institutions.

The respondents were asked to give various aspects of collective investments system i.e. co-operatives /iskashata

The Respondents were asked on the existences of active livestock co-operative societies/ iskashata. In Garissa 38% said there are local co-operative while 22% in Mandera said there are small community livestock co-operative whose structures was as shown.

Membership	Garissa	Mandera
Open to everyone	8	0
Few family member	74	96
Few NGO supported	18	04

Table 6: Composition of Co-operatives/ Iskashata

For the majority of the respondents who said there are no active livestock co-operative i.e. 62% in Garissa and 78% Mandera they cited the following as major reason for the lack the co-operative.

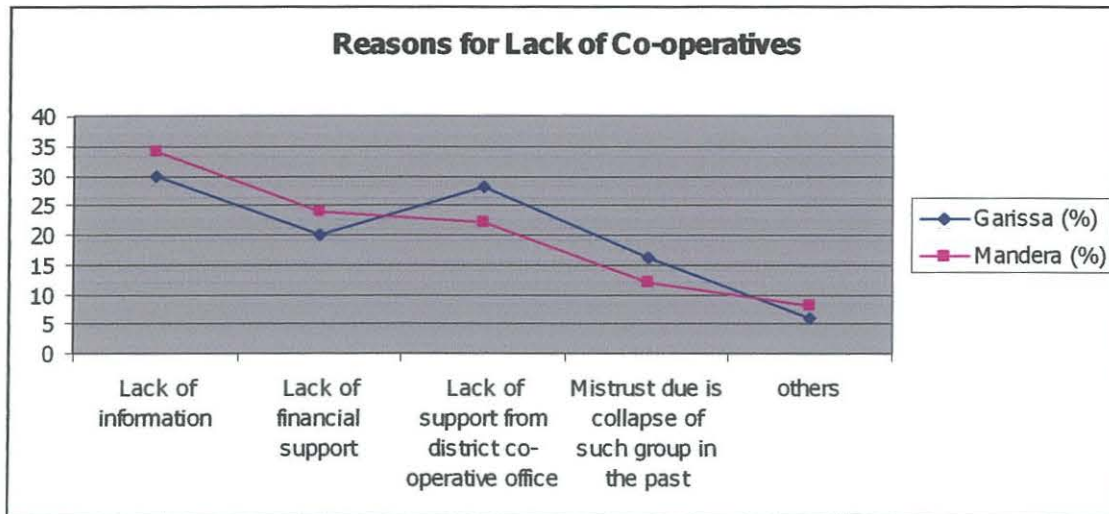


Figure 6: Obstacles to formation of co-operatives

Lack of information, lack of support for district co-operative office and lack of financial support ranked the key reasons for lack of cooperatives in both, Garissa and Mandera with staggering ratios of 30%, 28%, 20% in Garissa as compared 34%, 22% and 24% in Mandera for the reasons mentioned. This is in agreement with Ruto's suggestion that;

“Major legislations and policies governing the use of natural resources need to be disseminated in languages understood by all to the benefit of all stakeholders particularly the local communities” (Ruto 2005).

EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Conflict Analysis

The respondents were asked what the causes of conflict were and whether they were addressed. In Mandera 100% of the respondents say that conflict has occurred recently while 14% of those in Garissa. In Mandera respondents say they saw conflict in 2009, 2008, 2006, 2005, 2004, 2000, and 1983 while those in Garissa said it was in 1996, 1994,

1993, 1990, 1987, 1985 1982, and 1980. As for the Causes of the conflicts the respondents gave similar causes of the conflict.

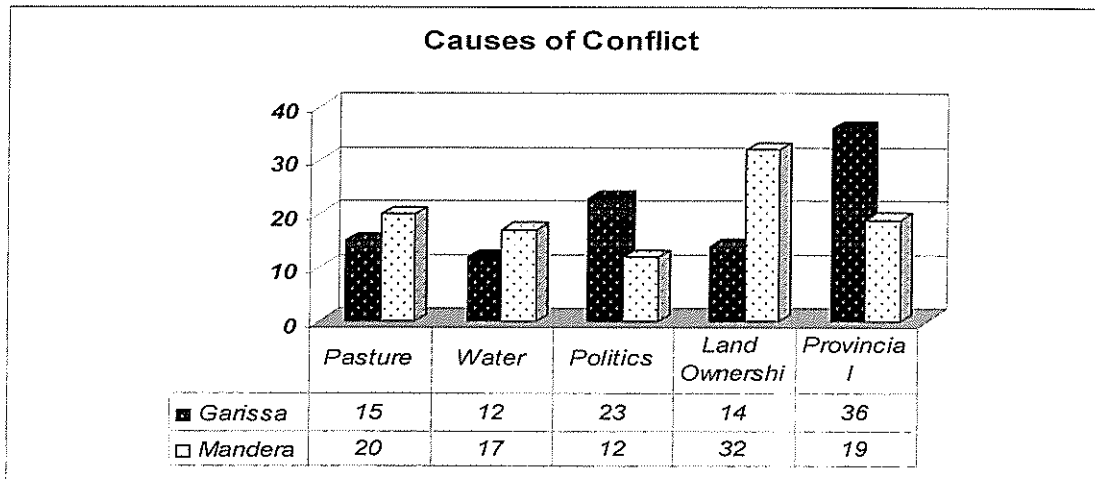


Figure 7: Major causes of conflict

Only 16% the respondents in Mandera say the cause of conflict has been addressed as compared to 65% in Garissa. In Mandera 71% of the respondents' belief the conflict will recur as compared to 18% in Garissa. The effect of conflict in Mandera is still felt now with the district been under curfew. The number of those affected could not be remembered by most respondents. Land ownership takes preference in Mandera as major cause of conflict while provincial administration ranked first in Garissa

Communication Infrastructure

In Mandera there is no area served by tarmac road unlike Garissa. In Garissa there a four telephone networked, 14 public internet cyber cafes and all NGO have internet networks, five FM radio networks with offices in Garissa. In Mandera there are 3 telephone networks. no public internet provider. There is Safaricom and zein network which

provides internet but it is not data prioritized and two FM radios but only one has office in Mandera.

