

# **THE CONFLICT AND HUMANITARIAN AID DILEMMA VIZ A VIZ DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NORTHERN KENYA**

## **ACRONYMS**

SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa

INGOs - International Non-Governmental Organizations

NGOs - Non-Governmental Organizations

IANSA - International Action Network on Small Arms

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

ILO - International Labour Organization

WB - World Bank

UN - United Nations

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

IMF - International Monetary Fund

DFID Department for International Development

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

DRC - Democratic Republic of Congo

LRA - Lord's Resistance Army

IDP - Internally Displaced Peoples

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for refugees

IDMC - Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

CEWARN – Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism

EAC – East African Community

SALW – Small Arms and Light Weapons

NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa's Development

ASAL - Arid and Semi Arid Lands of Kenya

NPPBCM - Draft National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management

NSC - National Steering Committee

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

CSO – Civil Society Organizations

CPAP - Country Program Action Plan

FFA - Food for Assets

WFP – World Food Programme

UNDAF - United Nations Development Assistance Framework

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

ILRI – International Livestock Research Institute

ITDJ - Intermediate Technology Development Journal

NCCCK – National Council of Churches of Kenya

GoK – Government of Kenya

SIPRI - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

## **ABSTRACT**

Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed a lot of conflicts in the last few decades as compared to the other parts of the world. These conflicts have mainly been in the form of civil wars and have attracted very little attention from the international community until of late. In concrete terms, the consequences of these civil wars has been enormous and thus attracted the interest of the international community. Their involvement has been through humanitarian assistance and development aid. A lot of resources of late had been channeled for this purpose but the output never reflected the input. This research piece therefore seeks to find out why this humanitarian and development assistance has not been able to solve the development situation. In order to accomplish this goal, we used three theories which analysis the root causes of these conflicts; theories which help us analyze the moral principle associated with humanitarian and development aid and to see the dependency situation created by humanitarian and development aid.

The case study approach was used and the region of Northern Kenya was chosen mainly because it attracts a lot of humanitarian and development aid but it still has the lowest social and economic indicators as compared to other regions in Kenya. From our studies we came up with a number of observations: development in the northern region of Kenya is not reflective of the cash geared towards the development of this region. Humanitarian and development assistance encourages laziness and increases dependency. Secondly, the conflict in northern Kenya has not ended because there are no proper policies/methods which can handle them squarely. Thus in this work, a number of issues are raised on how these issues could be handled to improve the quality of life. In a broader perspective, these solutions could be applicable to other situations in other countries in SSA.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## *Introduction*

Africa is a vast and varied continent with different histories and geographic conditions; different stages of economic development; different sets of public policies and patterns of internal and international interaction. The causes of the conflicts in Africa thus reflect this diversity and are linked by a number of reasons depending on where the conflicts are located in Africa. Although the situation of each conflict in African countries is unique, there is rarely the same configuration or even the same combination of forces. However, the overall effects exhibit common patterns amongst which are conflicts over the control of natural resources; historical heritage; farmer-grazer problems; conflicts in relation to humanitarian aid (as in the case of Northern Kenya which will be discussed in detail later in this work); or conflicts caused by politics highly motivated by the elite, etc.

Collier asserts that conflicts in Africa take the form of civil wars as opposed to the past where conflicts around the world were mostly international (Collier 2003, p. 1-2). In this write-up, civil conflict is defined as the 'disagreement between domestic actors - government and private groups - over issues that may be economic, political, social, cultural, or any combination of these' (Mukenge & Kieh 2002. p. 3). Thus we are going to look at conflicts in Africa in the dimension of civil wars with both national and international consequences. Having an insight of the civil war in Africa is extremely important because in recent years most of the civil wars that have taken place in the world have been in this continent: e.g. the cases of Angola, Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Kenya and Sudan (Intriligator 1975, p. 157). Also, given the fact that the international community has done little to stop civil wars under the belief that nothing can be done because they are fighting among themselves and we need not intervene, we realize that the consequences of these civil wars are tremendous both nationally and internationally (Collier 2003, p. 1-10).

This number of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in the last few decades has led to the degeneration of the human security situation; hunger, poor health facilities, IDPs, poor water sources, etc. The most affected have been women, children and the internally displaced (IDPs). These stakeholder groups have been through untold misery and suffering in the affected communities. This situation could generally not be handled by the local government so it called for the intervention of the international community. This saw a flow of humanitarian aid from without through international organizations, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs); through bilateral and multi-lateral co-operations amongst others, to remedy the situation. As a result, there was an improvement in the quality of life though in general cases this relief programmes were very brief. It is worth noting that some of these international organizations engaged in not only relief but development activities mainly outside the refugee camps in warring communities. This then led to the extension of humanitarian aid to development aid which could support the sustainability of bigger projects geared towards development.

Though there was much intervention both from the national governments and the international community to improve the development situation in these conflict stricken areas, there is the observation that development was not commensurate to the finances channeled for this purpose. There was equally the observation that though the governments and the international community did their best to resolve these civil conflicts, there was always a reoccurrence. Thus bearing in mind that conflicts are potentially endemic in all political systems, there is a clear and direct connection between the escalation of civil conflicts, the retardation of socioeconomic development and the exacerbation of human misery (Intriligator 1975, p. 157).

In this write-up, we reemphasize the fact that civil war is an important issue for development. Collier asserts that 'War retards development', but conversely, development retards war' (Collier 2003, p. 1). In this project, we hold the same view as Collier that; wherever development fails, countries are at higher risk of becoming caught in a conflict trap in which war ruins the economy and increases the risk of further war. This therefore leads us to the problem formulation.

## ***Problem Formulation***

This project titled ‘The Conflict and Humanitarian Aid Dilemma vis á vis Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Northern Kenya’, seeks to find out the connections between civil wars, humanitarian aid and development in SSA. Thus we will be looking at issues related to why humanitarian/development aid has not been able to stop conflicts and improve on the development situation of Sub-Saharan African countries. The research question of; ‘**why has humanitarian/development aid not been able to solve Sub-Saharan Africa’s development problems?**’ will be looked into. The project finds out if humanitarian/development aid is really the way forward for development in SSA. If not, are there other measures which could be adopted to remedy the situation.

In this light, we are going to find out what alternative measures are there for African countries to take a step forward in development thereby reducing the threat of civil war and dependence on foreign assistance for its development.

The relevance of this study is that, it gives an in-depth knowledge (assessment) of the conflict and humanitarian/development aid situations in SSA vis á vis its development. Also, this project illustrates that there are many more issues to be considered when relating humanitarian/development aid to alleviating human misery, enhancing development and consequently reducing poverty in SSA. By so doing, this will be a proper avenue for both the various governments and the international community to work towards the improvement of either conflict resolution mechanisms, to enhance development in these regions. Finally, the project identifies strategies for self-reliance through promoting sustainable livelihood strategies, and allows for a participatory approach in problem analysis and solutions, be it in relation to (post)conflict management or development.

## **Methodology**

## **Research Design**

This research project is titled ‘The Conflict and Humanitarian Aid Dilemma vis á vis Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Northern Kenya’ The research design which we adopt for this project is a case study design. This design is adopted in this project because it gives a more complex and fuller explanation to phenomena (de Vaus 2001, p. 221). Taking into consideration that the subject of this project is related to conflict, humanitarian/development aid and development, we used the theory testing approach. This approach begins with a theory and uses it to guide which observations to make that is it moves from generalizations to particular (de Vaus 2001, p. 6-7). We use this approach to examine if these theoretical assumptions are true in real world situations. We asses whether the predictions to these concepts are correct if not the theory need either to be rejected or modified. It is in this backdrop that we use the theories of human needs, greed and grievance and dependency to find out the conflict and development problems of SSA could be solved through development/humanitarian aid.

Taking into consideration the fact that the empirical material of this subject relates more to conflicts in SSA as a whole and the northern region of Kenya in particular, ethical issues are of great importance. The two ethical principles this research adopted are the informed consent and anonymity and confidentiality principles. The informed consent principle upholds the fact that participants should generally be informed of the purpose of the study and its basic procedures, the identity of the researcher and the sponsors, the description of the likely benefits of the study, an offer to answer any questions amongst others (de Vaus 2001, p. 84-87). Because we were aware of the fact that providing details about the study, especially the research design and the hypothesis could distort the validity of the findings, the anonymity and confidentiality principle was also used.

Taking into cognizance the fact that the research deals with conflict and embodies many actors, we were very critical and objective with our sources of information. We were aware of the fact that there in a lot of propaganda especially with newspaper articles and the effects of the conflicts were generally exaggerated especially by the affected stakeholder communities. With this in mind, this information was compared with other



secondary sources of data such as articles from journals, textbooks, etc to come-up with objective conclusions.

## **Method**

The main topic for this project is “The Conflict and Humanitarian Aid Dilemma vis à vis Development in SSA: The Case of Northern Kenya.” This project in treating the above mentioned subjects will be divided into six main chapters. Chapter one is the introduction which handles the problem formulation. It raises the question if humanitarian/development assistance is the way forward for development in SSA. This chapter equally handles the method and methodology (research design) of the project. It attests that the method used in this project is a case study design which gives a more complex and fuller explanation to the issues tackled. It also shows how the various chapters in the work are distributed. Chapter two is divided into two parts: the empirical section which handles the background and consequences of conflicts in SSA. It equally looks at the post economic conflict situations. The second part treats the case (northern region of Kenya) whereby it gives the two principal reasons why this area was chosen – hosts two large refugee camps and is the lowest in Kenya’s social and economic indicators despite the huge amounts of resources channeled for its development. Chapter three looks at the attempted conflict resolution mechanisms employed by the GoK and other external actors to resolve these conflicts. This chapter equally looks at the various development activities which are and have been taking place in the region. Chapter four is the theoretical chapter which treats three principal theories related to the subject matter. The theory of human needs which explains the basis upon which international institutions operate in relation to humanitarian and development aid, the theory of greed and grievance which explains the causes of conflicts both in the economic and political science perspectives. Also the dependency theory which explains why the northern region of Kenya just like many parts and countries in Africa continue to depend on the outside world for its development. Chapter four is the analysis which we utilize the theories to draw insights from the case study (northern Kenya). Here we synthesize the theoretical facts with the situation in northern Kenya and look at whether the above theories tie with the situation on the ground. Finally we have the conclusion which is a general overview of the conflict and development situation in northern Kenya and a perspective of the

situation in the region. The work ends up with a bibliography which outline the various sources used.

The Theory of Human Needs is used to conceptualize the philosophy which the international community uses to get involved with the provision of humanitarian assistance and development aid to needy societies in other words known as the good will policy (Burnell 1997, p. 46-49). This philosophy has been underpinned by the fact that there are core sets of basic needs which must be satisfied before there is the consideration that development has taken place. Though these basic needs are not universally the same, some leading organizations advocate for this conceptual framework. Such are the International Labour Organization (ILO) which came up with the 'Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action for a Basic Need Strategy of development (UNDP 2005). The World Bank (WB) which initiated work on basic needs whereby it marked "some of the first global institutional responses to the inadequacies of GDP and economic growth as measures of either development or human welfare. The United Nations (UN) Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) went on to set targets in order to identify indicators for many basic needs like survival (infant mortality), health (HIV/AIDS, malaria), hunger, access to safe water and education (literacy and primary school enrolment), etc (UNDP 2005). The choice of this theory rests on the fact that it creates a dependency relationship between the conflict stricken countries and the outside world and it does not have concrete measures to punish those who perpetrate war thereby depriving societies and communities from enjoying their basic needs and livelihood.

