
THE STRUGGLE FOR PLURALISM AND PEACE: LEGITIMACY, CONFLICT AND GOVERNANCE IN TWO KENYAN WARDS

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OVERVIEW

In order to understand the way conflict, governance, and legitimacy intersect the International Republican Institute (IRI) conducted a mixed method study in Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County, and Balambala Ward, Garissa County. This report reveals some important lessons about the nature of conflict, legitimacy, and governance in the two wards, as well as key challenges and potential solutions to deliver better governance for Kenyan citizens in these two locations.

This research is part of IRI's work to improve legitimate governance and mitigate conflict at the local level in Kenya and Bangladesh. Although the research includes some findings that are hyper-local in nature, many aspects of the analysis are applicable beyond their immediate context. Indeed, the research shows in general terms how the breakdown in intercommunal relations, as well as the breakdown in relations between political elites and local communities, can distort governance outcomes, result in local crises of legitimacy, and even fracture the social fabric and cause violent conflict. The lessons discussed here extend beyond the ward-level political environments studied in this report, and many of the general findings can be applied at the national level, or even to other contexts. The research suggests that political actors and individuals working in the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance (DRG) field should pay close attention to the concept of legitimacy at the local level, or risk undermining their own efforts to improve governance.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research report summarizes the key findings of a mixed-method research study designed and commissioned by IRI to understand the interplay between governance, legitimacy, and conflict in Bartabwa Ward (Baringo County) and Balambala Ward (Garissa County) in Kenya. The report includes a brief background section which delves into the local political dynamics in the two wards, as well as providing a brief conflict analysis. Next, the report discusses the specific research methodology commissioned by IRI, explaining why certain methods were used, as well as who was selected to participate in the study. Then the report explains nine key findings unearthed by the

research. These findings are divided according to whether they fall under the umbrella theme of conflict or the theme of governance and legitimacy (the findings are summarized below). Finally, the report offers six recommendations for governance actors in the two wards to implement in order to mitigate conflict issues at the local level and improve governance dynamics and the state of local democracy in the two wards.

Key Findings: Conflict in Balambala and Bartabwa Wards

- The first key finding is how environmental dynamics – especially perceptions of resource scarcity – can drive local-level conflict in the two wards.
- The second key finding concerns how narratives of marginalization of the Pokot community contribute to intergroup distrust and intercommunal conflict in Bartabwa Ward.
- Third, the report discusses how local clan politics in Balambala Ward create key dynamics that contribute to conflict in the area.
- Fourth, in both wards, elections serve as a trigger for violence, where the winner-takes-all stakes create a landscape in which political entrepreneurs have incentives to ratchet up tensions and even encourage violence.
- The fifth key finding is how – despite these challenges – overwhelming majorities prefer harmonious intercommunal relations and yet, in both locations, small disagreements can swiftly spiral into more severe forms of intergroup conflict.

Key Findings: Legitimacy and Governance in Balambala and Bartabwa Wards

- First, no single actor (in either ward) is viewed as overwhelmingly legitimate by the local population. This challenge is particularly acute among security actors such as the police and national army.

- The next key finding is how challenges to the legitimacy of formal governance actors work to undermine their effectiveness at resolving local insecurity.
- Thirdly – and the mirror image of the prior finding – is how the limited effectiveness of formal actors and institutions has opened the door for informal actors to act as brokers between local parties engaged in local conflicts even though, at times, these informal actors may themselves be implicated in these problems.
- The final key finding concerns the gendered aspect of local governance in both wards, and how women are excluded from local decision-making bodies, locking them out of discussions on peace and local insecurity.
- Fifth, integrating women's perspectives into local decision-making, both officially and in more informal ways, is vital to improving local responses to insecurity and to better understanding the effects of conflict.
- Finally, ensuring that local government actors are substantively involved in playing a coordinating role on issues of conflict resolution at the local level could greatly improve security, as well as provide a positive springboard for future actions.

These recommendations, if implemented effectively, could improve some of the worst causes and immediate triggers of conflict in the two wards.

BACKGROUND

Finally, the report concludes by offering recommendations guided by the research and suggestions from local participants.

Recommendations

- First, any specific conflict resolution interventions should be planned seasonally, to ensure they are timed and sequenced according to the conflict cycle in the two wards.
- Second, it is important to engage actors who have a stake in positive intercommunal relations, and who have high degrees of local legitimacy when it comes to managing conflictual intercommunal relations; it is especially important to engage individuals who have a stake in a peaceful resolution to insecurity.
- Third, as several members of the local community mentioned, intercommunal sporting and cultural events can be deployed to improve intercommunal relations and build the foundations of a more peaceful society.
- Fourth, security sector abuses must be curtailed if citizens are expected to trust local security to uphold peace locally.

In November 2021, representatives from the United States' and Kenyan governments held a bilateral strategic dialogue, during which the two governments reaffirmed their commitment to "fostering accountable and effective public institutions," and highlighted the importance of "[enhancing] civilian security and governance cooperation."¹ A key component of achieving these twin goals is the resolution and prevention of conflict, especially at the local level. This issue is particularly salient in 2022, because Kenyan citizens head to the polls to vote in a general election in August and have an opportunity to further consolidate their democracy.

Ensuring that conflict prevention is tailored to the local context, however, is critical because Kenya is a diverse country with over 40 ethnic groups; the country's enormous geographic and demographic diversity means that social conflict does not fall along a singular axis. Historically, conflict in Kenya has been driven by several factors: electoral violence (both prior to and following elections) has been a serious concern in recent years, with the deadliest occurrences taking place in 2007.² Many areas of Kenya have been affected by violence stemming from tensions over land tenure. Disputes over access to pasture, conflicts between herders and farmers, and the relevant

1 Office of the Spokesman, "Joint Statement on the Second Kenya-U.S. Bilateral Strategic Dialogue," *United States Department of State*, November 17, 2021, <https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-on-the-second-kenya-u-s-bilateral-strategic-dialogue/>.

2 Ogenga, Frederick, Gerald Wandera and Mary Nyarieko, "Peacebuilding and the Political Economy of Representation in Kenya's 2022 Elections," *The Wilson Center*, November 2021, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/political-economy-kenya>.