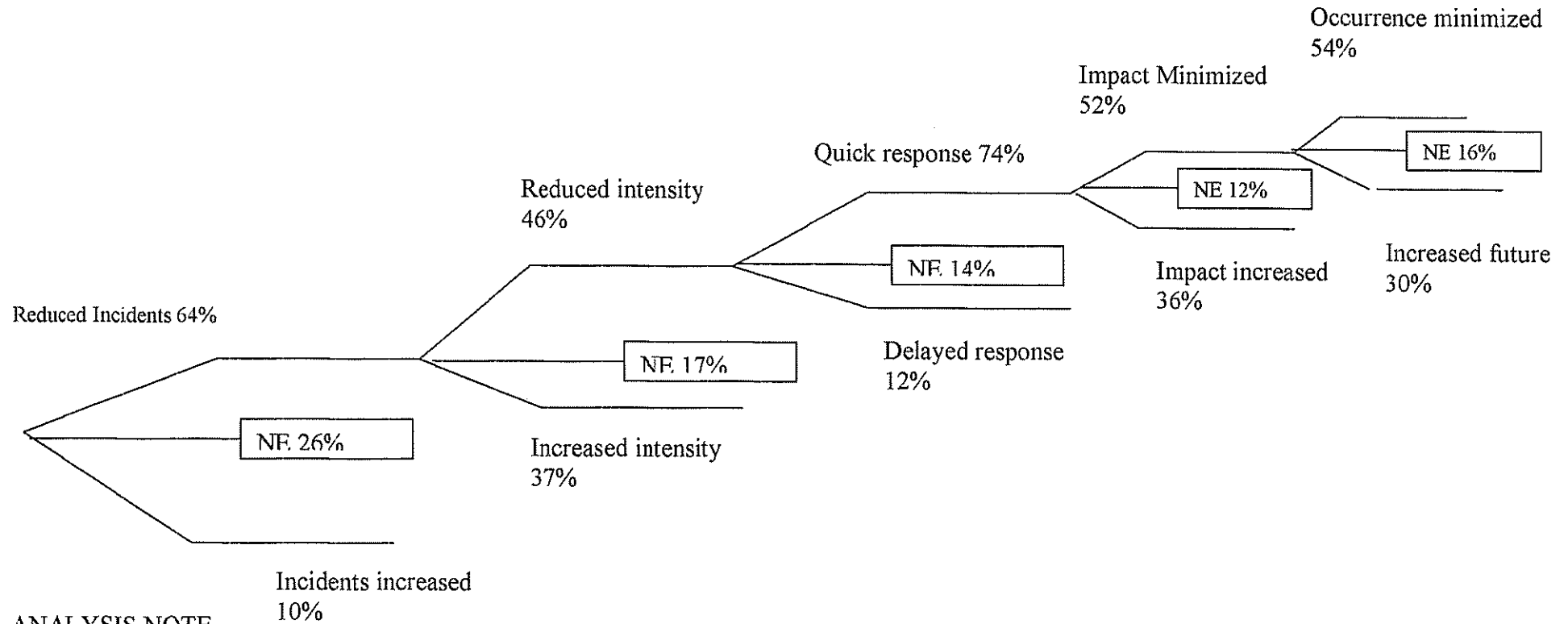
Communication Infrastructures	Garissa	Mandera
Road Type	Tarmac	Marrum
Telephone networks	4	3
Internet cyber	14	None
FM radios	5	2

Table 7: Types of communication infrastructures

There are 6 International Non-governmental in Mandera as compared to 14 in Garissa

The following responses were what the respondents feel about effect of construction tarmac road in the area.

EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT RESPONSE INDEX



ANALYSIS NOTE

To determine the population of Respondent who give a desired response for quantitative determination then the general formula used is; Total Pop With a Desired Response = Total Pop X % of Pop desired response A X %of Pop response B X% of Pop response C e.g Total people who feel improved communication has reduced conflict incidents, quicken response time but said has no effect on future conflict occurrence in a total population of 5000 people

$$\text{Total pop with Desired response} = 5000 \times 0.64 \times 0.74 \times 0.16 = 379 \text{ persons}$$

64% of the respondents said that the number of conflict incidents will reduce due to increased job opportunities, increase in trade turnover and opening up of new markets for large number of livestock.

Though only 46% believe the intensity of conflict will reduce, they cited that security personnel can be deployed faster, peace committees can arrive earlier, information about conflict can reach provincial administration, and similarly people can move out to safer area quickly to reduce conflict escalation.

About 74% believe the speed of response to conflict will increase. They cited that relief supplies can arrive faster, quick and easy deployment of security personnel and arrival of political and religious peace elder quickly. This is in agreement with comments of National Steering Committee who said

‘Improved physical infrastructure also contributes towards increasing interaction between the different warring communities; link them into the national economy and policy making process. The end result will be informed citizenry that actively participate in national discourse. This will also enable the pastoralists’ diversity their livelihood to include other economic activities like trade and Tourism’. (NSC, 2005).

On the long term effect of conflict on victims, 52% of the respondent agreed that the negative long term effect will be reduced because improved communication will facilitate easy migration to better areas, allow rapid relief supply deliveries, victim can access healthcare quickly.