### ***Literature***

Both primary and secondary data are used in this write-up. Secondary data are collected from relevant secondary sources, including research institutes and publications, NGOs and multilateral agencies. The websites of the main development institutions are sources we frequently make use of. However, we also make use of discussion papers and other publications. Also considering the fact that we deal with conflicts, we synchronize the facts gotten especially from newspaper articles from the web with hard facts from

publications because they could be biased depending on the author. In handling the issues raised above, the Northern Region of Kenya is taken as a case for two principal reasons: first, the northern region of Kenya has been experiencing conflicts for a very long period and has thus attracted a lot of humanitarian as well as development aid both from the state and non-state actions. Despite the huge amounts of cash, for development especially, the region is the least developed region of Kenya as per the social and economic indicators of Kenya. Secondly, given the fact that this region hosts one of the largest and oldest refugee camps in East Africa, (Dadaab and Kakuma), it attracts huge amounts of cash for humanitarian assistance to conflict victims. The reasons as to why the conflict situation in this region is still precarious and the reasons why the region is still the least in development according to the social and economic indicators of Kenya is a serious subject handled in this project.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTER & CASE STUDY**

### ***Empirical Issues***

#### **Background to the Conflict Situation in SSA**

The provision of basic human needs forms an important part of the wellbeing of the society and a strong pillar to development. It is obvious therefore that the absence of these needs will lead to adverse effects like conflicts with poverty and misery as the end results. In Africa unlike in many parts of the world, the inability to give due respect to human needs has led to major conflicts. Since 1970, more than 30 wars have been fought in Africa, the majority of which intra-state in origin and basically fought in Sub-Saharan African countries. In 1996 alone, 14 of the 53 countries of Africa were afflicted by armed conflicts, accounting-related deaths worldwide and resulting in more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons (DFID 2004). Statistics have shown that during the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 28 Sub-Saharan African countries were engaged in violent conflicts. As a result, at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century more people were being killed in wars in sub-Saharan Africa than in the rest of the world combined (DFID2004). Most of the 24 major armed conflicts recorded worldwide in 2001 were on the African continent, with 11 of those conflicts lasting eight years or more. Also, all of the 15 most deadly conflicts in 2001—those that caused 100 or more deaths—were internal conflicts. Indeed, all but 3 of 57 major armed conflicts registered for 1990–2001 were internal. In the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's (SIPRI) 2000 Yearbook, it was stated that "...Africa is the most conflict ridden region of the World and the only region in which the number of armed conflicts is on the increase" (SIPRI, 2000). Once more, in its 2002 Yearbook, SIPRI stated that "Africa continued to be the region with the greatest number of conflicts" (SIPRI, 2002).

Collier and Hoeffler in their model on civil wars come out with major causes of civil war weather motivated by greed or grievance. Four major variables are espoused: finance,

grievance, military viability and history (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002). Firstly the issue of finance comes into play. Finances are the backbone to rebellion because rebel groups can operate effectively only when they can mobilize finances which can sustain their activities. These finances principally will be able to purchase the ammunition they need for their course and their payrolls (Ibid). Secondly, grievance is another major cause of conflict in Africa. There is the general conception that objective indicators of grievance, such as economic inequality and ethnic or religious divisions, would fuel grievance, but the lack of democracy might channel these grievances into violence. Thirdly, rebellions are generally determined by the capacity of the military. The sustainability of these rebellions is determined by the capability of the rebel forces to oppose government forces. Geography factors such as the terrain and population distribution equally plays an important role. Thus rebellions are more likely to occur in societies with a weak government force and one whose geographical forces does not warrant the government force to protect its total territory. The last is history and this makes rebellions worst because “once a conflict has occurred, it creates a legacy of hatred, and this hatred fuels further conflict” (Ibid).

It is worthy to note that armed conflicts directly have a negative connotation to human development. In this case, in 2005, most of the countries with the lowest human development index were either those in conflicts or those just emerging from it (UNDP, 2005). Even in the situation where these countries are just emerging from conflicts, the aftermath of the economies are often characterized by very degrading situations such as hunger and malnutrition; unsafe water; lack of basic medical care; inadequate clothing and housing, etc.

Summarily speaking, the various factors that account for conflicts in Africa can be largely classified into remote sources, immediate causes and factors that exacerbate conflicts. In relation to the remote sources, “colonial heritage of authoritarian governance and artificial boundaries; widespread extreme poverty, and scarcity of basic necessities of life” are the principal causes of conflicts (UNDP, 2005, p. 8). From our study of the East

African conflicts we realize that some of the immediate causes that spark-up conflicts include: competition for land, water, pasture or other natural resources; support for internal conflicts by outside actors; government policy and resource misallocations. On the other hand, factors that exacerbate conflicts include arms imports, pressures of refugees or/and IDPs and food insecurity.

## **Consequences of Conflicts**

The conflicts in SSA have undermined progress in health, economic growth, and governance and have created conditions that have resulted in breeding grounds for terrorism; and required costly humanitarian assistance. The pervasive consequences of long-term poverty and warfare complicate the prospects for stability. These consequences include: deteriorating sanitation and health and, especially, the related AIDS pandemic; widespread and recurring food insecurity; and large numbers of refugee, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Food insecurity, floods, droughts, and epidemics often combine with conflict to create complex emergencies with devastating effects.

According to research results from OXFAM International, IANSA and Saferworld, the cost of conflict on African development was approximately \$300bn between 1990 and 2005 (OXFAM 2007). The study titled 'Africa's Missing Billions' estimates the overall effects of conflict on GDP across the continent. It shows that on average, civil war or insurgency shrinks an African economy by 15 per cent. The continent loses an average of around \$18 billion a year due to armed conflicts. As Irungu Houghton puts it, 'this money could solve the HIV AIDS crisis, prevent TB and malaria, or provide clean water, sanitation and education' (Ibid).

Child Soldiering is a grievous consequence of armed conflicts in Africa. According to UN statistics, about 600,000 child soldiers may be involved in conflicts around the world, many of them in Africa (Malan 2000). In many cases, young girls and boys are taken from their families and forced into armed service and otherwise - by rebel groups. In East Africa, the case of Northern Uganda is a case in point. In other instances, joining armed

groups seems the only option for youth in societies where conflict and poverty have become a way of life. In Africa, a new generation is growing up with direct experience and traumatic aftereffects of armed conflict and brutal violence.

## **Post-Conflict Situation in African Economies**

The aftermath of conflict in East Africa, like elsewhere in the whole of the continent and the world at large, is grievous. In the East African situation, most countries involved in conflicts or which have been affected by conflicts have common characteristics. Such as inflation, debt, high unemployment, high mortality rates amongst children and women; high levels of corruption and poor governance policies; poverty and slow economic development (Malan 2000).

Summarily, the situation in these affected countries is a fragile economy which will either lead to more conflicts from the reasons mentioned above or to abject poverty, less development and decline in standards of living. This can be illustrated by the economic and social indicators of these various warring countries before and immediately after these conflicts. For instance, the case of Sudan with economic decline, poverty situation and poor standards of living can serve as an example.

## ***The Case of Northern Kenya***

### **Identification of the Major Conflict Zones**

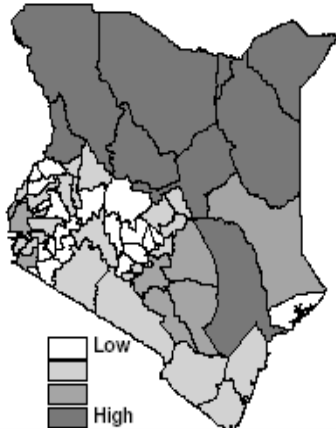
In Kenya, approximately 2 million people are affected by conflict, either directly or indirectly. Most conflicts in Kenya occur in the North Rift and North Eastern regions. The majority of those affected by these conflicts are pastoralists. Those affected include the Turkana people in the North; Samburu and Pokot in the centre and Marakwet (Keiyo and Tugen) in the South. To the East are Rendille, Borana and Somali's. These conflicts thus have adverse effects both on the communities surrounding these areas and the nation as a whole. In these pastoralist districts, at least 10.000 households are displaced from their original settlements. The districts in these regions are among the ten poorest districts

in Kenya in all the development indices and IDPs are a major stakeholder in this area (Karimi 2003). The obvious and most grievous effect is the poverty situation resulting from these conflicts.

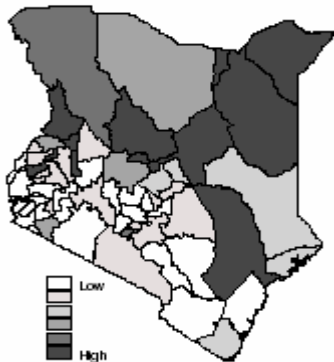
Poverty – Conflict

Poverty - Conflict

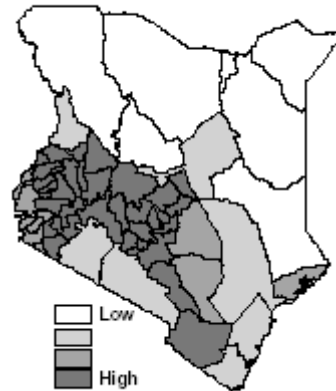
Deductive Approach: Z-Score Compositing  
Relative Vulnerability to Chronic Food Insecurity



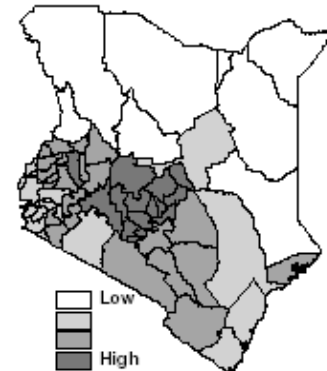
Relative Civil Insecurity Index



Relative Education Level Index



Relative Gender Development Index



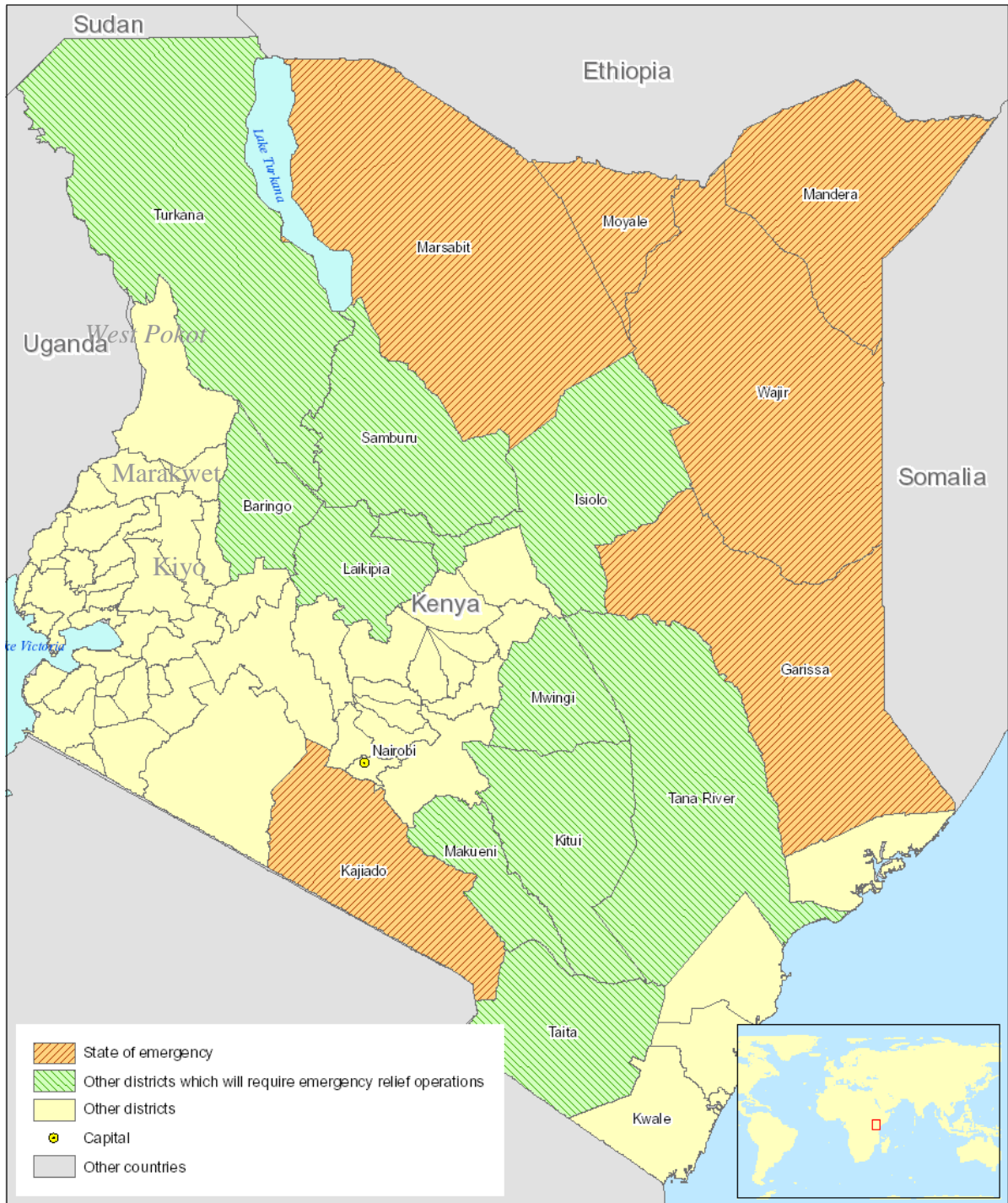
*Kenya. A Focus on the Internationally Displaced Victims in Northern Kenya. ITDG 2003.*

As seen in maps 1 to 4 above, there is a high level of food insecurity, low levels of education, high levels of civil insecurity and low levels of gender development respectively in our region of study (North Rift and North East Kenya). Alternatively, poverty can equally lead to conflicts.