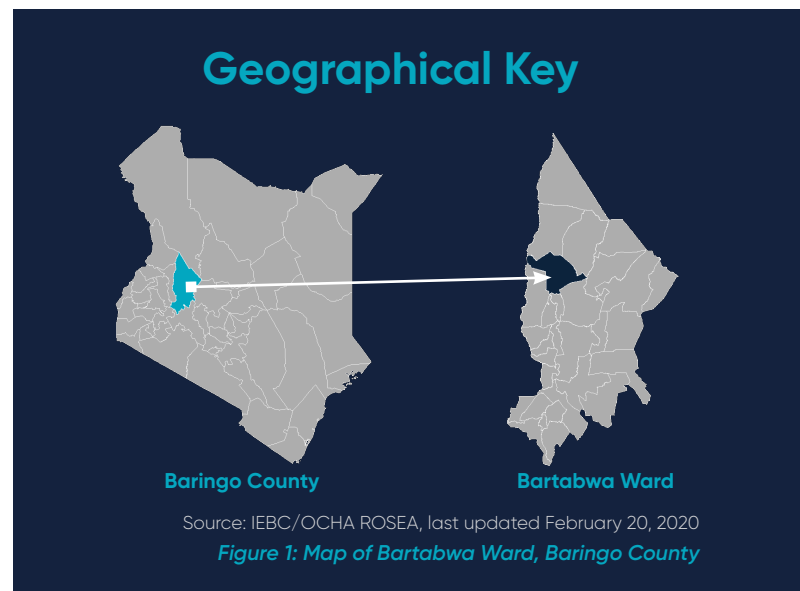
power relations that govern control over territory continue to be a major conflict driver in several regions of the country.³ Relatedly, cattle rustling – a practice which occupies the conceptual middle ground between criminal enterprise and intergroup conflict (displaying dynamics of both) – continues to play a major role in several regions of Kenya.⁴ Finally, the areas bordering Somalia in the northeast in particular have witnessed violent extremist attacks by al Shabab. Indeed, between January 2015 and July 2019 there were 150 such attacks, causing 972 fatalities.⁵

This list of conflict typologies is not comprehensive, it merely illustrates some of the many forms that collective political violence has taken in Kenya. These conflict dynamics routinely interact with one another as well as with other factors, such as Kenya's changing climate, which has caused migration, drought, and increased pressure on ever-dwindling pasture and arable land.⁶ Further, given the fact that Kenya has close to 750,000 unregistered small arms in civilian hands in circulation,⁷ it should come as no surprise that conflictual intergroup relations often turn deadly.

This study examines how local level conflict is playing out at the ward level in Baringo County and Garissa County.⁸ These wards were chosen because of increasing salience of communal conflict in these locations. In 2017, Kenya's National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) estimated that at least 10,000 people in Baringo County had been displaced by violence. Meanwhile, Garissa County has also seen a "notable deterioration in public security in recent years."⁹

Bartabwa Ward is located within Baringo North (a sub-county) in Baringo County and lies at the base of the Tugen hills (see Figure 1 for map). The ward shares its borders with Kipsaraman Ward,

Tiaty sub-county and Elgeyo Marakwet County. It is home to various communities, predominantly Tugen and the Pokot. Other smaller communities residing in the ward include the Marakwets. Residents of the ward are mainly small-scale farmers who rely on livestock and rain-fed agriculture to sustain their livelihoods. The ward suffers from recurrent spells of drought, limited opportunities for trade, and bouts of conflict. The issue of drought has negatively impacted harvests, causing food insecurity. Further, poor road infrastructure and limited cellular connectivity makes local trade challenging, contributing to poverty in the ward.



3 Onguny, Philip and Taylor Gillies, "Land Conflict in Kenya: A Comprehensive Overview of Literature," *Les Cahiers D'Afrique de l'Est/The East African Review*, 53, 2019, <http://journals.openedition.org/eastafrica/879>.

4 Omondi Gumba, Duncan, "Cattle rustling: from cultural practice to deadly organized crime," *Institute of Security Studies*, February 28, 2020, <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/cattle-rustling-from-cultural-practice-to-deadly-organised-crime>.

5 Wepundi, Manasseh and Roba D. Sharamo, "The State of Peace and Security in East Africa," *The Institute for Security Studies*, November 17, 2021, <https://issafrica.org/research/monographs/the-state-of-peace-and-security-in-east-africa>.

6 Muggah, Robert, "Climate Threats Are Multiplying in the Horn of Africa," *Foreign Policy*, December 8, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/08/climate-security-council-africa-horn/>.

7 "Global Firearms Holding," *Small Arms Survey*, accessed December 9, 2021, <https://www.smallarmssurvey.org/database/global-firearms-holdings>.

8 Administratively, Kenya is divided into 47 counties. Each county is then divided into sub-counties which are individual constituencies in Kenya's national legislature. Each county is also divided into wards, each of which sends an elected representative to the local county assembly. The ward is the smallest administrative sub-unit in Kenya.

9 Haider, Huma, "Conflict Analysis of North Eastern Kenya," *K4D Emerging Issues Report*, *Institute for Development Studies*, July 2020, https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/15570/EIR%2036_Conflict_analysis_of_Northern_Kenya.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Balambala Ward is located within Balambala constituency in Garissa County (see Figure 2 for map). The ward shares its borders with Tana River County. Balambala, like the larger northeast region of Kenya, is primarily inhabited by Kenyans of Somali ethnicity (in particular, the Auliyahan and Abduwaaq sub-clans of the Ogaden clan, who contest political authority in region), but the county at-large has the highest proportion of non-Somali residents in Kenya's northeast.¹⁰ Residents of the ward mostly practice pastoral and subsistence farming. The area is principally semi-arid and is prone to severe drought in the dry season and floods in the rainy season. This mainly affects the residents' farming and livestock-keeping efforts, which sustain their food supply and livelihoods. The ward is characterized by food insecurity and high poverty levels. The low-quality infrastructure, such as connecting roads and cell phone connectivity, hampers local trade. Furthermore, due to the harsh weather conditions, many herders in the ward engage in semi-nomadic seasonal migration in search of water and pasture for the animals. Conflict is common between residents of the ward and neighboring counties, which is driven by competition over scarce resources.

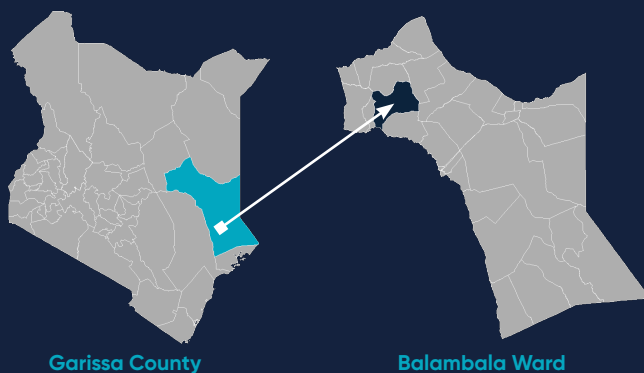
METHODOLOGY

IRI developed the *Conflict, Governance, and Legitimacy Assessment Framework* to aid organizations implementing democracy assistance programs in fragile and conflict affected areas.¹¹ This document provides a guide on how to conduct a conflict analysis that incorporates the interplay between conflict, governance, and legitimacy. The research that underpins this report was conducted according to the methodology laid-out in this framework. It begins by analyzing in detail the nature of the local conflicts in question and mapping the key actors and driving factors behind conflict. Next, the report assesses the legitimacy of key institutions and actors. Finally, the research is used to inform potential interventions to improve governance outcomes at the local level.