The respondent gave various reasons why they think improve communication will reduce occurrence of future conflict in pastoralists communicate. 54% of the respondents cited that people can seek alternative way of making living rather than depending only on pastoralist. Others said major urban town development will occur allowing more people to migrate to towns. They also cited that required social services will be available to improve quality of life for pastoralist.

Conflict Interventions

In the latest conflicts in Garissa and Mandera the time of response taken by aid organization to reach the affected area is given as

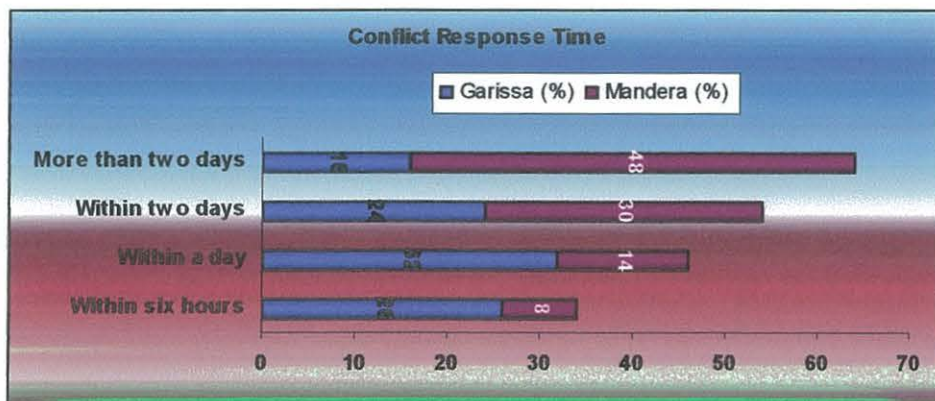


Figure 8 Time of Response

In Garissa 58% of respondents say aid organization arrive within the same day, that is 26% within six hours and 32% within the day while 40% belief it takes two days or more. As compared to Mandera where 22% feel it arrives within the same day that is 8% felt it takes with six hours and 14% within the same day and 78% felt it takes two days or more.

Forms of Interventions

The respondents were asked what form of intervention they received in the latest conflict in the area.

Forms of intervention	Garissa	Mandera
Peace elders visit	10	26
Political leaders visit	18	6
NGO/ Government officials	14	17
Additional security personnel deployed	12	20
Relief Food	24	16
Non-Food Items	22	15

Table 8: Forms of intervention

While in Garissa Relief food supply, non-food item supply, timely visit by political leaders take preference with 24%, 22% and 18% respectively in Mandera intervention by peace elders, deployment of security personnel and NGO and Government official visit take preference with 26% 20% and 17% respondents agreeing on the interventions.

The proportions of respondents in Garissa saying they received their political leaders visit the area is three times that of Mandera i.e. 18% to 6% respondents.

‘The government has recognized the important role that peace committee play in early warning and conflict prevention, their operation are however hampered by the lack of adequate resources to fund their activities and logistical support from government agencies ‘ (Mohamud 2006).

The composition of the pastoralists' communities in Garissa and Mandera shows mixed ethnic clans. On composition of village committees whether it is all inclusive only 30% of the respondents in Garissa and 46% respondents in Mandera say the committees are all inclusive.

STAKEHOLDERS CONFLICT ANALYSIS

Stakeholders Responses

This section considers the responses of different respondents including the District Commissioners, District Roads officer and the Local politicians in each of the two cluster areas of study. The discussions are presented in descriptive data since most of the information were collected through interviews.

EFFECT OF COMMUNICATION ON CONFLICT INTERVENTION

Causes of Conflict

Though both the District administrators concurred that pastoralist conflict is bound to recur due to the climatic conditions they cited the major causes of conflict as frustrations during droughts, poverty, ignorance due to high illiteracy level and lack of information on how to cope with harsh climatic conditions and opportunistic politicians who capitalize on the situation to their advantage. They said each small clan is fighting to get political representation causing big divisions amongst the pastoralist community who become the field of power struggle of those in towns

The major challenges facing the district officers and are causes of conflict in Garissa was mentioned as drought, poor markets and unemployment. They cited fear of attack by Al

Shabab as the major security concern with no indication of internal conflict amongst the people but in Mandera the major problem is ethnic conflict, poor infrastructure and droughts and foreigners coming into the country from Somalia and Ethiopia for permanent settlement which is a future security risk

Conflict Intervention

In Garissa conflict interventions over the years have been timely and had no much problem. They cited this is due to the strong presence of Kenya Red Cross & UNICEF regional office and warehouses at Garissa who aid in relief supplies. In Mandera the major challenges to conflict intervention is communication, poor roads, lack of resources i.e. relief and logistic support.

In Garissa the causes of conflict has been addressed and there has been no major incident since 1994 which means for the last decade there has been no major insecurity issue in Garissa. While conflict causes in Mandera has not been addressed instead it was suppressed by coercion through the strong presence of security officers, the district is currently under emergency curfew with people not allowed to move about after 9.00pm. The border with Somalia has remained closed since early 2006.

They said the greatest fear is that conflict may recur if the security personnel are withdrawn. The change in political power in Mandera Central constituency has complicated the ability of the provincial administration since one of the warring clans who had dominated the constituency since its inception are in political vacuum over political representation at peace talks as they do not trust the current member of parliament.

Effects of Improved Communication On Conflict

The administrators both concurred that improved road and other communication networks in the district will significantly and effectively reduce conflict incidents, improve response time, facilitate relief supply, cut on cost of destruction and human displacement.

In Mandera the administrators cited that in the latest conflict, they could not respond in time to a village called Koromey about 6km away due to communication problems and till one person was killed and over 32 houses were burnt down.