Map 1 indicates the state of emergency in Kenya per district. It is worth noting that our study will be focused on these two areas (North Rift and North East).



Map 5: Map of Kenya



The maps used do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies or National Societies concerning the legal status of a territory or of its authorities.  
 Map data sources: ESRI, cipotato, DIVA, SALB, Federation

## Characterization of North Rift Region

To clearly understand the nature and causes of the armed conflicts in Kenya and to come up with sustainable livelihood strategies for its inhabitants, it is imperative to first understand the physical environment, the climate and the socio-economic activities and livelihoods in those regions.

### Lake Turkana



The North Rift Region is composed of the following districts: Turkana, West Pokot, Marakwet, and Samburu. The Kerio valley is an important physical feature in this region. Generally the region is characterized by severe scarcity of natural resources. The climate of the regions is influenced by altitude. The low-lands and plains have an arid to semi-arid climate

with high temperatures and relatively low rainfall. The lowland vegetation cover is acacia woodland. The highlands have sub-tropical climatic conditions with low temperatures, low evaporation rates and high rainfall. The highlands are covered with patches of indigenous forests which serve as major water catchments for the entire region. Economic activities in the North Rift Districts include rain fed farming and irrigation. The potential cropland has not been fully utilized, particularly in West Pokot. The Turkana, the Pokot, Samburu and Marakwet communities practice small-scale irrigation along the Kerio and other major rivers in the north Rift. Another economic major activity is animal husbandry. The Pokot, Samburu and Turkana derive 90% of their livelihood from sale of livestock and livestock products such as milk and skins. The Marakwet

largely depend on farming. Further, mining (West Pokot); honey production (Marakwet, West Pokot, Samburu and Baringo districts); basketry (Samburu, East Pokot and Turkana); and medicinal herbs (Turkana and Samburu) are important sources of income which have potential for further exploitation.

While increased settling of the nomadic communities has increased their access to services like education, health and water supply, it has also put pressure on the rangelands around market centres and permanent water points. Education is not very much picked up by the Samburu, Pokot and Turkana. Many of the schools are located in the highlands and only few in the lowlands. Health facilities have increased but remain under-utilized because of cultural reasons. Often, facilities lack the medication to dispense (Karimi 2003).

### **Characterization of the North Eastern Region**

The North Eastern region is composed of Marsabit and Wajir Districts. Marsabit is mostly an extensive plain lying between 300m and 900m above sea level, gently sloping towards the southeast. The west and north plains are bordered by hills and mountains. Volcanic cones and calderas break these plains (heights up until 2,355 m). Seasonal rivers dominate the district. Marsabit is located in the driest region of the country (200 mm – 1000 mm rainfall). The majority of the land is classified as agro zone 700 meters above sea level, with high rates of evaporation and salt deposits. It is only suitable for camels. Human settlement is concentrated around the humid and sub-humid mountain areas where agro-pastoral livelihood is practiced (by 80% of the population). Approximately 10 % of the population practices subsistence agriculture and about 7% are involved in commerce. The remaining percentage is made up of salaried employers.

Wajir is the third largest district in Kenya, sparsely populated and severely affected by drought. The principal economic activity in this district is primarily nomadic pastoralism. The population is pre-dominantly Somali (Kenyan Somalis: Ajuran, Degodia, and Ogaden). From the 19<sup>th</sup> century Somali clans poured into the area as a result of pressure of resources in Ethiopia and Somalia. Government service provision is weak due to

insufficient schools, large class sizes, inadequate equipment and staffing levels. Literacy levels, school enrollment and completion rates are the lowest in the country. Health facilities are understaffed, under-equipped and under-supplied. Level of veteran services is low (Karimi 2003).

## **Causes and Factors Contributing to Conflicts in the Region**

The patterns of conflict in the North Rift and North Eastern regions are complex. Many factors contribute to violent conflicts involving pastoralists and these factors have tended to become mutually enforcing (Karimi 2003)

Historically, conflicts in Kenya are closely linked to land tenure issues and the country's colonial past" (UNHCR 2004). However, recently conflicts over access to water and pasture are also considered the major causes of violence and displacement among pastoralists in Northern Kenya. Physical boundaries cutting across traditional migratory routes and wars in neighboring countries bring increased problems in accessing traditional grazing resources. These conflicts are often exacerbated by prolonged drought and the proliferation of small arms. There are also rife allegations that the economically powerful people are behind livestock thefts and politicians encourage conflicts to flush out potential supporters of their political opponents. All these factors plus the remoteness and nomadic nature of pastoralists compound and complicate the whole conflict management process in Northern Kenya.

### **Cattle Rustling and Banditry**

Historically, animal raiding between tribes was considered a cultural practice, with a long history. It was sanctioned and controlled by the elders. The Pokot, Turkana, Marakwet, Tugen and Keiyo raided each other but lived harmoniously (until the onset of multi-party politics in the 1990s). Yet there has emerged a new system of predatory exploitation of the pastoral economic resources manifesting itself in the form of banditry and cattle rustling. Political parties were formed following tribal lines, and as a result, the tension

between tribes increased leading to a displacement of the pastoralist community. The result is that a big section of the pastoralist community has been displaced.

As the practice gained political character, raiders began to disregard the seasonal aspect of cattle theft and the raids eventually acquired diligent and criminal tendencies (UNHCR 2003; Karimi 2003). Proliferation of illicit arms, inadequate policing and state arrangements and the diminishing role of traditional governance systems are among the factors that have contributed to the transformation of ‘traditional’ conflicts to increasingly destructive and unmanageable events (Karimi, 2003). This fact is illustrated by table 1 below.

**Table 1: Historical Trend in Banditry and Cattle Rustling in Samburu District**

Date	Nature of conflict and or Actors	Number of animals stolen	Action taken
1962	Turkana from Lodwar attacked Samburu	400 cows were stolen. A large no. of goats were stolen (No. not specified)	Government sold Turkana animals irrationally and compensated Samburus. Disarmament of Turkanas.
1970	Turkana from Lodwar and Baragoi attacked Samburu	300 cows were stolen	No action taken
1980	Samburu were attacked by Turkana	40,000 cows were stolen	
1994	Pokot attacked Samburu animals	Unknown number of animals were stolen	No action taken
1996	Turkana attacked Samburu Turkana attacked Rendille	20,000 cows were taken. Government District Commissioner (Mr. Nyandoro) was killed. 46 people were killed.	The government did nothing. Samburu bought guns and armed themselves (from Ethiopia and Somalia). Samburu formed alliance with Pokots.
1997	Samburu/Pokot Samburu alliance attack Turkana in Samburu district	63 Turkana people were killed.	No action taken
2000	Samburu and Pokot attacked Turkana.	All livestock were taken from Turkana. Heavy casualty was reported. Displacement of Turkanas from their villages.	No action taken
2001	Counter attacks between Turkana and Samburu.	Each attack was reported to the authorities	Peace mission formed with twelve (12) members per location. Membership included the chief and the councilor.

2002	Counter attack between Turkana and Samburu		No action taken
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Source: Karimi 2003.

Table 1 above illustrates that there has been a series of attacks in Samburu from 1962 till 2002. These raids involved the Turkana, the Rendile and the Pokot. In most cases, the government made little or no effort to compensate losses resulting from raiding and banditry. From the number of cattle stolen and the number of deaths registered, we realize that the art of cattle rustling which was a traditional issue was then transformed to a criminal act.

### **Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

The infiltration and abuse of guns is also a major cause and intensifier of conflict in northern Kenya. Small arms, including automatic and semi automatic rifles have become widely available (especially in Wajir) and are increasingly used in the pastoralist districts. This has led to the militarization of the communities, fuelled insecurity and criminalization of the traditional practice of raiding. Pastoralists claim to use these guns for security and protection. Besides protection and raiding, guns are also kept for prestige, especially among the youths. In Marsabit, informants hinted that ownership of a gun is greatly valued in the district. According to the document “Profile of Internal Displacement: Kenya”, which was prepared by UNHCR in 2003, there are about over 100,000 illegal guns in districts of Turkana, Samburu, and West Pokot alone (UNHCR 2004). The weapons come from a variety of sources, including conflict prone neighboring countries like Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Northern Uganda. In West Pokot district the guns are sourced from Pokot and Turkana gun merchants. Some GoK officials also conspire with the community by selling guns to them. Each community is trying to arm itself, creating a local ‘arms races’. Guns are paid for in terms of animals. It is therefore safe to assume that the rustling activities are motivated by the gun culture (Karimi 2003).

## **Competition over Scarce Resources and Administrative Boundaries**

Ecologically, the North-Rift and North-Eastern regions of Kenya are an arid and semi-arid region, characterized by steady erosion of natural resources from which households and communities construct their livelihoods. Given the fact that cattle raising is the main source of income, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water have contributed to the violence among pastoralist communities. The tensions between the communities tend to intensify whenever there is a prolonged drought. Shrinking economic prospects for affected groups are a cause and affect of the violence (UNHCR, 2004). However, there are also examples where pastoral communities make peace during the dry season in order to share scarce resources (de Vries 2007).

## **Relationships between Host and Refugee Communities**

North and Western Kenya host two major refugee camps and the relationship between the host communities and refugee communities is problematic and often a source of conflict in both Kakuma and Dadaab camps. This is mainly due to the difference in the humanitarian aid each receives although both are facing the same security issues. Despite the difficult conditions in refugee camps, the refugees have a relatively good health and nutritional status and receive good health services and free schooling because of UNHCR's constant efforts (Obura 2002). The camps being located in poor and fragile areas where people live under severe conditions versus the protected situation of refugees from international relief is causing high levels of social tension and physical violence. The incidents between the local communities and refugee communities involve death and serious injury on a daily basis (UNHCR 2001).

Natural Resources: Turkanas have kept the local "Nyano Philosophy" which has the idea of "cut one, plant two" on trees. However, refugees have cut massive trees for cooking and construction, planting nothing in their place. This has caused soil erosion which has

affected the food availability for the pastoralist cattle which again affects the livelihoods of the pastoralists who depend on livestock. Further, because of the population increase due to the creation of refugee camps, water has become scarcer. Host communities around the Kakuma camp assert that their women are forced “to travel long distances to fetch water resulting in chest pains and miscarriages” (Aukot, 2003). In Dadaab, banditry attacks on refugee women when they are collecting firewood are common (Obura, 2002). Gang Activity: Refugees in Kakuma camp (especially Dinkas) roam around the local villages, stealing and causing unprovoked fights with Turkanas. Dinkas have formed armed gangs and threatened Turkanas after it was rumored that Turkanas requested that refugees should be banned from cutting trees.

Cultural erosion: Traditionally, Turkana girls marry in return for animals which could benefit their families. However, emerging relationships between Turkana girls with refugees disrespected this tradition which causes frustration (UNHCR 2001; Obura 2002; Aukot 2003).