Case Selection

In recent years in Baringo County, violence has resulted in a severe displacement crisis, and Kenya's largest refugee community is in Garissa County. Consequently, these two counties displayed several dynamics worthy of further investigation. Accordingly, IRI selected two wards, Bartabwa Ward in Baringo County, and Balambala Ward in Garissa County, for the location of this study. IRI chose these two wards in partnership with Ipsos, the local research firm that conducted the qualitative portion of the study. Ipsos conducted a preliminary study and suggested the two wards because of some overlapping issues: both wards have a particularly high salience of conflict between non-state actors and identity-based conflict. Further, Ipsos determined that the conflict system in both wards was driven by resource scarcities (land, water, and pasture), a key variable of interest. The two wards were also selected because they seemed likely to experience conflict flare ups in the future, despite ongoing DRG or peacebuilding programming.¹² The one variable of interest on which the wards

Geographical Key



Source: IEBC/OCHA ROSEA, last updated February 20, 2020

Figure 2: Map of Balambala Ward, Garissa County

¹⁰ Wanjiru Behr, *Border, Identity and (In) Security: The Kenya-Somalia Border 1963-2016*, 2018, United States International University-Africa, <http://erepo.usiu.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11732/4574/AGNES%20WANJIRU%20BEHR%20PhD%20IR%202019.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>; International Crisis Group, "Kenya's Somali North East: Devolution and Security," November 17, 2015, <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/b114-kenya-s-somali-north-east-devolution-and-security.pdf>.

¹¹ "Conflict, Governance and Legitimacy Assessment Framework," The International Republican Institute, December 2021, <https://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/iri-conflict-governance-framework-120221.pdf>.

¹² IRI's initial criteria was that the wards be "underserved" by DRG and peacebuilding efforts. Ipsos investigated the prevalence of DRG and peacebuilding efforts in the two counties and though they could not confirm that either ward was underserved, they noted it appeared that future flare-ups were likely, suggesting the existing and recent efforts (which they listed) were not sufficient panaceas to the problem.

differed was an urban–rural divide, with Bartabwa being the more rural of the two, whereas Balambala has an urban center (Balambala town). The final selection criterion was operational: Ipsos judged that both wards did not present such grave security risks to their staff such that they might be unable to carry out the research.

Qualitative Research: Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews

IRI conducted a mixed method study in Bartabwa and Balambala Wards, respectively, to further investigate the specific issues at the intersection of conflict, governance, and local legitimacy. In each ward, the study comprised two components which probed citizens' perception of the quality of public service provision, the legitimate actors in their community, and the nature of any conflict or (in)security in the ward. The first component was qualitative and conducted by Ipsos between April 22nd and May 6th, 2021. The qualitative component of the research comprised a series of six ten-person single-identity focus group discussions (FGDs) in each ward, divided by age, ethnicity, and, in the case of Balambala Ward, gender.¹³ The breakdown of these groups, by county and ward, can be found in Annex 1.

In Bartabwa, Ipsos conducted six mixed-gender focus groups with the three main ethnic groups in the ward (Tugens, Mawakwets, and Pokots). The six FGDs in Balambala were conducted at the same time. In Balambala there were four single-gender focus groups (two men, two women) of Somali Muslims, segregated by age, and a mixed-gender focus group of non-Somali Christians under 36 years of age, and a focus group of non-Somali Christian men over the age of 36.

In addition to the FGDs, the qualitative component of the study consists of a series of seven to eight key informant interviews (KIIs) per ward. IRI's recruitment criteria for the KIIs conducted by Ipsos was for individuals who either had in-depth understanding of the ward's social dynamics or who had experience with the specific issues at hand. These included local government officials, tribal and religious leaders, journalists, and NGO leaders. The individuals' details can be found in Annex 1. Findings from the FGDs and KIIs are not necessarily representative of the opinions of all residents of the two wards included in this study.

Quantitative Research: Survey in Balambala and Bartabwa Wards

The second component of the study was a quantitative large-n, 34-question survey conducted in each ward by the Pan African Research Services (PARS). The sample size was 370 in Bartabwa Ward and 632 in Balambala. The quantitative survey was designed to complement the rich qualitative data from FGDs and KIIs and probed local perceptions of the governance in their ward, the legitimacy of different actors, as well as the local security situation. The data was collected from June 15th to June 24th in Balambala Ward, and from May 26th and June 30th in Bartabwa Ward. PARS used a multi-stage probability sampling method to design a representative sample of each ward according to data from the KNBS 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census, as well as village household estimates obtained from village administrators.¹⁴

¹³ In collaboration with Ipsos, IRI's local research firm that carried out the qualitative research, it was decided that when conducting focus groups with the Somali Muslim community in Balambala Ward (Garissa County) that single-gender focus groups would be most appropriate. This would account for the more conservative gender norms in the Somali Muslim community and encourage more open answers to questions posed by the moderators among female respondents. Issues of conflict, governance, and legitimacy are sensitive subjects. Consequently, failing to disaggregate these groups by gender could result in skewed responses because of social desirability bias (or non-response bias) on the part of female respondents.

¹⁴ In Bartabwa Ward, 370 people were surveyed. 170 of these were men, 200 were women; 167 were between the ages of 18 and 35, 203 were 36 and above. In Balambala Ward (Garissa County), 632 people were surveyed. 254 of these were men and 378 were women; 356 were in the 18–35 age bracket, 276 were 36 or above.

KEY FINDINGS

The research illuminated several key dynamics on issues of social conflict, the legitimacy of local actors, and governance in the two wards – which display striking similarities in some regards and stark differences in others. These key findings are presented according to whether they concern primarily issues of conflict or if they concern issues of legitimacy and governance. The report uses quotations from the FGDs and KIs, however, these quotations have been translated and may have been lightly edited for clarity. The speakers' original contributions, including any errors in word choice or grammar, have been preserved to the largest extent possible.

Conflict

Key Finding 1: In both locations, environmental factors drive violent conflict and security, especially the power relations that shape access to resources which are perceived to be scarce. Focus groups in both wards reveal that access to land for grazing and ownership of cattle can be a key flashpoint for violence.

Conflict in both Balambala Ward (Garissa County) and Bartabwa Ward (Baringo County) is modulated by seasonality.¹⁵ Conflicts are most acute during the dry season, when lack of rain fuels competition for pasture for grazing livestock. During the rainy season, when quality pasture is more abundant, conflicts tend to subside. A Somali woman in Balambala Ward explained how typically intercommunal conflicts are a product of scarce water and pasture during the dry season.¹⁶

In Bartabwa Ward, a female Marakwet resident noted how in dry seasons the competition for land becomes particularly acute: “The grazing land conflicts mostly occur during the dry season, like in the months of January to March, if it does not rain.”¹⁷ The view that grazing area was scarce and claims over who merited access to this important resource, was a common thread for FGD participants in both wards. A Somali man highlighted how this perceived scarcity of grazing land fosters intercommunal conflict, noting that “we have people fight over pasture and water, especially between the Borana and our people (the Abudwak tribe). It is recurring problem which is because of land disputes and insufficient grazing land for the animals.”¹⁸

Key Finding 2: In Bartabwa Ward, the marginalization of the minority Pokot community has fostered distrust.