Garissa district recorded presence of 250,000 refugees from Somalia at Dadab which is a population equal to a two-third of the entire district. There are no IDPs in Garissa least for increased rural urban migration into Garissa town while in Mandera IDPs due to conflict are settled at Lafey, Mandera, Elwak and El-Danaba who depend on government relief food. Alongside this population are large pastoralist dropouts due to the drought situation. These IDPs do petty trades, casual work, depend on family remittance and some beg in the streets.

Peace Building and Integration Efforts

In Garissa the social integration has been completely effective through the efforts of former Provincial Commissioner Mohammed Saleh and people have no problem though there is fear of Al Shabab insurgency across the border with Somalia. In Mandera a lot of peace efforts were done by District Steering Group, Mandera Peace and development committee, Women for Peace before the escalation of the conflict but it was not effective

till it was intervened by coercive pressure of the Kenya Army that crushed all clan militias.

In Mandera, there is limited social integration after the height of the conflict instead there was a lot of conflict within government public service, mass transfers of certain communities, exclusion from boards of public institutions and lack of co-operation from local elders. The administrators in Mandera feel there is more disintegration of social interaction than ever before

Conflict Coordination Unit

Both district agreed that the district steering group (DSG) is the organ that coordinates relief and development issues at the district. The District Development Committee is inactive due to lack of financial resource to coordinate its activities. The DSG is financially supported by the Aridlands Resource Management Project (ALRMP).

EFFECT OF COMMUNICATION ON PRESENCE OF MULTI-SECTORAL ACTORS

Presences of District Officer (DO) At Grassroot Villages

In Garissa there are four divisions namely, Central, Sankur, Balambala and Danyere. All the DOs (100%) stay at their workstation but in Mandera there are seven divisions namely Central, Fino, Lafey, Warankara, Hareri, Libehia and Khalalio. Only four DOs (57%) stay at there workstations and most times they all absent themselves from their duty stations.

The major reasons for the absence of the DOs were cited as poor diet, poor communication, lack of proper housing and other basic needs like water and difficulty to

THE FUTURE OF PASTORALISM IN NORTHERN KENYA

Future of Pastoralism

The administrators in Garissa felt that pastoralism has a bright future since pastoralist will take advantage of an ultra-modern abattoir which is under construction to sell off their animals for direct markets in Middle East. He says there is curio industry to manufacture items from bones, hooves, etc making the livestock market make maximum use. He said if the pastoralists are well educated on this opportunity then the large pressure of animals overgrazing the district will be limited

In Mandera the administrator says the future of pastoralism is uncertain except for large scale businessmen who have trucks to transport livestock to markets or truck water for their animals during emergency droughts. They cited that improved market, better roads, improved livestock health and breeds and provisions of support to livestock owners during emergency drought i.e. transport subsidies, water trucking, fodder supply e.t.c. can be some of the efforts to save pastoralism.

POLICY FRAMEWORK ON IMPROVING COMMUNICATION

The Future of Getting Roads Constructed

While the hope of the people in Wajir and Mandera is to have their road networks tarmac it appears there is little or no hope that it will come soon. The district road officers are hoping that the 2007 Roads Policy that lead to the creation of different Road Boards may bring back this hope and enable them receive funds for roads construction. These authorities include:

- ❖ Kenya Rural Roads Authority (KRRRA)

❖ Kenya Urban Roads Authority (KURA)

❖ Kenya Highway Authority (KHA)

While Garissa is connected to Nairobi and Mombasa by a standard tarmac road that is now been extended into other parts of the district towards Wajir, Mandera is linked by rough, marrum and loose soil road that is impassable during the rain season.

The district roads office receives 17 million annually from the Transit toll and fuel levy fund per constituency. This money is used on bush clearing of village access roads, spot patching, grading and minor culvert repairs especially after rains. They estimate that putting marrum on the road cost over 1.5Million per Kilometer and thus due to vast distances the 17M per constituency is a drop in the ocean.

The officers agreed that there is no policy in place to construct these roads but said there is repeated political slogan every time ministers visit the area they talk of the importance of this road. They were not ready to comment on when the Mandera-Wajir-Garissa road will be tarmac neither were they ready to comment on what is making it difficult for the government to construct this roads but ruled out the government excuse of lack of funds.

There argument was reported by words of the Prime minister and Minister for Roads who recently visited Garissa

Roads Minister Franklin Bett said ‘construction of the Ganissa- Nuno Road formed part of the plan for the completion of the Garissa-Wajir-Mandera road artery which will put to an end the grueling nightmares travelers face on this stretch of the dilapidated bujt important highway.’ Prime Minister Raila Odinga said ‘we shall do affirmative action in this

province to ensure the level of development in the province is in tandem with the rest of the country, He attributed poor communication as major cause of conflict resulting into under development'. (Jamia, 2009)

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to establish the effectiveness and efficiency by which improved roads and other communication system affects the occurrence, intensity and impact of recurrent ethnic conflicts in pastoralism communities in Northern Kenya.

The study employed a comparative sample analysis of conflict situation in Garissa and Mandera district of Northern Eastern Province.

This chapter summarizes the study findings, gives conclusion from the study, provides recommendations of the researcher made from the study and lastly suggest further researches into related area of concern.

Summary

This research was conducted in Bulla Nasib in Garissa and Bulla Handadu Mandela district to identify the contributions, effectiveness and efficiency of the existing communication network in each of the areas in affecting pastoralists conflict. Through well selected questions, two questionnaires were developed and administered to the general public including teacher, pastoralist communities, livestock traders, other people, and student.

The second questionnaire was administered through interviews and focus group discussion to public officer including the district commissioners, district officer, livestock officer, local town council major the area MPs could not be reached for comment.