### **Other causes, locally identified**

Based on a study conducted in the North Rift and North Eastern Regions in Kenya conflict victims also gave other causes of the conflicts in their regions (Karimi 2003). They pinpointed revenge as an important reason for conflict based on previous raids and conflicts. Conflicts are also caused by wealth to increase the number of livestock that one already has) and poverty (raiding of livestock because the raiders are poor). Other causes and factors contributing to conflict that were mentioned by the respondents included: heroism, dowry (which is paid in livestock), discrimination, tribalism, ethnocentrism and mistrust.

Appendix I, gives a systematic presentation of who is fighting who and the cause of the conflicts according to local respondents, based on a study which took place in 2003 (Karimi). The table illustrates that the principal actors fighting include a variety of non-Kenyan communities, a fact which complicates the issue of conflict resolution. The actors fighting are often youth who portray their heroism through raids. Solutions given by the respondents focus on increasing government security; disarmament of all tribes; restocking of livestock; increased communication between tribes; the strengthening of



traditional conflict management systems; the improvement of infrastructure; the strengthening of pastoralists' livelihood and the setting up of alternative livelihood strategies.

### **Consequences of Conflicts**

As a consequence of these conflicts, the human security situation is degrading. In the North-Rift and North-Eastern region of Kenya, more than three-quarters of the population lives below the poverty line. The general characteristics include poor infrastructure; inadequate health; poor education and low income generating avenues, and high level of starvation and malnutrition. Most of the population lives 25km averagely from water sources and health clinics are situated around the same distance too. Given the risky nature of this environment, in 2006 livestock disease killed about 60 % of the herd.

Statistically, as a consequence of pastoralists' conflicts, 164,457 people were displaced with 70 % being women and children below 14 years (Karimi quoting from the 1999 Census). The Northern districts are among the ten poorest districts in Kenya in all the development indices. School enrolment rates are below national average and a majority of people depending on relief food. Logically these conflicts have led to the violation of the rights of the displaced especially women and children who register an increased number of rape cases, physical assault and child labor.

### **Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs)**

Based on a variety of definitions (including those of UNHCR and IDMC), it is distilled that IDPs have the following characteristics: they are persons forced to move from their home because of life threatening reasons; with some of the reasons being natural or manmade disasters (civil conflicts, political persecutions, human rights violation). They are persons who have not crossed the international border but are lacking access to basic social services (food, employment, education, and health care), and still face consistent violence and human rights violations. Table 2 below indicates the number of IDPs in Northern Kenya, the geographical concentration and their region of origin and background.

Table 2: IDP Characteristics per Region in Northern Kenya

Region	No. of IDP	% of pop.	Geographical Concentration	Region of Origin	Ethnic Background
Turkana	41,097 (2003)	NA	Murungole	Kakuma, Lokichogio Locher Akaal, Lorus, Loremiet	
Wajir	32,914 (1999)	12 %	Informal shanties in Wajir town	Wajir	
Marakwet	32,000	23%	Tot division (most affected area in Kenya); Tunyo division	Kerijo valley, areas bordering west Pokot and Baringo districts	
Samburu	23,707	17%	Baragoi trading centre	Baragoi and Nyiro divisions	Turkana and Samburu
West Pokot district	30,361	NA	Kasei, Sigor, Alale, Chesegon	Areas bordering Turkana, Marakwet and Uganda (Karamojang districts):	
Alale division	11,871	NA			
Marsabit	4,378	NA	Loyangalani, Kargi	South Horr, North Horr, Pakati, Nachola, Marti, Kawap, and Tum in Samburu district	Samburu, Turkana, Gabra and Borrana communities

Source: Karimi, 2003, pp. 26-27; 37-38; 43-44; 48

Globally, IDPs outnumber refugees by two to one (IDCM, 2006). However their plight receives far less international attention. As IDPs did not cross international borders and they do not receive international protection and related aids after crossing the border. IDPs face relatively more problems in getting assistance and protection than refugees. Even after the displacement, many of them are exposed to violence and other human rights violations (IDMC 2006; UNHCR 2006). There is for example a strong correlation between displacements and rape cases, physical assaults, prostitution, growing number of street rogues and child labour (Karimi 2006, p.12). Often IDPs have no or only very limited access to food, employment, education and health care (IDMC 2006). IDPs are generally vulnerable due to the high insecurity at the refugee camps. IDPs can therefore be considered a major vulnerable stakeholder group.

Among IDPs, particularly children, women and elderly are seriously suffering from their situation. Displaced children, who consists about 75% of the displace people, are mainly suffering from psychological issues and living situations. Many of the children displaced end up as street children in urban areas like Nairobi where they are being beaten and often killed by the police. Many of the displaced children had witnessed the death of close family members or they themselves are injured, or orphaned. As a result, some of them are displaying aggressive behaviour or suffering from nightmares. The education of displaced children is often disrupted in many cases permanently (UNHCR 2001).

Displaced women are often suffering from sexual assaults and security risks. According to the study from UNHCR's report on "Profile of Internal Displacement: Kenya", after becoming displaced, gender inequalities were exacerbated. Women become the victims of rape, beatings, exposed to sexually-transmitted diseases, poverty, manipulation, hunger, fear, anger, anxiety, trauma, despondency, dehumanization, heavy workload, and physical fatigue. Unprotected sex also causes a high rate of HIV/AIDS infection among displaced women. Unprotected sex often happens violently or is forced by the poor living situations.

## **Local communities**

Even though IDPs are clearly vulnerable groups in society, they are not the only ones. It may also be assumed that the communities that are not internally displaced suffer from conflict. People respond differently to crisis according to their background and resources. Therefore, the people who have not migrated in times of crises also need to be considered. Those groups of people may – except for the fact that they are not internally displaced – live under similar conditions of hardship, poverty and insecurity in the same region with those who are internally displaced, competing over the same resources.

## **Host Communities of Kakuma and Dadaab Refugee Camp Areas**

As described previously, conflicts are common between local communities and communities in refugee camps. Both groups face similar security issues, but the refugees receive more systematic development aid in the camps. The status of inequality between the residents in Kakuma and Dadaab, and the cultural differences and competition over resources between the two groups exacerbate conflict. The most affected are the local pastoralist families who have less resources (water, land, vegetation); women and children from local communities who suffer from walking long distances to fetch water and refugee women who are being attacked by local community members while (and because of) fetching firewood.

With the above mentioned conflict situation in northern region of Kenya with its eventual pathetic consequences on both the refugee and host communities around these refugee camps, there has therefore been need for the resolution of these conflicts and a way to improve on the living conditions of the vulnerable stakeholders in this region. The next chapter therefore gives an insight into the attempted conflict resolution mechanisms employed by both state and non-state actors and the various development activities which have been carried out to improve on the livelihood patterns of the people in this region.

## **CHAPTER THREE: ATTEMPTED COFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS & DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE REGION**

### ***Conflict Resolution Mechanisms***

Since Kenya has experienced frequent conflict situations be them internal or cross border with varying impacts on human development, there was need for the prioritization of conflict resolution/management in the government arena. The methods adopted ranged from district peace committees, traditional peace processes and regional peace and security initiatives such as CEWARN, EAC, SALW and NEPAD (Adan & Pkalya 2006).

The approach to conflict resolution and management in Kenya in the past was mostly reactive and crisis driven which was not very much effective. Some of these policies were related to Kenya's legislative framework whereby it was obligated under the international law to ensure the security of its citizens and protect and promote their human rights that ensure that they achieve their full potential for human development (Adan & Pkalya 2006).

The traditional justice mechanisms (council of elders, inter-ethnic marriages, resource management agreements, ethnic group alliances) and government-led initiatives (chiefs, district officers, commissioners and security forces), have played a fundamental role in resolving conflicts especially those related to land and family matters.

The council of elders, for instance, is looked upon as the primary indigenous conflict resolution institution not only in Kenya but in most African countries. The council of elders was given much respect and recognition both at the local and government level because these elders were regarded as trustworthy and knowledgeable people in community affairs and thus were placed in a position to make binding decisions. In a bid to fuse traditional mechanisms into modern conflict management strategies, the council of elders was given an upper hand under the Land Dispute Tribunals Acts of 1990 to take final decisions on matters of land (Adan & Pkalya 2006).

Inter-ethnic marriage was the most common mechanism adopted by the people in the Northern Region of Kenya to resolve conflicts. Though not still very popular nowadays, it proved to be

effective in the earlier days. Taking into cognizance the fact that it was a taboo to fight your in-laws, inter-ethnic marriages were encouraged between these communities. This is still practiced in the Northern region of Kenya today between some pastoralist communities as a method of conflict resolution.

Pastoralists and communities with scarce natural resources often come into agreement in relation to the effective utilization of such natural resources. For instance in Northern Kenya during the period of draughts, Isiolo district is noted for constant movement of livestock along the corridor between Gara tulla, Kinna and Sericho Divisions, with people moving in/from the neighbouring Wajir and Garissa districts. Before this movement begins, Boran and Somali elders negotiate such movements and a general agreement is reached on access to water and pasture. This situation thus prevents clashes between the various communities involved.

Despite the above elementary methods of conflict resolution in Northern Kenya, there is no existing comprehensive national policy on conflict management and peace building in Kenya. 'Rather, what is available are fragmented and uncoordinated policy efforts embedded in various policy documents (Adan & Pkalya 2006). It should be noted that most of these policy measures single out conflict as an intrinsic factor in whatever the policy document addresses. A good example to cite here is the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of the Arid and Semi Arid Lands of Kenya (ASALs) wherein its objective was to improve on the standards of living of the ASAL population by appropriately integrating ASAL into the mainstream of the national economic and social development in an environmentally sustainable manner. This ASALs policy pinpoints conflicts as a factor that hampers the development of ASALs and it does not tackle conflict as a priority policy in itself. Despite the fact that the present ASAL draft policy document does point out to the need to mainstream conflict resolution and peace-building for the sake of sustainable development, a more elaborate and nationally focused policy framework with a regional and international perspective of conflict needs to be put in place (Adan & Pkalya 2006).

There are many other sectoral policies relevant to conflict management in Kenya such as the draft disaster management policy, the national policy on small arms, draft policy on firearms, the draft national land policy, the draft policy on community policing, etc. It is worth noting that these policies only touch conflict management slightly and there is thus a need for a national policy on conflict management and peace building. This national policy though still in

a draft form was established in 2006 and was known as the Draft National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management (NPPBCM). It is intended to address the key challenges facing Kenya in her commitment to supporting sustainable peace and development through the reduction of poverty. This policy document was produced by the National Steering Committee (NSC) in consultation with peace building and conflict resolution stakeholders such as the Office of the President, Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UNDP, USAID, DFID, OXFAM, Africa Peace Forum, etc. (NPPBCM, Office of the President, p.vii).

The fundamental target of the NPPBCM is to promote sustainable peace and development in Kenya. In order to realize this goal, the NPPBCM incorporates all conflict management and peace building strategies across the sectors from pre-conflict, confrontation, open crisis, conflict outcome to post-conflict stages of the conflict cycle. The NPPBCM policy guarantee harmonization at all levels of government in cooperation with the civil society, donors, private and public sectors including regional partners in order to manage domestic as well as cross-border conflicts by establishing a comprehensive approach (NPPBCM, Office of the President, pp.vii-ix).

Specifically, the NPPBCM objectives relate to the key challenges currently facing conflict management and peace building which included:

- i. “Establishing an institutional framework for conflict management and peace building that fosters strong partnerships between the government, the market, the civil society, the UN Agencies, Donors, grassroots communities and regional organizations for sustainable development.
- ii. Developing sustainable conflict management and peace building strategies that provide for conflict sensitive planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.
- iii. Mainstreaming gender issues in conflict management with specific focus on the empowerment of women towards long-term conflict mitigation and peace making.
- iv. Addressing root causes of all internal and cross-border conflicts and establishing prevention strategies of cross-border conflicts with neighboring states on existing resources along common borders” (NPPBCM, Office of the President, pp.vii-ix).

In summary therefore, the NPPBCM integrates existing awareness, early warning, prevention, preparedness and conflict management strategies and initiatives into one policy addressing the unique and special circumstances of different conflict situations.

Looking at the objectives of the NPPBCM above one can be quick to pass the judgment that the conflict situation in Kenya and specifically those in the ASAL region of Kenya will be taken care of given the underscored objectives of the policies mentioned above. At this point, we are raising some critical issues to examine whether some basic issues were looked upon during the process of formulating and implementing the NPPBCM.