In Bartabwa, interview participants and focus group discussants from the Tugen community often accused their Pokot neighbors of being uneducated, and sometimes of being the party to blame for initiating cattle rustling. In Baringo County more broadly, the Pokot community is not well represented politically. In the words of a journalist during a KI: “Pokots are few and have only one [parliamentary] constituency: that of Tiaty.¹⁹ As such, they feel the more dominant Tugen community is sidelining them on many issues in the county's affairs and that has always sparked conflicts. For instance, the whole cabinet [of the Baringo County government] is Tugen.”²⁰ Intercommunal conflict has resulted in fears that one group, the Pokot, have expanded territorial aims. An NGO interviewee noted that “it is not about the livestock, it's about intimidation [and] expansion... [the Pokot] want to expand their territory to make half of Baringo County theirs.”²¹ Beliefs that one (minority) group are poised to expand politically (at the expense of another

15 This aligns with research that suggests that, in recent years, many drought years in Kenya (and East Africa, more broadly) have an associated uptick in violent conflict events. See: Krätli, Saverio and Camilla Toulmin, *Farmer-herder conflict in sub-Saharan Africa*, International Institute for Environment and Development, 2020, <https://pubs.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/2021-01/102081IED.pdf>.

16 FGD participant, Somali Woman, 36+, April 23, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

17 FDG participant, Marakwet woman, 36+, April 21, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

18 FGD participant, Somali man, 36+, April 23, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

19 In Kenya, Baringo County is divided into six sub-counties which serve as the parliamentary constituencies that elect Members of Parliament to Kenya's national legislative body. Tiaty is one of these six parliamentary constituencies and a sub-county of Baringo County.

20 KI, journalist, April 25, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

21 KI, NGO worker, April 30, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

group) are worrying: an explanation behind this narrative is that the Pokot community inhabits the more drought-prone lowlands, and some seek better grazing territory which often lies in the more verdant hills, primarily inhabited by the Tugen community.²² This ultimately shapes a narrative of encroachment, and, in more severe cases, outright expansion, when the Pokot community seeks land outside of their traditional lowland areas during dry spells.²³

According to discussants from the Tugen and Marakwet communities, there is an important gendered dynamic to the conflict: that is, the issue of high bride prices – i.e., the payment made by a groom to the father or family of his betrothed.²⁴ This creates a strong incentive to plunder cattle, because without livestock, young men cannot marry as they are unable to pay the cost of the dowry.²⁵ Members of both the Marakwet and Tugen communities, especially men, raised this issue several times during the focus groups. “Young [Pokot] men who do not have livestock are ridiculed because they cannot even afford to pay dowry and get a wife,”²⁶ said one young Tugen male focus group participant, illustrating the social dynamics at play in the Pokot community. For the most part, Pokot focus group participants confirmed that the tradition of marriage dowries created a social incentive to steal livestock. A female Pokot FGD participant said “[A young man] may want to marry but does not have livestock to pay dowry... This young man will go to the neighboring community and steal livestock and then come and use the livestock as dowry and this brings about inter-communal conflicts.”²⁷ This has caused stigmatization and

fostered intercommunal conflicts between the Pokot community, a minority in both Bartabwa Ward and Baringo County, and the majority Tugen community, as well as with the Marakwets.

“ [A young man] may want to marry but does not have livestock to pay dowry... This young man will go to the neighboring community and steal livestock and then come and use the livestock as dowry and this brings about inter-communal conflicts.”

– Pokot woman, 18–35, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County

However, bride prices and dowries are not the only gendered aspect to this conflict. Indeed, female focus group participants in Bartabwa noted that women are frequently victims of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) that typically accompanies intercommunal raids. A Tugen woman said that “sometimes when the women escort the livestock, they are raped... [These] cases are rampant. The women are raped and left there then the raiders go on their way.”²⁸ This shines a light on how “cattle raiding” is often about more than stealing property, but also involves SGBV and other crimes, revealing an added gender dimension to how human security is negatively impacted by intercommunal raiding.

22 FGD participant, Pokot woman, 18–35, April 29, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County. A Pokot woman mentioned that Pokot territory is generally on lower land than their highland Tugen counterparts' land. This confirms ethnographic research on interethnic relations and cattle raiding in Baringo County, see: Greiner, Clemens. “Guns, Land, And Votes: Cattle Rustling and The Politics of Boundary (Re)Making in Northern Kenya.” *African Affairs*, vol. 112, no. 447, 2013, pp. 216–37, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43817187>.

23 This narrative of expansion, and even replacement, echoes the “threat construction” mechanism which members of an in-group use to justify the narrative that (mass) violence (against civilians) – in the face of imagined future mortal threats – is “defensive, and therefore proper and necessary.” It is particularly concerning to hear this rhetorical justification because, “Tales of future wrongdoing (threat construction) can be even more powerful than tales of past crimes (guilt attribution), since the future is frightening.” See, Leader Maynard, Jonathan and Susan Benesch, “Dangerous Speech and Dangerous Ideology: An Integrated Model for Monitoring and Prevention” *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*, Vol. 9, no. 3, 2016: 70–95, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/1911-99339.3.1317>. Similar narratives have been used to justify exclusionary policies that stop short of mass atrocities in a number of locations globally. See Fischer, Max and Amanda Taub, “Overrun, ‘Outbred,’ ‘Replaced’: Why Ethnic Majorities Lash Out Over False Fears,” *The New York Times*, April 30, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/30/world/asia/sri-lanka-populism-ethnic-tensions.html>.

24 “Bride Price,” also known as a dowry, refers to the exchange of capital from a man to the father or family of his betrothed. It has been linked to societal instability and conflict. For a more in-depth exploration of the issue, consult Valerie M. Hudson, Hilary Matfess; In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict. *International Security* 2017; 42 (1): 7–40. doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00289.

25 Schilling, Janpeter, Francis EO Opiyo, and Jürgen Scheffran. “Raiding pastoral livelihoods: motives and effects of violent conflict in north-western Kenya.” *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 2.1 (2012): 11.

26 FGD participant, Tugen man, 18–35, April 27, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

27 FGD participant, Pokot woman, 18–35, April 29, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

28 FGD participant, Tugen woman, 18–35, April 27, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

Key Finding 3: In Balambala Ward, the environmental drivers of conflict are shaped by clan dynamics.

The most frequently cited driver of conflict in Balambala was the interaction of local clan politics with pre-existing environmental causes. Indeed, the centrality of inter-clan and intra-clan relations was repeatedly cited by interviewees and focus group participants in the ward. In Balambala Ward, local clans jostle for power and influence, and seize upon conflicts related to cattle, wealth, and land. The centrality of inter-clan and intra-clan relations was repeatedly cited by interviewees and focus group participants in the ward. As individuals from one clan move onto the land of another clan, clashes occur that are driven by resource competition and longstanding clan animosity, which is typically passed from one generation to the next.