Out of the 350 questionnaires administered only 298 were received back due to limitation of time, finance and physical distance between the sample areas which is about 800km apart.

Summary Discussion of Findings

The purpose of the research study was to identify the effectiveness and efficiency by which improved roads and the communication systems will affect the trends, intensity and impact of recurrent ethnic conflict in pastoralist communities of Northern Kenya.

The researcher presumed that there are several factors causing this conflict which has been studied earlier. “The causes of this conflict in pastoralist could be frequent drought, migration, territorial disputes, proliferation of small arms, colonial border demarcation, poverty, rangeland degradation and collapse of traditional institutions, more recent phenomenon includes commercialized cattle rustling” (Halake , 2003)

The study revealed that conflict prevalence in Mandera during the period of study has increased both infrequency and intensity. Dispute over land ownership (32%) and political (12%) causes take preference to the conventional cause of conflict like scarcity of water and pasture. In Garissa similarly interference by provincial administration (36%) and politic cause (23%) take preference to the conventional causes of conflict in pastoralist setting.

The arrival of many foreigners into the country from Ethiopia and Somalia appears to be causing great human displacement of the aborigines and thus resulting into struggle over land ownership.

The study established that Mandera has suffered great limitation in terms of communication infrastructure i.e. roads are marrum that are impassable during rainy seasons, limited information, few FM radios and lack of internet service with the newspaper reaching the area after two days making most people loss focus on the importance of the information technology that is prevalent in Garissa.

Improved communication and roads appears to account for the many international NGO in Garissa as compared to Mandera i.e. 14 NGO to 6.

The consequence of poor communication system in Mandera accounts for the 78% of the respondents confirming that they see aid organization after two days or more during such conflict incidents. This is long time that would allowed displacement of human being, revenges and complete destruction as a result of conflict. In comparison 58% of respondent in Garissa confirmed that they receive support within the same day. The people of Mandera have lost touch with their political leadership instead peace elders and deployment of security personnel are the major conflict intervention mechanism. While in Garissa the visit by political leader and NGO or government officials are the first to respond to their plight in Mandera peace elders take preference. These findings are in agreement with Mohamud's finding

‘The government has recognized the important role that peace committee play in early warning and conflict prevention, their operation are however hampered by the lack of adequate resources to fund their activities and logistical support from government agencies ‘ (Mohamud 2006).

The major livelihood of both districts remains to be revolving around livestock and livestock products followed by other forms of business. The area seem to suffer from limited market options, poor prices, lack of information, high cost of transportation and unnecessary restriction from veterinary office. Access to financial support from banks is limited with 72% of respondent in Garissa and 86% in Mandera saying they cannot access loans due to limitation by religious beliefs on the issue of interest charged by the banks. Compounded with poor markets and harsh climate conditions drought, there is no guarantee that even those who get the loans can repay them effectively.

Poor roads and communication network has kept off investors, limited marketing opportunities reduced availability of food and other social services (47% in Garissa and 42% in Mandera). It reduced the coping strategies of the pastoralist during emergency droughts and conflicts increasing the level of destitution 60% respondents in Mandera said they depend on government food relief for 4 years and over as compared to 34 % in Garissa for the same period.

The research revealed that improved road and other communication systems will facilitate quick relay of accurate information, improve access to conflict hot spots, enable the government and other stakeholder to quickly disconnect conflict connectors.

This is in agreement with challenges faced by Mandera district security personnel who could not access Koromey village which was only 6 km away till a person was killed and over 32 houses were burnt.

Contrary to the living condition in Mandera where a district officer almost become blind due to dietary complication, improved communication enabled Garissa to attract many NGO s, national co-operations, business people i.e (35% of respondents in Garissa were from outside the district as compared to 19% in Mandera). There is increased revenue to the council, cross cultural interaction between traders from many parts of the country leading to cultural tolerance. Garissa is modernizing with many high class tourist hotels livestock oriented industries, more than 24 buses companies plying Garissa-Dadab-Wajir-Nairobi-Mombasa routes, while in Mandera there is pronounced ethnic division, high poverty, illiteracy, high disease prevalence and struggle between ethnic leaders. The area has all the characteristics of an obsolete rural setting with no sign of economic opportunities making ethnic conflict a common determinant.

The respondents agreed that they are not aware of any existing policy blue print to construct tarmac road between Mandera and Garissa. The only hope is that the formation of Kenya Urban Roads Authority will look at the road as of strategic importance. There is no justification for the government not to construct this road as this is its function.

“Throughout history government seem to have served three major purposes; maintaining order (Preserving life, and Protecting Property), providing public goods and promoting equity” (Hula, 2001)

‘It is the function of the government to use the state to redistribute income. This was originally a radical idea set forth by Karl Max “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” (Mentor, 1961)

Establishment of an effective communication system in the area will reduce the cost of operation of both the government, NGO and private investors in the region bring robust economy. It will also avail varied choice of conflict interventions and actions during emergencies. The tarmac road will ease rapid relief mobilization and result in minimizing the impact of conflict on victims.

The respondents had no information on the existence of co-operatives (Locally called Iskashata) (62% Garissa and 78% Mandera). There is no means available for those whose livelihood has collapse in the advent of conflict or drought emergency to reconstruct their life. Any attempt to venture into alternative livelihood like trade can not guarantee returns for the investment due to the prohibitive cost of operation.

There is limited capital market flexibility and formulation of policies to support co-operative society’s development. from the study initiation of collective investment system (CIS) to enable people pull resources for economic development is hampered by lack of information, lack of support from district co-operative office and lack of financial support all were ranked as major obstacles by the respondents in the two districts. There is need to formulate and translate the policies in away that is understandable and acceptable to populace. The limitation of effective communication system has resulted into inability of

the people to achieve livelihood reconstruction leading to minimizing future conflict occurrence.