The issue of participation is very vital in coming up with policies related to conflict resolution and management given the fact that there are many parties involved. By participation in conflict management, we refer to a bottom-up approach which involves all sectors and a cross-section of the interest groups (stakeholders). This bottom-up approach is very necessary in conflict resolution/management because it creates a sense of ownership of these policies which will eventually lead to an effective implementation. It is worthy of note here that in Kenya unlike in other countries in SSA, policy formulation has always been carried out with much secrecy and very limited, if any, public consultation. But in the case of NPPBCM, it was initiated through a collaborative process under the umbrella of the NSC on Conflict Management and Peace building chaired by the government and composed of members of CSO and development partners (Adan & Pkalya 2006, p.24). The question here is whether the consultative process to the formulation of the NPPBCM policy was participatory enough to generate a comprehensive policy.

Taking into cognizance the fact that in analyzing conflicts, the dynamics, fluidity and specificity are contextual, we question if in coming up with the draft NPPBCM, the root causes and the various conflict environments were identified. It is also questioned if the interests and peace agendas of vulnerable stakeholder groups (children, women, IDPs, etc) around the various conflict areas were identified and incorporated in the policy formulation.

Lastly, this project questions if monitoring and evaluation have been adequately integrated into the policy formulation of the draft NPPBCM. This is because the extent of incorporating monitoring and evaluation in the formulation process determines the policy's effectiveness in achieving its expected outputs (Adan & Pkalya 2006, p.25).



Though in the preceding paragraphs we paint a very bleak picture of the conflict resolution mechanisms employed by the GoK and other bodies involved in the resolution of the conflict in Northern Kenya, there is at least hope because there has been development programmes going on in this region in spite of all what has been going on. These development activities have been carried out both by the government and private sector to improve on the lives not only of the refugees in Kakuma and Dadaab but the host communities as well.

### ***Development Activities in the Region***

Government Activities: The Government through the Arid Lands Resource Management Programme is currently implementing projects in the district of focus to pay attention to community disaster prevention and copying mechanisms including early warning systems and development of district contingency plans as a forward planning process. This project does not pay attention to participatory process and it is more service-oriented than demand-oriented. The priorities of national authorities [and UN Country Team] have been based on discussions held with communities in the regions, quarterly early warning reports from Arid Lands Resource Management Programme of the Department of Special Programmes in Office of the President and community survey reports prepared by Central Bureau of Statistics of the Ministry of Planning and National Development from arid and semi-arid districts. Priorities identified for intervention are: water supply, education, health, rural road network and capacity building for conflict resolution and peace building.

These priorities were captured in the Country Program Action Plan (CPAP) signed between the Government of Kenya and UNDP, 2004-2008. One of the outputs of the CPAP is to 'Provide assistance to host communities around refugee and humanitarian camps in Lokichokio, Kakuma and Dadaab. Projects were focused on provision of basic social services, security, peace-building and community skills in natural resource management and income generation (GoK 2003). Monitoring and evaluations missions have continued to take place on a quarterly basis and the views of the community have informed the priorities articulated in this conceptual note.

NGO Activities: Many Civil Society Organizations (NGO) projects in the region have tended to focus on relief operations and emergency aid (food relief), water projects, agriculture (technological innovation, animal health) and conflict resolution. The development projects promote a (small-scale) participatory approach. Constraints for implementation include conflicts and natural disasters.

UN Activities: Members of the UN country teams have facilitated the implementation of a collaborative programming approach with parallel funding and addressed the following issues: the capacity building of the joint refugee-host community peace committee in peace building and conflict resolution, training in small enterprise development, improving access to clean water, promoting environmental conservation (UNDP). There was also the provision of communication equipment and vehicles to the District administration and the peace committees to beef up security and foster peace-building. That equally enabled the host community to benefit from some of its refugee programs (UNHCR); WFP as involved in the 'Food for Assets' (FFA) projects. Summarily speaking therefore, UN activities in the region are focused on emergency relief aid (humanitarian assistance) and repatriation programmes through UNHCR.



Source: Author on his visit to Dadaab Refugee Camp

Equally, the UN and the government of Kenya jointly had some strategies to support human security and maintain peace in Northern Kenya. One was the Government's Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2004) -this is Kenya's equivalent of PRSP. The Arid and Semi-Arid Lands development Policy Paper (2004) and the UN's Development Assistance Framework (2004-2008) were others. UNDAF the National Authorities development papers recognize the challenges of insecurity as a result of hosting large refugee populations emanating from 'regional conflicts which have had major adverse impacts on security and indeed the economy of Kenya----with refugees from neighbouring countries continuing to strain available resources and posing a security threat due to the proliferation of fire arms (GoK 2005).

The United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2004-2008 echoes similar sentiments: 'The burden of hosting a large number of refugees, for over a decade has led to the proliferation of small arms, crime, drug trafficking, conflict between the refugee and host community populations and environmental damage. As a result, there have been regional efforts aimed at combating arms and drug trafficking, even though with limited success' (UNDAF 2004).

The types of operations that the institutions engage in northern Kenya can roughly be divided into three categories. The first type of operation is emergency aid which targets those who are severely affected from natural disasters such as drought and flood. Food distribution (WFP, GOAL Ireland) and water (UNICEF) are their primary activities. The second type of operation is mainly tailored to meet the basic needs of the inhabitants and to support and improve opportunities for sustainable livelihoods. Agriculture development (Action Against Hunger, etc.), water and sanitation (Lutheran World Federation, etc.), health and medication (Merlin) are among the main aid projects. In addition, some institutions focus on livestock treatment (ILRI, ITDJ) as livestock is the cornerstone in the pastoralist livelihood strategy.

The third type of operations (ITDJ, NCKK) does not provide people with tangible goods or resources, but creates networks and work as a conduit between the stakeholders. Their main aim is to strengthen the capacity of the people and create awareness to achieve peace in the conflicted areas.

The strategies for sustainable livelihood creation focus on participatory methods and small-scale projects. There are examples where services provided by development institutions became new sources of conflicts. Local ownership, knowledge sharing and capacity building are considered essential ingredients in development programmes and projects, whether they focus on agriculture, conflict resolution or service provision (schools, health institutions, wells). Conflict and weak administrative institutions constrain the successful implementation of development projects. Appendix II, gives an insight of the ongoing development activities in the region. The list is not exhaustive as there are many small missionaries activists in the area who do not have websites.

Having looked at the conflict resolution mechanisms and the development activities in northern Kenya, the next step in this work is the analysis which synchronizes the theory and the empirical material presented above

## **CHAPTER FOUR: THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL CHAPTER**

### ***THE THEORY OF HUMAN NEEDS***

#### **Conceptualizing the Theory of Human Needs:**

The theory of human needs is used here to underpin the good will policy (morality) advocated by international organizations for the alleviation of human misery and the improvement of the development situation of deprived Third World societies (Riddell 2007, p. 119-125). The implementation of this idea has been through humanitarian and development aid. This foreign aid could be defined as “inter-societal transfers of resources that are intended by all the relevant parties, especially the provider, to serve first and foremost the recipients’ needs, interests and wants.... Aid is charity. If it is not charity then it is not aid” (Burnell, 1997, p. 3). This concept has been a major issue in development thinking. “ The idea that there is a core set of basic needs which must be satisfied if we are to consider development to have taken place stretches back to the colonial government policy” (Gough et al. 2007, p. 9). Though the concept of human needs had been long underpinned as a development strategy by many developing countries, it was not until 1976 that the concept gained prominence in the international development arena following the adoption of a ‘Declaration of Principles and Programme of Action for a Basic Need Strategy of development’ by the International Labour Organization (Gough et al. 2007, p. 9). Also, in 1978 the World Bank equally initiated work on basic needs whereby it marked “some of the first global institutional responses to the inadequacies of Gross Domestic Products (GDP) and economic growth as measures of either development or human welfare” (Gough et al. 2007, p. 9).

In recent days, a substantial body of work in development studies has ‘moved from narrowly conceived income poverty analysis to understanding how livelihoods are constructed and then on to still wider notions of resource strategies which seek to take better account of the social and cultural structures within which these are located’ (Gough et al. 2007, p. 17).

Though the theory witnessed some periods of dormancy in the 1980s after falling victim to the resurgence of the neo-liberal wave, the concept came back powerfully into the international political and development arena in the 90s. The UN Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 gave a lift by agreeing to set up targets for tackling world poverty over the next twenty years. Thus five years later, the Millennium Declaration was adopted by General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) in September 2000. The accompanied Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) went on to set targets to identify indicators for many basic needs like survival (infant mortality), health (HIV/AIDS, malaria), hunger, access to safe water and education (literacy and primary school enrolment (Gough et al. 2007, p. 10).

## **Assumptions of the Theory**

The theory of human needs aims at providing a fully universalisable concept of needs/capabilities - an explicit critique of cultural relativism and a moral grounding for strong right-claims to their satisfaction (Gough, 2002). The theory identifies a conceptual space of universal human need; recognizing cultural variety in meeting needs but aims at avoiding the subordination of the identification of needs to such cultural contexts. The above argument is presented in a hierarchical manner and moves in five stages (Gough et al. 2007, p. 10).

First, two types of goals are distinguished in the Theory of Human Needs (needs and want). According to the theory, needs are believed to be universally applicable to all people while wants are not necessarily so and usually tend to reflect particular cultural environments. Thus the universality of needs rests on the fact that if needs are not satisfied then serious harm (conflicts) will be inevitable in the society. In this light,

serious harm is therefore described as a fundamental disablement in the pursuit of one's vision of the good, whatever the nature of that vision (Gough et al. 2007, p. 13-14).

Second, basic needs are thus looked upon as those universal preconditions that enable such participation in one's form of life. Human needs theorists identify these universal preconditions as physical health and autonomy which are same for everyone (Doyal and Gough, 1991, p.4). Furthermore, the human needs theorists hold that all humans have a right to optimum need satisfaction and for this to take place, it should be shown that the following societal pre-conditions are in place: political, economic and ecological (Doyal & Gough 1991, p.4). In the Theory of Human Needs, physical health is essential to be able to act and participate. Also, human beings exercise the autonomy of agency – the capacity to make informed choices about what should be done and how to go about doing it. This capacity can be weakened by circumstances such as severe mental illness, poor cognitive skills, and by blocked opportunities to engage in social participation. (Gough et al. 2007, p. 14).

The common human needs (physical health and autonomy), can be met in a multitude of ways by an almost infinite variety of specific 'satisfiers'. As stated by the theorists, these satisfiers have characteristics which contribute to improve on physical health and autonomy. These universal satisfiers, in other words known as intermediate needs, are grouped into eleven categories, namely: adequate nutritional food and water; adequate protective housing; non-hazardous work and physical environments; appropriate health care, security in childhood; significant primary relationships; physical and economic security; safe birth control and childbearing and appropriate basic and cross-cultural education (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 159). Thus, basic needs can never be satisfied independently of the social environment, though they must be conceptualised independently of any specific social environment.

Having looked at the conceptualization of the Theory of Human Needs according to the various arguments above, there is a wide consensus that universal and objective human needs do not exist or cannot be formulated coherently. But the issue at hand is that various societies need priority needs depending on their cultural values and objectives. In this light therefore, we are going to look at the Theory of Human Needs in detail.

## **The Basic Needs of Persons: Physical Health and Autonomy**

Generally speaking, basic needs are linked to avoidance of serious harm. In relating harm to basic needs, Miller defines harm thus: ‘Harm for any individual, is whatever interferes directly or indirectly with the activities essential to his plan of life; and correspondingly, his needs must be understood to comprise whatever is necessary to allow these activities to be carried out. In order, then, to decide what a person’s needs are we must first identify his plan of life, then establish what activities are essential to that plan, and finally investigate the conditions which enable those activities to be carried out’ (Miller, 1976,cf. Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 51). Social policies should thus be directed towards guaranteeing a range of life chances to the citizens of a society.

### **Physical Health**

Physical health is the first basic need which all individuals in spite of the culture or what they do must try to satisfy before addressing so many other issues. Doyal & Gough argue that ‘to complete a range of practical tasks in daily life requires manual, mental and emotional abilities with which poor physical health usually interferes’(Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 56-57).