In Garissa County writ large, clan leaders often compete for political influence and control over resources in the area, with specific sub-clans dominating certain elected offices at different levels of government. Historically, almost all of Garissa's elected officials, as well as most of the county's influential families and individuals, were of the Abudwak sub-clan. However, the 2013 elections brought members of Awliyhan sub-clan into office. Shifting political and administrative boundaries, to create new parliamentary constituencies, led to violent clashes as towns dominated by one sub-clan were assigned to constituencies dominated by the other.²⁹ A Christian non-Somali male FGD participant confirms this point, noting that "Township administration is the main source of this conflict. You can get them arguing that this clan was been running the town and it is now our time."³⁰ In Balambala Ward, focus group participants noted conflict between the Abudwak and Awliyahan sub-clans, as well as between the Ogaden clan and the (non-Somali) Borana community. Indeed,

Balambala is inland and therefore proximate to areas dominated by non-Somali communities, locally termed 'outsiders,' as opposed to Somali 'locals,' which is another dimension along which social conflict in the ward plays out.³¹

According to an internal IRI report, Somali residents in the area herd their cattle to vacant pastures in neighboring Isiolo county. These pastures are used by the local Borana community, but only on a seasonal basis: the pastures are fallow because the Borana community practices a seasonal grazing scheme so that the grasses in the area close to Balambala Ward can regenerate. This way, the Borana community can return in the dry season to these more verdant pasture. However, members of the Somali community, who do not practice this kind of seasonal grazing pattern, drive their herds to the vacant regenerating pastures to graze. When herders from the Borana community return to the area, they discover their pastures have failed to regenerate because their neighbors from Balambala have grazed them down. This discovery raises intergroup tensions between the Borana in Isiolo County and their Somali neighbors in Balambala, serving as a trigger for intercommunal conflict between the two groups.³² Indeed, managing access to pasture across administrative boundaries has been cited as a key challenge that shapes conflict dynamics in this part of Garissa County.³³

29 Ngala Chome, "Violent Extremism and Clan Dynamics in Kenya," *United States Institute of Peace*, 2016, 15, <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW123-Violent-Extremism-And-Clan-Dynamics-In-Kenya.pdf>.

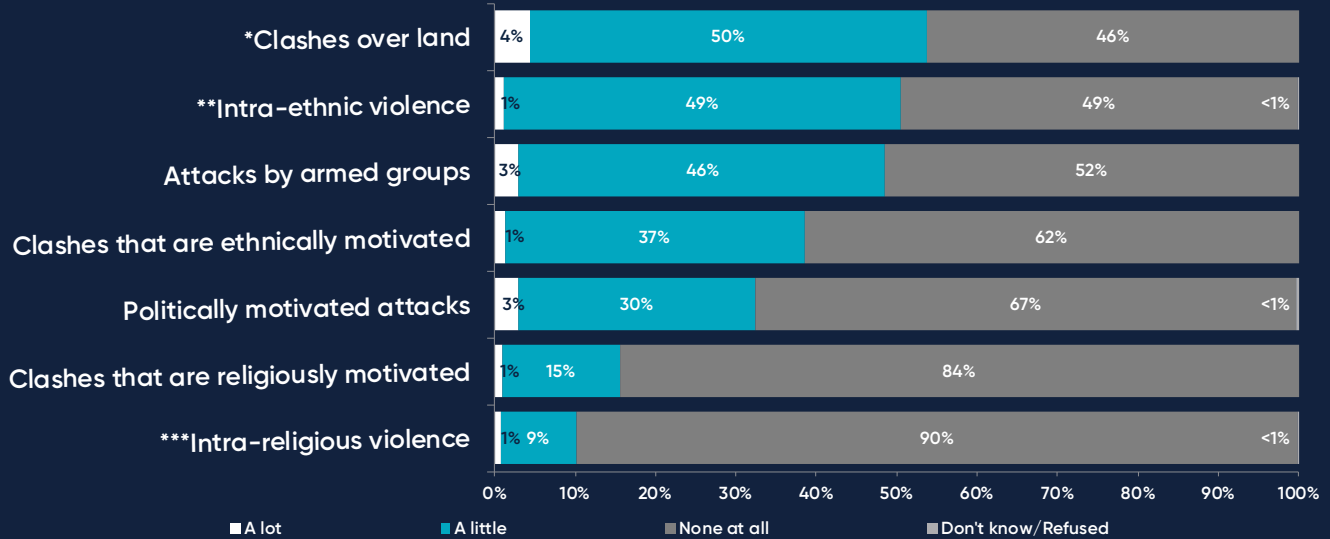
30 FGD participant, non-Somali Christian man, 36+, August 5, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

31 Wakube, Christopher, Thomas Nyagah, James Mwangi and Larry Attree, "Inside Kenya's war on terror: breaking the cycle of violence in Garissa," *Saferworld*, p.8, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58921b4b6b8f5bd75e20af7e/t/597f105886e6c03d8024f59b/1501499494866/breaking-the-cycle-of-violence-in-garissa-v2.pdf>.

32 IRI Internal Report, November 2021.

33 Wakube et al. "Inside Kenya's war on terror," p.8; Sahgal, Gayatri, Timothy Kimaiyo, Abdulrahman Hamo Mohamed, Stephen Rotich, David Karieny and Ahmed Osman Warfa, "Clan Conflict and Violent Extremism in the North-Eastern Counties of Kenya," *Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies*, 2019, pp. 7-8, https://static.rusi.org/20190628_cr_clan_conflict_and_violent_extremism.pdf.

How would you rate the level of violence in your ward for each of the following?



* "Clashes over land, i.e. boundary disputes with neighboring communities"

** "Intra-ethnic violence, i.e. fighting between people of the same clan"

*** "Intra-religious violence, i.e. fighting between people of the same religion."

Figure 3: Chart data from Balambala Ward, Garissa County

Overall, the focus group and key informant interview data aligns with the quantitative survey results, which reveal that land clashes, clan violence, and inter-ethnic violence (between Somalis and Borana) are the most common types of security concerns in the ward (see Figure 3).

Key Finding 4: In both Bartabwa and Balambala Wards, political entrepreneurs, particularly those aiming to seize upon a window of opportunity to accumulate influence, power, and votes, are seen as instigators of local-level conflict as a springboard for their political careers.

In both locations, focus group participants and interviewees noted how **insecurity increased during election periods**. "[Violence] happens

during elections... Chaos occurs during elections because one group wants people to vote for their [candidate]. They don't want the community to vote [for someone] other than their [preferred candidate],"³⁴ elucidated a woman in Balambala Ward, typifying how high-stakes political contests can turn deadly.³⁵ In both locations, several study participants blamed political figures outright for the violence: "[The political class] are the ones who are supplying the illegal firearms and the bullets,"³⁶ said a Marakwet man in Bartabwa Ward. Revealing how violence is instrumentalized by political elites for their own ends, a non-Somali Christian FGD participant in Balambala claimed that "Sometimes [politicians] use the youth to create chaos so that certain individuals cannot have a meeting at a certain place."³⁷ This underscores how the threat and strategic deployment of political violence is used to intimidate and prevent the free association of

34 FGD participant, Somali woman, 18-35, April 24, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

35 Research has shown how informal institutions governing sociopolitical interactions in many locations in Africa interact with formal political rules in majoritarian electoral systems, such as Kenya's, which creates winner-take-all dynamics, intensifying the risk of electoral violence, often directed by, or at least defined by, political elites. See Fjelde, Hanne, and Kristine Höglund. "Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa." *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2016, pp. 297-320, doi:10.1017/S0007123414000179.