Conclusion

The researcher through observation and comparative analysis concurs with the respondents view that livestock rearing and business are the two major sources of livelihood of the Somali community in Northern Kenya. This highly enterprising community has penetrated Nairobi due its improved communication and today Eastleigh estate where they live is now the centre of attraction for business communities from most parts of the Eastern and Central Africa. The domination of the Asians in cloth and Electronic business in Kenya has been over taken by the emerging force of the Somali traders.

The core function of a government is three, to protect life (Preserving life, and Protecting Property), to maintain order and to ensure equality. The Kenyan government has failed to protect the life of thousands of people killed in pastoralist conflict; it has failed to maintain order for the last 47 years of its existence and has not guarantee equality through equitable distribution of resources. The researcher strongly supports the findings of the research that it is better to give a person the fishing rod than to give a fish. The pastoralist community deserves better access to education, information, involvement and has their communication infrastructures put in place.

After 47 years it is twice expensive to travel to Manderla from Nairobi than traveling to the Kampala or Dar es salaam in the neighboring country. Effective communication system

would improve access to alternative livelihoods, facilitate rapid service delivery during emergencies, motivate investors and donor organization to penetrate the region and support victims of conflict or droughts to reconstruct their livelihood. This eventually results into minimizing pastoralist conflicts.

Recommendations

From the findings of the study the researcher makes the following recommendations.

- The Government to allocate 10% of its annual revenue to Northern Kenya for affirmative action to address past under-development disparities over the years
- Government to construct standard tarmac roads between all major towns in Northern Kenya.
- Abolish all forms of discrimination, prejudice and stereotyping against the pastoralist communities in Northern Kenya
- Avail financial support to local peace institutions as they are more effective
- Institute mechanism that will establish conflict tracking strategy to prevent future conflicts
- Provide water by drilling boreholes to limit conflict over water.
- Dismiss government officer who take bribes and side in the conflict situation
- Priorities national security by ensuring no foreigners come into the region illegally and obtain undue advantage that will jeopardize future national security
- Provide quality education that will fit into pastoralist life style
- Convene immediate peace talks and peaceful integration process for the people of Mandera district.

- Register and legalize arms in pastoralist communities to help in future tracing of forensic evidence in case of criminals activities
- Provide funding for livestock sector to improve livestock health, breed and marketing opportunities.
- Establish disease free zone for livestock and support livestock export market
- Initiate dry land farming, macro investment in irrigation and other alternative business opportunities
- Severe marginalization of the region should not be traded off by placing few individuals in senior government position or cabinet. There should be commensurate support to the large populace of the region.
- Establish higher learning and research institutions in Northern Kenya to enable information dissemination, research and policy formulations
- Undertake mass education on the importance of peace
- Provide more job opportunities in the region
- Establish rapid conflict prevention and support fund at each districts.
- Strengthen democratic values and allow people opportunity to demand for government service
- Enhance support for girl-child education
- Support human right advocacy
- Make government officers accountable for their past injustice actions in the region especially during emergency declaration

Further Research

The research was a comparative study between two districts that had similar characteristics except for one area accessed by tarmac road. The researcher suggests further studies into the following related issues of pastoralist conflict as the area had limited researches done in the past

- Major policy gaps in holistic development for North Eastern province
- Effectiveness and efficiency of government expenditures in Northern Kenya
- Study of pre-colonial conflict management practices in pastoralist communities
- Rights and option for the Northern region populace in the face of state marginalization.

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APPENDICE S

APPENDICE 1

Research Budget

NO	ITEM DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST	TOTAL
1	Transport to Mandera	6 trips	5000	30,000
2	Food subsistence	30 day	2000	60,000
3	Communication	Lump sum		10,000
4	Stationeries & printing	Lump sum		20,000
5	Enumerators allowances	10	500	5,000
6	Production of research report	5 copies	6,500	32,500
TOTAL KSH				157,500

Table 10 Budget of the Research

APPENDICE 2

Time frame

NO	ACTIVITY	DURATION OF WEEKS	TENTATIVE DATES
1	Writing Draft Proposal	4	30 th Nov 08
2	Proposal review and approval	2	5 th Feb 09
3	Data collection	7	1 st April 09
4	Report Writing	3	25 th April 09
5	Review and approval of Research Report	2	10 th May 09
6	Writing final Report	2	25 th May
7	Defense of thesis		June/July

Table 11. Time Frame

Appendice 3

INTRODUCTION

This research is purely for academic purpose. The researcher Mr Hassan Ismail Mohamed is a Master of Conflict Resolution and Peace Building student of Kampala International University in Uganda. Your co-operation in answering the questions will be highly appreciated. All information given shall be treated confidentially.

Thanks in advance

Yours sincerely

Hassan Ismail Mohamed

MCR/18916/71/DF

Appendice 4

Village Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Area -----

District -----

Age of respondent -----

Sex -----

Occupation-----

1) What are the main sources of livelihood of the people? Rank

2) Does the area have market day?

1) Yes

2) No

3) Where is the nearest livestock market? -----

4) How far is the nearest livestock market?

(1) Within 1Km

(2) 1-5Km

(3) up to Km

(4) more than

10Km

5) What is the minimum and maximum cost of an average animal in the area for each specie?

A) Goat minimum ----- maximum -----

B) Cattle minimum ----- maximum -----

C) Camel minimum ----- maximum -----

6) What are main reasons why you are selling your animals?

7) Is the current price of livestock satisfactory?

(1) Yes

(2) No

8) Would you prefer to sell your animals in Nairobi or elsewhere?