### **Autonomy**

In relation to autonomy, individuals express their autonomy with reference to their capacity to formulate consistent aims and strategies which they believe to be in their interests and their attempt to put them in the activities in which they engage. That is the more reason why human beings are held responsible practically and morally for their acts. These universal satisfier characteristics can be regarded as goals for which specific satisfiers can act as the means. Consequently, they could be looked upon as intermediate needs. In this light therefore, these intermediate needs can be referred to as ‘second-order



goals' which must be achieved if the first-order goals' of health and autonomy are to be attained (Doyal & Gough 1991, pp. 157-191). These intermediate needs are then grouped as follows: Nutritional food and clean water; protective housing; a non-hazardous work environment; a non-hazardous physical environment; appropriate health care; security in childhood; significant primary relationships; physical Security; economic security; appropriate education and safe birth control and child-bearing (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 157-158). It is at the level of these intermediate needs that most of the activities of the international bodies like the United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc come into play. They try to foster the universal satisfaction of these intermediate needs in all societies worldwide.

## **Understanding the Human Needs Approach in Conflict Resolution**

The Human needs approach provides an important conceptual tool that not only connects but addresses human needs at all levels. The needs theorists are aware of the fact that needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for (Maker 2003). In this light therefore, the human needs approach to conflict resolution turns away from traditional negotiation models that do not take into account non-negotiable issues. These include interest-based models that view conflicts in terms of win-win or other consensus-based solutions, and conventional power models that construct conflicts and conflict management in terms of factual and zero-sum game perspective (Maker 2003).

Also, the human needs approach is in support of an analytical problem-solving process which is a kind of collaborative and multifaceted problem-solving model and techniques to conflict resolution. These models are in recognition of the complexity of human life and the insistent nature of human needs (Maker 2003). These problem-solving approaches also analyses the fundamental sources of conflicts, while maintaining a focus on fulfilling peoples' unmet needs.

As the theorist John Burton puts it, ' If conflict resolution is to be taken seriously, if it is to be more than just introducing altered perceptions and good will into some specific situations, it has to be assumed that society must adjust to the needs of people, and not the other way around' (Burton, 1990). Thus, the premise for human needs theory in

Burton's view was that it will provide; a relatively objective basis for transcending local political and cultural differences (Richard E. Rubenstein). Based on the argument of human needs theorists like Burton, human needs are like a synthesis of the main theoretical assumptions of conflict resolution in which 'the pre-condition for the resolution of any conflict is that fundamental human needs are met' (Burton & Sandole 1986). Burton in this theory adopted eight fundamental needs from the basis of the works by Paul Sites and introduced one further need of his own. Those adopted needs included control, security, justice, stimulation, response, meaning, rationality and esteem/recognition to which he added role-defense (Mills 2006).

Summarily, whatever the classification of needs according to the various schools of thoughts and by various theorists, one thing stands out clear: that there are basic human needs in each society which if tampered with, will give rise to conflicts. This explains why human needs theorists along time have considered human/basic needs as an important component in considering livelihood patterns. Theorists, be they Abram Maslow 1954, Sites 1972, Fisher & Ury 1981, Burton 1986, Schwartz 1996, etc. have all reiterated the fact that there are basic human needs which must be met for the smooth functioning of every society and failure to meet them creates conflict situations.

## **Criticism of the Theory of Human Needs**

Irrespective of the fact that human needs theorists are of the view that basic human needs are necessary for the smooth running of every society, there are some limitations to this general conception. Des Gasper holds the view that needs theory remains an important conceptual tool in the struggle for an improved conception of human wellbeing but he argues that to fix the theory in contemporary discourses requires both a better explanatory theory of need satisfactions and a more sophisticated measurement and communicative device than the Human Development Index (Gough, et al. 2007, p. 34).

According to Orthodox Economics school of thought, basic needs are preferences and that the 'objectivity' of need is a suspect. Taking this into consideration therefore, the

disagreement among consumers and producers about who needs what “preferences” and “demand” are looked upon as sufficient for the purposes of much positive and negative economic theory. By this, they hold that ‘just because a majority might rank their preferences for food more than, say, that for fashion does not mean that a clothes-conscious majority might not legitimately make the opposite choice’(Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 9). The above-mentioned needs have the same ontological and moral choices of which one could not be preferred over the other. Therefore, the idea of need warrants something more than the demands of a specific group and this therefore requires an attention from the government. Thus, ‘social needs are demands which have been defined by society as sufficiently important for social recognition as goods or services which should be met by government intervention’ (Williams, 1974).

The Theory of Human Need were also subject to criticism from the New Right who held that needs are dangerous because they hold the view that ‘once it is accepted that some have a right to legislate for others about what they need then the slippery slope to authoritarianism does seem more likely’(Doyal & Gough 1991, p.10-11). Writers of the New Rights like Gray all hold the view that ‘the market rather than the extensive state welfare’ is the way forward to which we should turn to avoid these problems, maintaining that it is a morally superior as well as a more efficient method of allocating resources and defining goals’ (Green, 1987). In summarizing the argument of this school of thought, we can say that they consider basic human needs as nothing but a dangerous and domestic metaphysical fantasy, thus believing that ‘what humans do and do not need is something that can only be determined by themselves’ (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 11).

Marxian scholars equally criticized the theory and argued that needs are historical. Marx believed in the existence of objective human needs and laid expressively to working people the costs of providing the labour power for the development of capitalism via the industrial revolution: as a result, ‘oppression’, ‘degradation of personal dignity’, ‘accumulation of misery’, ‘physical and mental degradation’, ‘shameless direct and indirect exploitation’, ‘moral slavery’, ‘brutality of overwork’, etc were consequences (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 12). Those who laid the foundation of the criticism of Marxism explained the fact that denunciation of capitalism cut little moral ice without the belief

that there are some requirements which all humans have in common and which lead to unacceptable levels of individual impairment when they are not met. In summary, for Marx, the economic aspects of the social environment were by far the most important in shaping human identity. In concluding the critique of the Marxian view of the Theory of Human Needs, they hold the view that human needs are socially relative and stipulates only what some groups of human prefer over others. Thus an attempt by those in one culture to impose their conception of basic needs onto others will therefore be looked upon as cultural imperialism which can be defined as ‘the pursuit of specific group interests’ (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 11).

Next we have critiques of cultural imperialism whereby the view that needs are group specific and under capitalism ‘no one really knows what they need’ (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 13-15). This idea of cultural imperialism can be looked at in various forms: the first is that there is the general consensus that those in power know what is in the best interest of the powerless. Looking at it from this perspective, the preferences of the dominated are thus downgraded as inferior to their real needs as defined by those in authority. This argument has thus constituted the ideology by which ‘capitalism has frequently ravaged the traditional societies which it has economically and culturally colonised’ (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 14). In a bid to promote this ideology, colonialists have legalized their economic dominance through encouraging a sense of inferiority and helplessness in the face of Western process. The rejection of the idea of universal needs lays a background to increased struggles against oppression. Here, liberation will come when society will reclaim their rights to what they consider as their basic needs. Secondly, the argument shifts to the recognition of the fact that objective needs do exist though they can only be determined by specific oppressed groups. Thus it is a process of identifying group preferences to group needs which degenerates to the fact that objective needs of specific groups collapse into subjectivism of a collective rather than individual variety (Doyal & Gough 1991, p. 14).

The theory of Human Needs is highly looked upon as that of individualism. Though the Theory of Human Needs recognizes self-confidence and sense of control as components

of autonomy of agency, what it does not is that it cannot be sustained when studying well-being. The theory is also described as being paternalist; that is, top-down. Nevertheless, the theory recognizes the role of wide participation and experiential knowledge in understanding needs and need satisfiers. The theory also develops the procedural approach – ‘the dual-strategy’ for relating codified and experimental knowledge. But on the other hand, the theory lacks critical distinction between functioning and capabilities, for instance, fasting and starving.

### ***Theory of Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars***

Two main advocates of the theory of greed and grievance were Paul Collier and A. Hoeffler. This theory came about when these two researchers in studying the conflict (civil war) situation around the globe came to the conclusion that more civil wars are as a result of greed rather than grievance. They noted the fact that civil wars are more common than international conflicts and between 1960 and 1999 there were 79 large civil conflicts (Collier & Hoeffler 2004). The greed and grievance theorists hold that ‘analogous to the classic principles of murder detection, rebellion needs both motive and opportunity’ (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p. 563). This theory contrasts the political scientists views that civil conflicts are best explained in relation to motives. Motives, which could be seen as the circumstances in which people want to rebel, are viewed as sufficiently rare to constitute the explanation. Instead, the theorists are of the viewpoint that civil wars (conflicts) are caused more by economic forces which explain rebellion in terms of opportunity: ‘it is the circumstances in which people are able to rebel that is rare’ (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p. 563).

### **The Political Scientists Theory of Civil War**

Political science associates the occurrence of conflicts to motive. These theorists posit that ‘rebellion occurs when grievances are sufficiently acute that people want to engage in violent protest’ (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p.564). Four objective measures of grievances are taken into consideration here. They include: ethnic or religious hatred, political repression, political exclusion and economic inequality. With this school, ethnic

and religious hatreds are widely considered as a cause to civil conflict though such hatreds can not be quantified. In any case these types of conflicts are typical in multi-ethnic or multi religious societies (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p. 564-571). This approach to civil wars can rather be perceived as a protest motivated by genuine and extreme grievance, “rebels and public-spirited heroes fighting against injustice” (Collier 2006). There is the popular perception that the political scientists approach to looking at the causes of civil war is not scientific. There is an intense gap between popular perception of the causes of conflicts and the results from recent economic analysis (Collier 2006). There is the popular opinion by the economic theorists that the perception of grievance as an underline cause of rebellion is weak because they offer explanations for their actions. Thus they use propaganda and make enormous efforts to have good public relations in order to publicize and justify their course. Words such as oppression, unfairness, victimization, etc are used generally to describe their grievances against the government. Therefore, grievance is to a rebel organization as image is to a business; grievance then turns out neither to be a cause of conflict nor an accident by-product of it (Ibid).

### **The Economic Theory of Civil War**

In theorizing the causes of civil conflicts, theorists such as Grossman assert that rebellion is ‘an industry that generates profits from looting, so that the insurgents are indistinguishable from bandits or pirates’ (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p. 564; Grossman 1999, p.269). Theorists assert that such rebellions are motivated by greed rather than motive. In this case therefore, the occurrence of conflicts is not explained by motive, but different circumstances that generate profitable opportunities. Thus, the political science and economic approaches to rebellion have assumed different rebel motivation ‘grievance versus greed a – and different explanations – atypical grievance versus atypical opportunity’ (Collier & Hoeffler 2004, p. 564).

In the economic theory to civil wars, theorists consider three key factors which play a vital role in financing rebellion. These common sources include: extortion of natural resources, donations from diasporas, and subvention from hostile governments. There is

also a dependence upon primary commodity exports and low national income (Collier 2006, p.1-2).

Modern economics has two modern economic tools of approaching civil wars: statistics (quantitative method) and theory (Collier 2006, p. 4). The following observations are gotten from the above methods used to analyzing civil conflicts: countries rich with natural resources are more prone to conflicts. Economic development is crucial for reducing the incidence of civil war; the proportion of the population made up of males between 15-29 year age brackets; the proportion of the terrain of a country that is mountainous (Collier et al. 2006, p. 9-15).

The above mentioned observations arrived at by Collier and Hoeffler follow a statistical analysis carried out in 161 countries between 196 and 1999 (Collier & Hoeffler 2004). Within this time bracket, there were 73 civil wars globally.

Some general conclusions arrived at by the economic theory to conflicts is that: the motivation of conflicts is unimportant; what matters is whether the organization (rebel) involved is able to sustain itself financially during the conflict. The baseline argument here is that rebellion is caused by greed, so that it occurs when rebels can do well out of wars. In other words, rebels are motivated by a lust for power, but rebellions occurs only when rebels can do well out of war (Collier 2006).