36 FGD participant, Marakwet man, 18-35, April 21, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

37 FGD participant, Non-Somali Christian man, 36+, August 5, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

potential political rivals. **Recent administrative decentralization across Kenya has raised the political stakes for leaders and voters alike**, as local elected leaders wield more power and can award tenders and lucrative employment to members of their in-group. Balambala is no exception to this trend. The elevated stakes of local government and expectation of in-group favoritism incentivizes intimidation and provocation during election periods.³⁸

“ Sometimes [politicians] use the youth to create chaos so that certain individuals cannot have a meeting at a certain place.”

– Non-Somali Christian man, 36+,
Balambala Ward, Garissa County

Key Finding 5: Although a minority favor violence, tit-for-tat conflict activity between key parties can swiftly escalate into more severe forms of violence.

In both locations, the public perception of armed militia groups and those who deploy violence to advance their political or economic agenda was very negative. This is borne out in both focus group data as well as in survey response data.

In both Bartabwa Ward and Balambala Ward, there is widespread rejection of armed groups:

83 percent of respondents in both wards claimed that “the concerns of people like [them] were not reflected in the policies and actions of armed groups.” This dovetails with the 70 percent (in Balambala) and 83 percent (in Bartabwa) of those who answered that people in their ward are able to resolve their problems by working with members

of a different ethnic, religious, or tribal group. **This is a vital point of resilience for both communities:** wide majorities of the local populations prefer peaceful solutions and want to live equitably with other communities around them (see Figure 4, next page).

However, violence and **conflict in both locations had a cyclical element to it, which focus group participants made clear could spiral from small-scale criminality into widespread violence.**

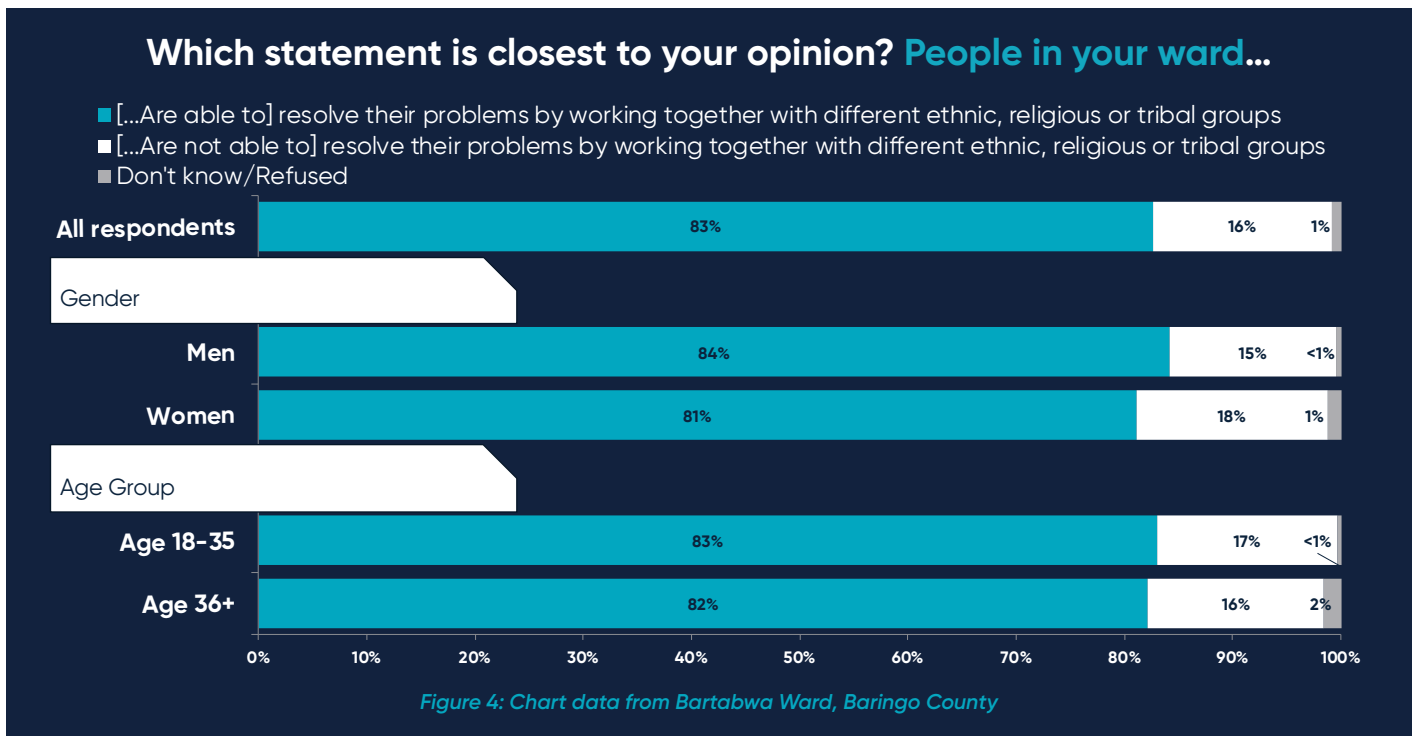
In Balambala Ward, a female Somali FGD participant explained the cyclical nature of retaliatory violence in the ward, making the point that each round of conflict over land pasture is justification for – and a contributing cause to – the next intercommunal clash.³⁹ In Bartabwa Ward, a Pokot man echoed similar sentiments, summing up the situation succinctly: “These conflicts do not just crop up like that, they start with something small, maybe someone’s goat has gone into someone’s farm and destroyed crops. Instead of the victim going to discuss the matter with the goat owner, he kills the animal. The chiefs hear about the matter and sweep it under the carpet. This will anger the owner of the slain goat and he will go for revenge. This goes on until groups are formed and this causes the conflicts to be big.”⁴⁰ It is unsurprising that low-level altercations can escalate into wider community-level conflicts,⁴¹ but it is important to remember that this does not reflect the preferences of the population at large. Although violence has been a recurring issue in both locations, there is a majority that desires a peaceful resolution to conflict. Importantly, this common desire for peace is a foundation for peacebuilding projects.

38 This dynamic was documented in the 2019 RUSI report, see Gayatri et. al., “Clan Conflict and Violent Extremism in the North-Eastern Counties of Kenya,” pp. 8-9.

39 FGD participant, Somali woman, 18-35, April 24, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

40 FGD participant, Pokot man, 18-35, April 29, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

41 This cyclical and tit-for-tat action is common in conflict zones where the main actors are often rival civilian militias, or non-state armed groups. A particularly salient recent example of this kind of retaliatory spiral violence comes from the Sahel region, where a variety of armed actors, including self-defense organizations, vigilante groups, and community-based militias have participated in localized intercommunal violence. Aggressive military tactics by state forces have added fuel to the fire, increasing civilian casualties. See: Nsaibia, Heni and Clionadh Raleigh, “The Sahelian Matrix of Political Violence,” *The Hoover Institute*, September 21, 2021, <https://www.hoover.org/research/sahelian-matrix-political-violence>.