1. Yes

2. No

9) If no, what is the main reason preventing you from selling them in Nairobi?

	Yes	No
i) The animals for sell are few	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ii) The cost of transportation is high	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iii) The market prices are the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
iv) Restriction from veterinary office	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v) No information of other market	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10) Are other food requirements readily available?

1) Yes

2) No

11) Are any of these services readily available?

- i. Water supply systems
- ii. Veterinary
- iii. Hospital
- iv. Education

12) What is the main source of livelihood for the family?

13) Are there other sources of livelihood available to the family?

Yes

No

14) If yes, list the first three main sources

15) Does the family receive government relief food aid?

Yes

No

16) If yes, for how long?

1) Less than one year 2) one to two years 3) three to four years 4) more than five years

17) Did any conflict occur in the area recently?

Yes

No

18) If yes when was the latest? -----.

19) What were the main causes of the conflict?

20) Have the causes of the conflict been addressed?

1) Yes

2) No

21) Do you think the failure to address these causes will bring back the conflict?

1) Yes

2) No

22) What were the major effects of the latest conflict? Give in numbers Death-----

-

Injuries-----

Displacement -----

House destroyed-----

Livestock taken-----

23) Is the area served by a tarmac road?

1) Yes 2) No

24) Is the area served by other communication means?

1) Yes 2) No

25) If yes, which communication networks exist in the area?

26) Are there organizations supporting people affected by the conflict?

- 1) Yes 2) No

27) If yes, how many organizations?

- 1) One 2) two 3) three 4) four or more

28) If no, what are the reasons that hindered the organizations from the area?

29) How do you think the construction of tarmac has/will affect incident of conflict between the pastoralist communities in the area?

- 1) Reduce 2) increase 3) no effect

Why

30) How do you think the construction of tarmac has/will affect intensity and escalation of conflict between the pastoralist communities in the area?

1) Reduce 2) increase 3) no effect

Why

31) How do you think the construction of tarmac has/will affect speed of response for intervention of conflict between the pastoralist communities in the area?

1) Quicken 2) delay 3) no effect

Why

32) How do you think the construction of tarmac has/will affect impact on the victims of conflict between the pastoralist communities in the area?

1) Minimized 2) increase 3) no effect

Why

33) How do you think the construction of tarmac has/will affect future occurrence of conflict between the pastoralist communities in the area?

- 1) Minimized 2) increase 3) no effect

Why

34) During the latest conflict incident how long did it take for the aid organizations to reach the area?

- 1) Within six hours 2) within 1 day 3) within two days 4) more than two days

35) What form of conflict interventions were received in the area?

	Yes	No
1. Peace elders visit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Political leaders visit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. NGO and government officials visits	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Additional security personal deployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Relief food supplies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Non food relief supplies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36) How many banks institutions are in the area?

- 1) None 2) 1-2 3) 3-4 4) 5 or more

37) Do you get loans from these banks?

- 1) Yes 2) No

38) If yes, from how many banks? -----

39) If no. why?

40) Are there active livestock co-operative societies/Iskashata in the area?

Yes

No

41) If yes, how are the co-operatives/Iskashata structured?

- | | Yes | No |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Open to every one | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Few family members | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Few NGO supported groups | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

42) If no, what are the main reasons behind lack of the co-operatives/Iskashata

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Lack of proper information | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Lack of financial support | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Lack of support from the district co-operate office | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Mistrust due to collapse of such groups in the first | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Others | | |

43) How many clans live in the area?

1) One

2) Two

3) Three

4) Four or more

44) Does the village committee compromise of every one of the clans?