### **Criticisms on the Concepts of Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars**

The general criticism of the above mentioned concepts in relation to civil wars is that they turn to neglect the most important issue which is how the reoccurrence of civil wars can be prevented. They say little or nothing on the settlement of these conflicts and the punishment of the perpetrators of these wars. Collier makes mention of the general neglect of civil wars in the agenda of the international bodies like the UN to at least be involved in civil conflicts but punishment in relation to perpetrators of these conflicts is not emphasized. The main issue at stake is not to argue if civil wars are caused by greed or grievance. The issue should be how to solve these conflicts and how to punish the perpetrators and the brain behind these conflicts. Another issue to be looked into is the

conflict victims which in most cases are women, children, the elders and IDPs who are a major stakeholder group in civil wars.

### ***Dependency Theory***

The Dependency theory is used basically to illustrate the fact that the conflict affected regions/countries in SSA depends principally on foreign aid and assistance for their livelihood and development. By so doing, there is more or less nothing like working in partnership for development. Thus, through the dependency theory we seek to prove the fact that development aid and assistance encourage laziness in conflict-affected regions thereby hindering development. More than development aid, what Africa needs is issues such as capacity building to enhance proper accountability to aid; the finances to be earmarked for specific projects and a proper monitoring and evaluation mechanism for these projects during and after completion. Otherwise, this assistance is more of a curse to Africa especially the conflict regions because it is more of a source of conflicts than a solution to them. This project brings out certain incidences where conflicts have erupted between refugees and the host communities in the Northern Region of Kenya in relation to humanitarian aid.

Dependency is also used in this project to emphasize the fact that a dependency relationship is created between the conflict stricken countries in SSA and the outside world in relation to the fact that they help to extend the conflicts in SSA through the supply of arms. Countries in conflicts tend to allocate cash which would have been used for the provision of basic necessities to the society for the acquisition of arms. As such, these countries are bound to stoop for help and support from without for their basic livelihood needs and eventually developmental needs. As a result, they are reduced to the level of beggars a situation which creates a tough dependency link between them and the outside world.



## The Origin of the Dependency Theory

The Dependency Theory first surfaced by the beginning of 1950s when Paul Baran published his book *The Political Economy of Growth*. The theory gained prominence when the director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch and his colleagues, tried to identify the possibilities for economic development in Latin America. They struggled to find out why economic growth in the industrialized countries did not entail economic growth in the Third World countries, specifically Latin America (Mount Holyoke College 1996). The dependency theory became popular in the 1960s and 1970s, as an alternative to the modernization theory, which failed to answer the question of why underdevelopment prevailed in Third World countries.

Two groups of dependency theorists exist: the radical ones and the moderate ones.<sup>1</sup> The radicals are of the view that the Third World could not attain economic growth hence economic development, when their economy was still linked to the developed world. The only solution was thus to delink the economy completely from the world economy. On the other hand, the moderate dependency theorists hold that the development of the Third World was possible even if their economies were linked with industrialized economies. They further argued that trade could still be possible with the developed world, but stressed the need for trade restrictions to protect domestic industries (Jackson et. al 1999, p. 200).

## Definition of Dependency Theory

According to Sunkel “...*dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences—political, economic and cultural—on national development policies.*” (Mount Holyoke College 1996)

However, Santos 1971 stressed the historical aspects in his definition of dependency:

*“(Dependence is a)... historical condition, which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies.....a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development of another economy to which their own economy is subjected.”*(Mount Holyoke College 1996)

The definitions above have common elements, which link them together. The emphasis is on the economic situation of a country being determined by external factors. This creates unequal balance of power in the relationships which favours the dominant countries.

The above definitions conform to the words of Baran and Gunder as cited by Rapley 1996:

*“The First World actually hindered the emergence from poverty of the Third World...Development and underdevelopment were, in effect, two sides of the same coin”* (Rapley 1996, p. 18)

## **Assumptions of the Dependency Theory**

Dependency theorists believe that there are an unequal relationship between the First World and the Third World. This creates a situation of unequal exchange which acts as an obstacle to developing countries to take any meaningful steps towards economic growth thus giving the upper hand to the First World to shape their economies (Dickson 1997, p. 38).

According to dependency theorists, problems of underdevelopment in the Third World, are caused by external rather than internal factors. This is because the problems of the developing countries are based on the structure of the global economy, which is unequal and favors the First World. The dependency theorists believe that the international system is comprised of two sets of blocks: the "core" which refers to the developed world and the "periphery" which refers to developing world. The point is that core countries remain at the core and the peripheral countries remain at the periphery. No amount of economic, social and political efforts towards development can take a peripheral country to the core. Instead in this relationship, the core drains resources from the periphery for its development (Martinussen 1997, p. 88-90).

Dependency theory tries to find out the causes and the differences between developed and developing countries. The theory tries to understand the disadvantages in political, social and economic relationship between the First World and the Third World. Nevertheless, dependency theorists agree that the economic growth of the developed countries has been at the expense of the developing countries. Therefore the nexus is based on the asymmetrical relationships of trade where the core countries will remain at the core and the peripheral countries will remain at the periphery. In terms of the core/periphery assumption, the development of the core (the First World) is at the expense of the periphery (Third World). The reason for this is the global trade patterns which favor the First World countries; by making the developing countries produce what the West requires and consumes (Gunder 1981, p. 56-57).

Dependency theorists further believe that developing countries cannot follow the same paths towards development as the West did because of the different historical development, for example the colonial legacy. Most Third World countries share a common colonial history and thus their political economy is branded by the same colonial economic legacy. In the situation of conflicts (conflict situations), Third World countries largely depend on agricultural activities. They are basically producers of single cash crops like coffee, tea, oilseeds, cocoa. Also, industrial raw materials such as cotton, sisal, rubber and tobacco are produced for exports and in return the cash is being used to purchase guns and other ammunitions used in the various conflicts in the continent. (Mylene 2002, p. 11).

### **Critique of the Dependency Theory**

The dependency theorists, when considering development, failed to realize that the Third World countries still rely on the West to dictate the growth pace of their economies given the fact that they control their economies through the market forces of demand and supply. Any attempts made by developing countries to delink themselves from the First World will create a more precarious situation which will in turn lead the Third World countries into a greater dependency relationship (Martinussen 1997, p. 75).

The dependency theorists categorize all developing countries as one group, regardless of their differences. For example, Latin America and Asian countries differ a lot in nature and stages of development compared to their African counterparts.

## CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

The resolution of conflicts has always been a problem both to the government and international community. The involvement of international bodies like the UN to interfere in conflicts has equally been problematic in the sense that the policy of non-interference into the internal affairs of any nation aggravates most conflicts with grievous consequences. Thus the question goes: will the international community sit back and watch God's people suffer in the hands of terrorists, dictators, military regimes, etc because they do not want to interfere into the internal affairs of a sovereign state? Obviously not and this is a situation which brings us to the policy of good will adopted by the international bodies to see into the needs of disadvantaged communities especially those in conflict situations – the theory of Human needs. The issue here is - are there no ways in which the international community can help prevent these conflicts from occurring, reoccurring or prolonging? Also, why have the international bodies like the UN, with all the power vested on them, do little or nothing in most cases to punish the perpetrators of these conflicts especially those in Africa?

Narrowing down to this write-up, we use the theories of human needs, greed and grievance and dependency theory together with our empirical material on conflicts in Kenya-northern region to find out why these conflicts still persist in spite of the different policies adopted to resolve it. Secondly, we probe into the reasons why the region is still the lowest in all the social and economic indicators in Kenya – thus the least developed area with a high inflow of finances from state and non-state actors.

It is undoubtedly true that there have been numerous attempts both by the GoK and international bodies to come up with policies which could help resolve the conflicts in the region of Kenya. These policies have in most cases and in most of the times proven ineffective. What then is the reason behind the ineffectiveness of these policies? What could be done/added to these existing policies that could help resolve or better manage the conflict situation?

### ***Analytical issues in relation to human needs***

Given the fact that the underlined motive of aid is charity as stipulated by Burnel in relation to the policy of good will of the international organizations in the human needs theory, the situation of aid allocation or distribution in northern Kenya does not reflect this course. In the theory of human needs, foreign/development aid is intended to serve the recipients needs, interests and wants. The situation in northern Kenya is not reflected in the above fact because the recipient's needs are not prioritized according to importance. Donors often than not operate in a less consultative manner thus initiating programmes which do not reflect the needs, interests and wants of the community. This generally leads to a failure of these programmes with no impact on the communities. Development cash is wasted and development is not proportionate to cash geared towards it. For instance in appendix 2, we come to realize the fact that most development institutions operating in northern Kenya, have as their major activities; relief aid, emergency aid and refugee support. The situation on the ground is that refugees are better-off than host communities. This has generally led to a new kind of conflict in the region between refugees and host communities especially in the control of natural resources. There is a need of a proper method of handling the needs of the local communities in order to prevent further treads of conflicts especially from IDPs who a prospective cause for most conflicts in this region.

### ***Governance related issues to conflict resolution***

In Kenya like elsewhere in Africa, public policy is concerned primarily with two issues: the problem and its solution. This has been the method used by the GoK and the international bodies to tackle the conflict situation in northern Kenya. Conversely, policy analysis is more important in conflict resolution/management because it examines these issues in a deliberate way to establish what the key issues are, the existing interventions and how they can be strengthened. In Kenya, there has been a lack of strategic coordination among key actors in conflict management and peace building. The government, international organizations and Civil Society Organizations have more often been working single-handedly in handling the conflict issues in northern Kenya. The impact has therefore been the wastage of resources thus leaving key issues unaddressed or addressed in an unsustainable manner. The lack of involvement of key actors such as

the CSO, women organizations, pastoralists, media bodies, etc, both at the inception and implementation process of a national programme on conflict management and peace building always leads to failure in the policies. The lack of a sense of ownership by major stakeholders involved always makes them to distant themselves from these policies thus leading to failure. So, policy ownership should be emphasized.

Also, due to the fact that the GoK had no formal policy framework for conflict management, studies have proven that inter-community conflicts were resolved with little attention paid to the community's local knowledge, the indigenous systems of governance and natural resource management. Thus, the GoK has to refocus its priorities and resources to the enhancement of effective conflict management and peace building. The issues that fan the flames of conflict in northern Kenya should be looked into by re-prioritizing and recognizing the importance of peace and security in national development.

The regionalization of conflict resolution/management and peace building should be top-priority not only to the GoK but to major stakeholders operating in northern Kenya. This is because the region is surrounded by warring countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, etc. Thus the instability in the neighbouring countries has resulted in cross-border conflicts, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, loss of life and property, etc. Logically therefore, an attempt to tackle the conflict in northern Kenya without a correspondent resolution of conflict in the neighbouring countries will and has proven abortive. For instance, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons especially from Ethiopia and Sudan has in recent times criminalized a once traditional practice of cattle rustling. Previously, about three to four cows or goats were stolen just to prove the braveness of a man but with availability of guns more than a hundred are raided from a single village. Moreover, the proliferation of guns with the consequent criminalization of cattle rustling in northern Kenya has increased the ownership of guns in every household for protection.

We realize here that gun ownership for protection and guns used in fighting the conflicts in this region of Kenya has created a situation of dependence on the outside world. This dependence relies on the fact that huge amounts of cash are used for the purchase of these ammunitions. Firstly by the Kenyan government to resolve these conflicts and secondly

by the natives whom gun ownership is for protection. Though a few conventions have been signed on the proliferation of small arms and light weapon issues, they have still not been effective because this issue is tackled superficially. It is but normal that the traffickers and suppliers of all these weapons can be traced and punished. Throughout our research on this subject area, we found out nowhere where the suppliers of the weapons are brought to justice. In order to handle the conflicts in northern Kenya like elsewhere in Africa, the UN should take the responsibility of punishing companies and countries that fan the flames of conflict in Africa through the supply of weapons. The DoBell Company and supply of arms in the Sierra Leonean conflict is a glaring case. Through these companies, these countries create a situation of 'divide-and-rules' wherein they support factions against the government, elites or political leaders and rebels. The countries remain in conflicts and give them the market for the sale of their guns and exploitation of natural resources. For example, the Democratic Republic of Congo has never experienced peace since independence in the 1960s. The point we wish to drive home here is that in handling the problem of proliferation of small arms and light weapons in northern Kenya which is a major hindrance to conflict resolution in this area, there is need for coming-up with regional solutions . More importantly, it is necessity for the UN to punish squarely the countries and companies which supply these arms to warring countries in Africa, Kenya inclusive. It is obvious that if the situation of small arms and light weapons is handled, the situation of dependence will gradually reduce because resources which are used for the purchase of these ammunitions will be channeled towards the improvement of livelihood patterns of those living in northern Kenya. For instance, more health facilities, education and roads will be provided.