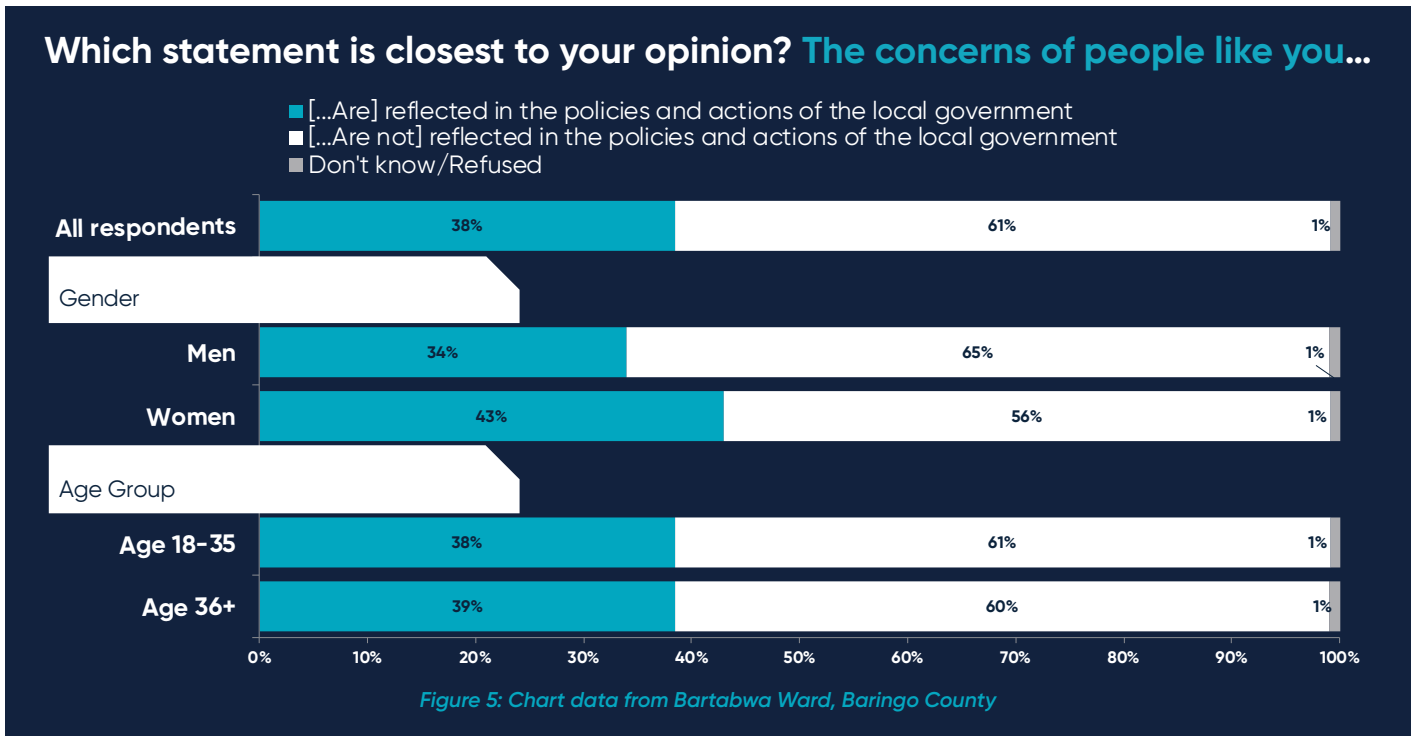
Legitimacy & Governance

Key Finding 6: In both Balambala and Bartabwa Wards, no single actor is viewed as overwhelmingly legitimate by a broad consensus.

Of the governance actors mentioned in the survey, no actor was viewed as legitimate by more than 67 percent of the population of each of the two wards studied. Respondents viewed **local elders, tribal, and traditional elites as some of the most legitimate actors in their governance systems.** It is notable that in Balambala Ward almost two thirds of the population view the local customary and religious elites as legitimate, they were almost 10 points ahead of the national government and local government authorities respectively. In Bartabwa Ward, the national government enjoyed similar rates of legitimacy as traditional and religious elites. However, respondents perceived local government officials to be less legitimate than their national government, traditional, and religious elites. Indeed, in Bartabwa Ward **61 percent of residents do not feel as if the concerns of people like them are reflected in the policies**

and actions of their local government (see Figure 5, next page). This perception that local government is not working for the people of the ward is a real challenge. Indeed, data from the qualitative portion of the study suggests that this may be because local government actors are perceived to be absent from the community, and only present during election time.

Presence in the community is a key factor for understanding which actors are legitimate. In both Balambala and Bartabwa, actors who are viewed as providing essential services and who respond to the needs of the community are understood to have higher levels of legitimacy. It should come as no surprise that local elites, who are seen as providers of essential services, are viewed as more legitimate. However, even Western NGOs can be perceived as legitimate provided they act in concert with local authorities and provide services to the communities they serve. For example, the FGDs and KIs in Bartabwa revealed that World Vision and the Red Cross' provision of clean water, latrines, and educational services enhanced their legitimacy.



Key Finding 7: The relative illegitimacy of local government actors undermines their effectiveness at providing governance solutions to issues of conflict and insecurity.

In both wards, populations appear to prefer to resolve disputes and non-violent conflict through non-state traditional and/or religious authorities. This legitimacy of local, religious, and traditional authorities appears to be rooted in two dynamics: their superior utility as a mechanism for dispute resolution and the fact that they fill gaps in service provision. The slower speed, costlier nature, and ineffectiveness of official channels for dispute resolution not only harms the legitimacy of formal government actors but enhances the relative legitimacy of other governance providers: "You will spend a lot of money when you involve the government, they will ask for bribes and other things, but elders don't ask for anything,"⁴² said one Somali woman in Balambala Ward, describing the situation. A Pokot FGD respondent made a similar point, noting how traditional elders act as peace envoys: "Peace and unity efforts are done by the chiefs and the elders," in contrast to the elected political officials who "do not even come to the ground to unite us."⁴³ In both locations, very few respondents claimed that formal legal

mechanisms or the security forces would be their first (or second) stop for dispute resolution in a variety of scenarios.

“ You will spend a lot of money when you involve the government, they will ask for bribes and other things, but elders don't ask for anything.”

– Somali woman, 36+, Balambala Ward, Garissa County

In both communities, the police and Kenyan armed forces suffer from a crisis of legitimacy: only 30 percent of survey respondents in Bartabwa and 35 percent of the respondents in Balambala viewed the police as among individuals or groups that they consider a legitimate authority. Tellingly, the surveys show that in both wards, very few of the respondents admit to going to the police first to resolve non-violent or even violent criminal disputes. Only one in five respondents in

42 FGD participant, Somali woman, 36+, April 23, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

43 FGD participant, Pokot man, 18-35, April 29, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

What/whom do you feel most threatened by when you leave your home?