Yes

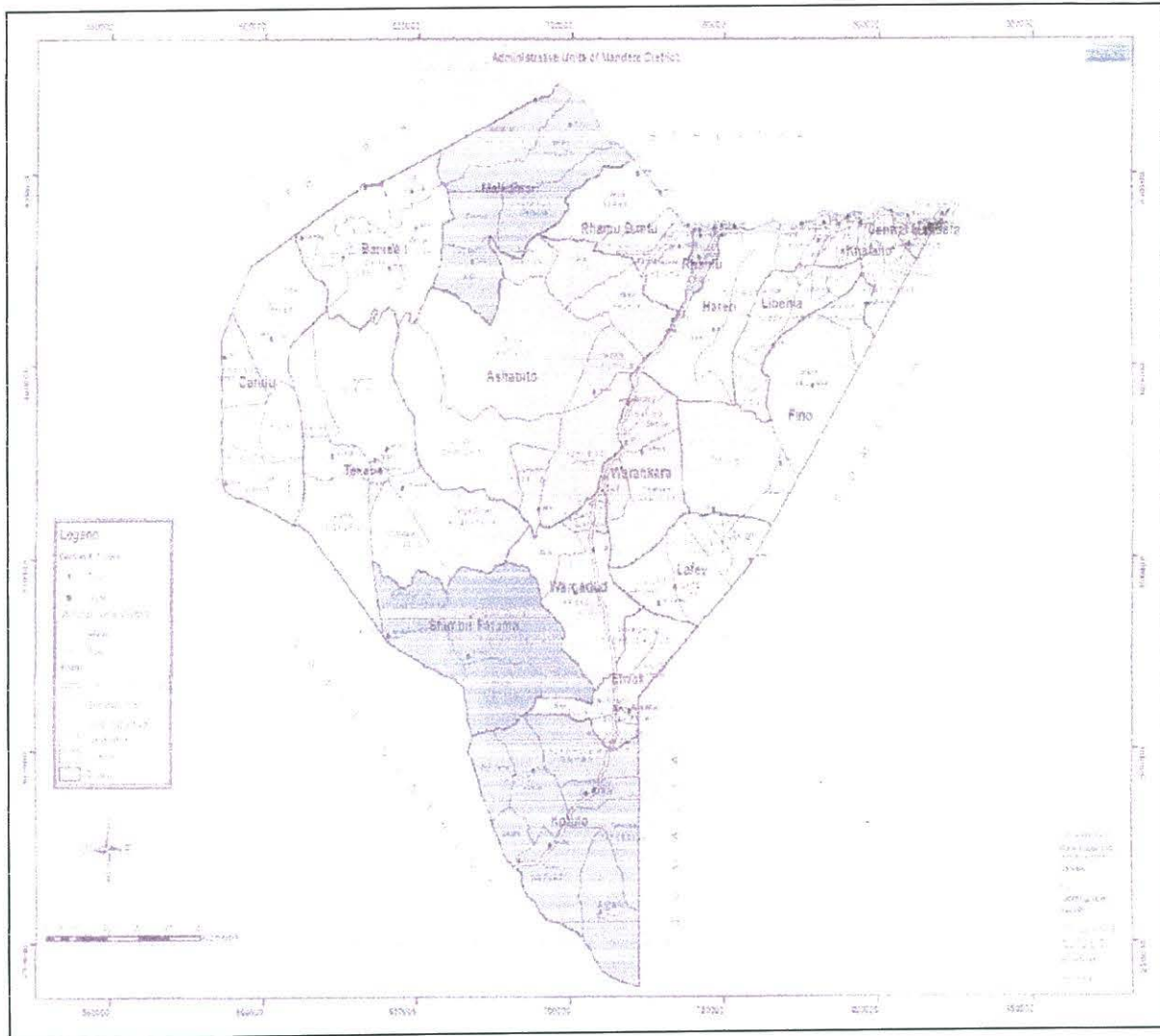
No

45) Do you think the construction of tarmac road will minimize occurrence of future conflicts?

Yes

No

Appendice 6 Map of Mandera District



Appendice 7. Map of Garissa District

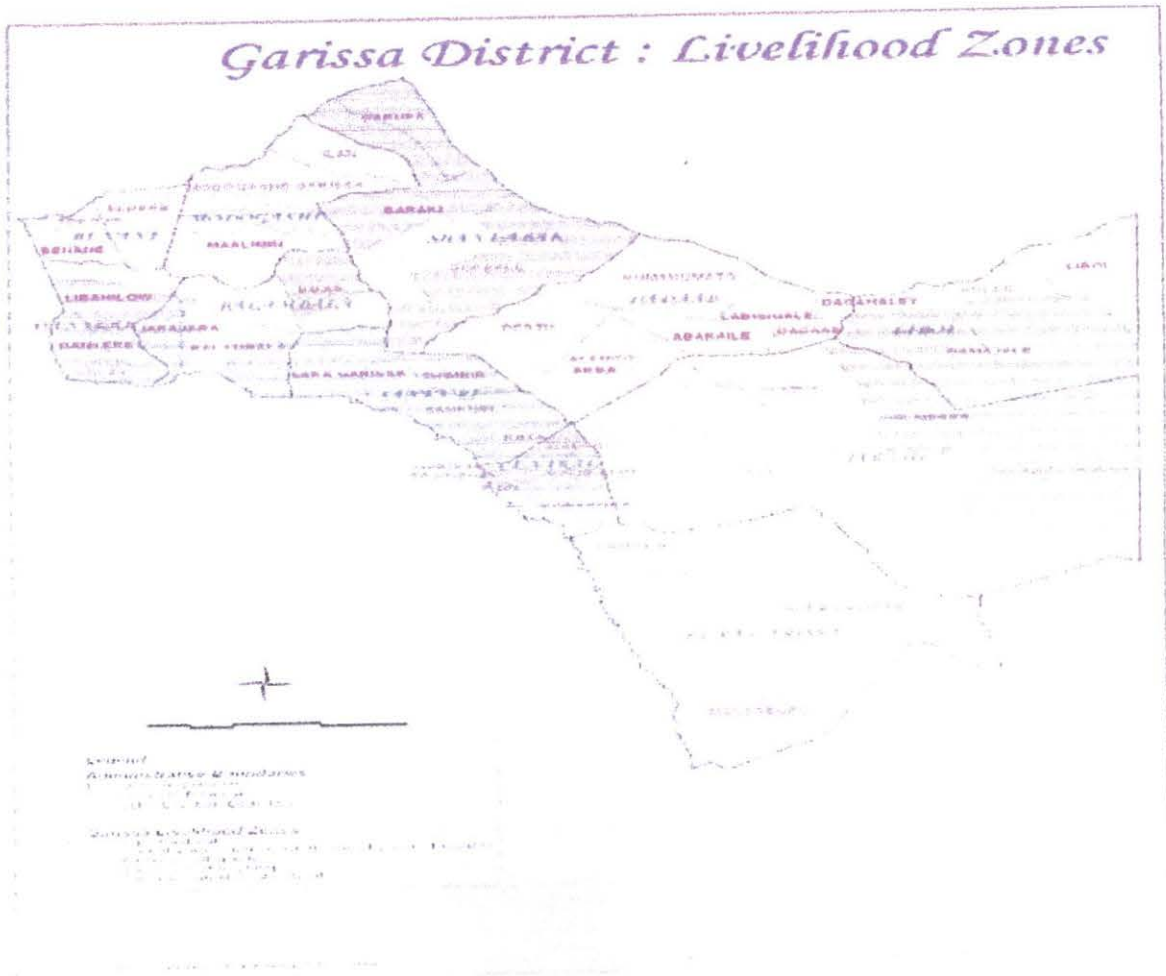


Figure 2. Map of Garissa District (GDDP-2009)