Also, in the course of this study, it was realized that there was a flaw in the government's system of handling conflict resolution in northern Kenya. There is no doubt that government-led initiatives through local administrators (Office of Chiefs, District Officers and Commissioners) on the resolution of conflicts in northern Kenya cannot be minimized. They handled conflicts related to land, cattle theft, crime, etc.

The local administrations equally provided state security, administered humanitarian aid and relief and facilitated the operation of the government programmes. Despite these major contributions, the local administration faced some major short-comings in the



execution of their duty. Firstly, they are often regarded with suspicion, fear and hostilities when it comes to situations when the government is directly involved. Secondly, the government policy of transferring administrators frequently, especially in northern Kenya created a situation of inconsistency and follow-up mechanism to conflict resolution in this region. Thirdly, the GoK through institutions such as Kenya national commission on Human rights and ECK, handled conflict-related issues where the goal is not to resolve the dispute amicably with reference to the social context of the problem, rather they pass judgment and impose final decisions on parties enforceable under the law. Fourthly, the GoK does not have a coordinated legal framework for conflict management and resolution. The government operates almost independently from NGOs and INGOs and Civil Society Organizations operating in North Kenya. Given that conflict resolution should be seen as a cycle rather than an event, there is need for the GoK to work hand-in-glove with other stakeholders operating in this region, together with the communities in this region to come out with a legal framework document on conflict resolution/management. This document should be objective enough, keeping the interest of any of the parties aside and looking at the root causes with apt measure of resolving them while punishing perpetrators.

In the course of this project, when reading through the yet to be adopted NPPBCM, the only policy document somehow focused on conflict management and peace-building in Kenya, we observed some major strategic gaps which if not addressed will still lead to ineffectiveness in the policy. First, the policy advocacy was characterized by the lack of political will, support and lack of participation by all stakeholders who are directly affected by this policy. This brings the issue of ownership into play. Since these major stakeholders are not directly involved in the process of policy formulation. The implementation is obviously at stake because the policy will be regarded as foreign, making them to lose a sense of appropriation towards it. This leads to failure. As earlier mentioned, the policy advocacy strategy for a major policy document especially one related to peace building and management, needs to involve the following:

- Understanding the linkages between policy making process and advocacy
- Developing a shared vision for the policy
- Setting the advocacy objectives

- Resource mobilization
- Implementing activities for the advocacy strategy
- Monitoring and evaluation (Adan & Pkalya 2006, p.42)

The CSOs and international bodies with activities in northern Kenya have contributed much to the enhancement of the livelihood pattern of vulnerable stakeholders in this region. They have mostly worked tooth and nail to see that the refugee community in the two refugee camps Dadaab and Kakuma lead a better life. Their improvement on facilities such as water, health and education are worthy of note. In spite of these activities, there are some other vulnerable groups which are more or less forgotten. These are the IDPs whose plight is in most cases more pathetic than those of the refugees. The conditions of these IDPs are so terrible that they prefer to be refugees and the hardship always drive most of them to leave for the camps (Karimi 2003). It is understood that the activities of most of these NGOs are focused on particular projects (refugees) with little allowance for expansion to the communities. But the question here is whether these NGOs are really operating on the grounds of 'good will'. How could they stand the chances of supporting refugee programme and providing them with a better livelihood than host communities whose situation is sometime more horrible. The idea of coming up with an independent development fund which aims at dispensing foreign aid, "instead of making aid merely an outcome of political bargaining between donor and recipient institutions, allows it to be marketed through legally and politically independent funds incorporated in the recipient country" (Stokke 1996, p.9). This policy will eliminate the structural factors that causes aid to be ineffective. But good governance and transparency should be promoted.

Also, the nature of the programmes carried out by these organizations is mainly relief-based, with a short life span (not sustainable enough for development to take place). The constant provision of relief and development aid to this area creates a kind of dependency on these organizations and encourages laziness.

The broader issue we want to raise here is- if these international bodies are operating on the policy of "good will" (theory of human needs), why is it that they concentrate their activities only on certain regions and certain projects and not to the whole of affected

communities/stakeholders including refugees, IDPs, women, children and the old. If these NGOs and international bodies are acting on the “good will” policy, why is it that most often their humanitarian or development aid is always attached with strings? The international humanitarian organization should act on John Rawls’s Theory of Justice which requires that “all primary social goods – rights, liberties, power, opportunities, income and wealth – should be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution would be to the disadvantage of everyone including (especially) the least well off” (Rawls 1973). If the world really needs to help Africa out of its conflicts and development situation, could this not be done like the Marshall Aid Programme which Europe benefited from after World War II?

In addition, the concept behind the basic needs theory which holds that some core set basic needs must be satisfied before there is the consideration that development has taken place has been proven faulty in the case of northern Kenya. The attempt to meet the basic needs of refugees in northern Kenya has met with more conflict and less development because the re-occurrence of conflicts in this region gives no allowance for development activities to thrive. Also, given the fact that Doyal and Gough hold the view that autonomy is one of the preconditions for any society to satisfy, the definition of autonomy itself acts as a counter to the activities of development organizations operating in northern Kenya. Autonomy could be defined as the capacity to make informed choices about what should be done and how to go about doing it. In the situation of northern Kenya, neither priority nor autonomy is given to the communities in this area in relation to the conception and realization and the evaluation of development activities carried out in this area. In other words, in the practical situation in northern Kenya, autonomy is not exercised by the GoK and international bodies in an attempt to satisfy the intermediate needs of the people living in this region.

### ***Analytical issues in relation to the theory of Greed and Grievance***

The main underlining principle of the theory is to justify if conflicts are caused as a result of greed or grievance is more or less overemphasized. The most important points to be looked into are the root causes of conflicts and how the conflicts could be prevented. This theory more or less minimizes the fact that causes of conflicts are directly or indirectly

related to its location where cultural values play a great role. In the situation of northern Kenya where the community is generally nomadic, the causes of conflicts are very much reflective in the culture and tradition of the people – the control over natural resources mainly water and pasture. Also the resolution of this conflict and development in this area is more problematic because the change of culture from a nomadic lifestyle to a relative settled community to enjoy some of the basic facilities established by international bodies is difficult. So in handling the development and conflict situation in northern Kenya, there is more to be looked into rather than just if the causes of conflicts are related to greed or grievance.

In addition, there is more to looking at the causes of conflicts. The aftermath of conflicts attracts more attention than the conflicts itself. The theory of greed and grievance should take the challenge of tackling the situation of vulnerable stakeholder groups in conflict regions. In the situation in northern Kenya, the plight of IDPs, women and children in the refugee host communities are more pathetic than those in the refugee camps.

The dependency theory as used, illustrate the fact that the conflict affected northern region of Kenya, basically dependent on foreign assistance and aid for livelihood and development. By so doing, there is little or nothing like working in partnership for development. Through the dependency theory, we prove the fact that development aid and assistance encourage laziness in conflict stricken regions thus hindering development. In effect, the humanitarian and development aid channeled to Africa needs to be tailored towards particular projects with streamlined regulations. Also, there should be a better method for implementation and effective monitoring and evaluation of these projects. If not, this assistance is more or less a curse to Africa especially the conflict regions because it is more of a source than a solution to the conflicts as the situation in Northern Kenya earlier mentioned in this work. The conflicts in Northern Kenya have equally caused a dependency relation between the South and the North and between the South and other southern countries like China. This is especially in relation to the acquisition of ammunition and expertise used in sustaining these conflicts. Financial resources which should have been used to better the livelihood of citizens such as the provision of better health care services, such as, education, roads, infrastructure and water are channeled towards the purchase of arms. For instance, with an inflow of humanitarian

assistance, the continent ironically loses an average of around \$18billion a year due to armed conflicts in relation to the purchase of weapons and expertise. According to the study by Oxfam, 'this money could solve the HIV? AIDS crisis, prevent TB and malaria, or provide clean water, sanitation and education' (Oxfam 2007). This thus creates a situation where these SSA countries, especially those involved in conflicts, are reduced to the begging position and are more or less depending on foreign assistance. Both for sustaining their livelihood and development a situation which is very dangerous for any conscious society.

## CONCLUSION

The resolution and management of conflicts in SSA has posed a major problem to local government and the international community. The conflicts in the Northern Region of Kenya are no exception. These conflicts mainly pastoralists conflicts and in recent times conflicts between host and refugee communities and within the community itself over the management of natural resources has span over time. There have been numerous attempts made by the GoK to resolve these conflicts. Policies paper and documents has been written and revised, conventions have been held, but the major problem lies on the implementation of the various resolutions. The International Community too has been actively involved in seeing that the quality of life of those affected by these conflicts in Northern Kenya is improved. The inflow of humanitarian/development assistance is something worth mentioning.

In spite of the availability of this policy document and resolutions from conventions, in spite of the inflow of resources from the international community for the resolution the conflict and consequent development in Northern Kenya, the results are very minimal as compared to the resources tailored for its development. So the question is; if all these attempts to resolve the conflict and develop this region have proved to be ineffective, what are the ultimate measures which could be adopted for the resolution and management of conflicts, like wise the development of area to improve livelihood patterns?

Firstly, there should be the recognition of conflict resolution and management in the EAST African Community (EAC). An attempt should be made to come out with detail policy document which will tackle conflict in the EAC, beginning from the root causes of the various conflicts, how it evolved, parties concerned, attempted measures to resolve these conflicts, etc. Find out if these measures adopted worked, if not why? Also, the international community should be more concern with how to punish the perpetrators of these conflicts. Countries and companies supplying ammunitions should be punish,

justice should prevail. If a regional policy is adopted for the resolution and management of conflicts in the EAC, it would facilitate the control of certain pertinent issues directly or indirectly related to conflict management in Northern Kenya. For example the control of small arms and light weapons which are used to aggravate the conflicts in Northern Kenya.

Secondly, it is no doubt that the humanitarian/development aid provided by the international community has gone a long way to improve on the lives of stakeholder's community in Northern Kenya. Findings from this study prove that humanitarian/development aid has increase dependency, laziness and in some cases conflicts between the refugee and host community in Northern Kenya. This is mainly because finances have been channel through wrong sources, finances have been directed to wrong projects with limited follow-up. It is worthwhile mentioning here that most of the projects in Northern Kenya are concentrated on relief and especially in the refugee camps. The few developmental projects in the host community are generally not sustainable, with little or no proper methods of monitoring and evaluation. The key issue why development in Northern Kenya is not proportionate to the resources geared towards its development is because the projects are misdirected with little or no involvement of stakeholders directly affected by these conflicts. By so doing these projects are bound to fail because there is no sense of ownership of the projects by the communities involved because they consider them foreign. Any finances involved will be looked upon as 'manner from heaven' through which any body is bound to enrich him/herself rather than use for the benefits of all.

Also, if human needs are intended to serve the recipient's interests, needs and wants then we recommend that the world in a bid to help Africa to develop, should do this like a kind of Marshall Aid programme. A programme similar to that experienced in Europe after World War II proposed by the then American president George C. Marshall. Humanitarian and development aid should be channeled to Africa with no strings attached and the Africans should exercise autonomy in its control. Though the issue of governance and corruption would be argued by the international community, reinforcement on capacity-building and good governance should be encouraged.

In summary, there are more issues to handle in relation to conflicts and development in Africa rather than mere policies and humanitarian/development aid. The problem is not looking at issues relating to greed and grievance as the cause of conflicts neither in Africa nor depending on foreign aid for development. The broader issue we have to tackle is how African can come together and strive to stand on its own. By so doing broader issues like capacity-building, good governance, etc should be emphasized.

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