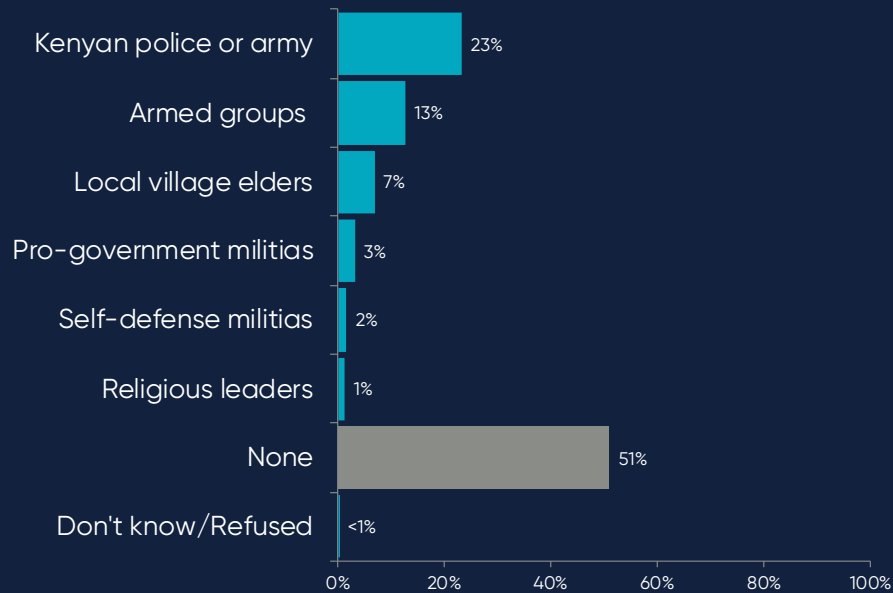


Figure 6: Chart data from Balambala Ward, Garissa County

Balambala reported going to the police as a first resort to resolve an issue of violent crime such as murder, assault, or sexual assault. In Bartabwa, this figure is even lower, with only one in seven reporting going to the police as a first response in these situations. Even more worryingly, in Balambala Ward, when residents were asked who they felt most threatened by outside of their home, 23 percent of respondents answered, “the Kenyan police/army,” (see Figure 6) suggesting the security services are considered by many to be producing the very insecurity they are nominally meant to be resolving.⁴⁴

Key Finding 8: The superior legitimacy of informal actors for resolving community-level conflicts

Unsurprisingly then, the communities in both wards rely first on local nonstate resolution mechanisms for disputes over water and land. When asked

who they would call first to resolve a non-violent criminal issue, Bartabwa Ward survey respondents answered overwhelmingly (93 percent) that local leaders (either local chiefs or village elders) would be their first point of call. In contrast, only 2 percent said that they would call the police first. In Balambala Ward, the figures were 86 percent and 8 percent respectively (see Figure 7, next page). Focus group participants in both communities vocalized this point of view. A female Somali FGD participant in Balambala explained how clan elders form the backbone of local dispute resolution mechanisms and they are considered such an efficacious means of resolving tensions that even her local chief turns to them to resolve issues problems.⁴⁵ This preference to resolve disputes through local nonstate channels remains even when disputes turn violent and involve murder, sexual assault, or kidnapping.⁴⁶

44 It is unsurprising that in Balambala Ward the security actors suffer from a legitimacy deficit, given the fact that their hard approach to counterterrorism (and against Somali Kenyans more generally) may have undermined their reputation among local populations in the region, see Gayatri *et. al.*, “Clan Conflict and Violent Extremism in the North-Eastern Counties of Kenya,” pp. 27–28.

45 FGD participant, Somali woman, 36+, April 23, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

46 The simultaneous operation of non-state/informal justice sectors (through elders and traditional elites) could be described as “legal pluralism,” i.e., a system in which nonstate/traditional elites, instead of formal state courts, offer dispute resolution services. The structure of these mechanisms can often be exclusionary, and sometimes they are a function of a weakness in state capacity, in that nonstate governance providers are filling a space where state actors are not. The existence of nonstate dispute resolution does not always represent a challenge to state authority, indeed, given that this appears to be an accepted method of dispute resolution it could be termed “cooperative” or even “complementary” legal pluralism. See, Swenson, Geoffrey, “Legal Pluralism in Theory and Practice,” *International Studies Review*, 20, 2018, pp.438–462, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viy019>

If you, your family member, or friend was involved in a dispute over [non-violent crime like theft], where would you first go for justice/dispute resolution? And where would you go next?

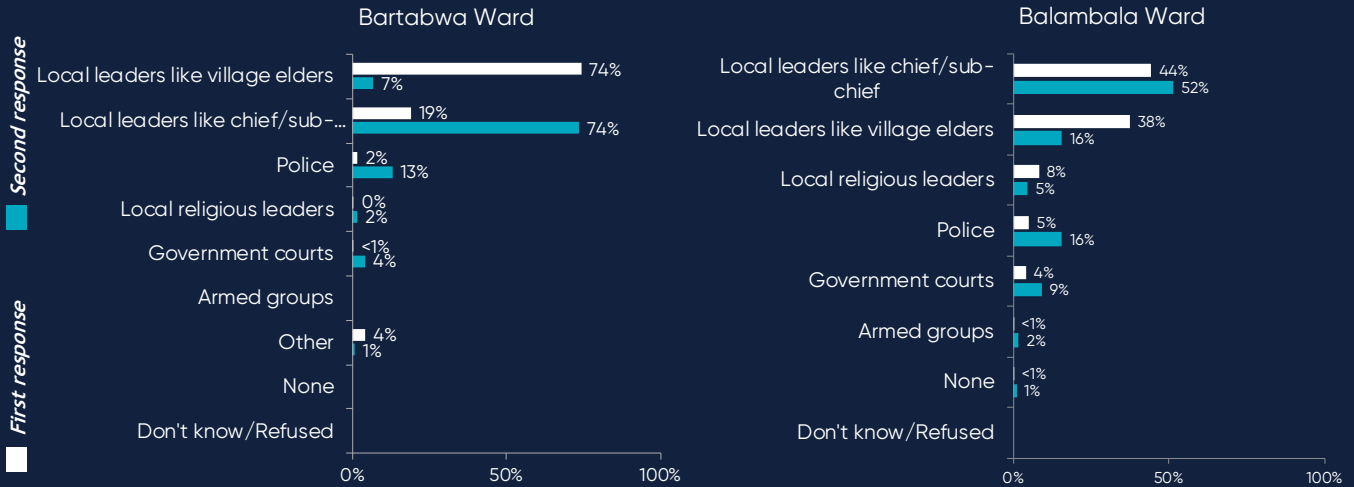


Figure 7: Chart data from Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County & Balambala Ward, Garissa County

That said, when it comes to violent conflict and crime, respondents in both communities did claim they would be more somewhat more likely to turn to formal state actors first (i.e., the local police and the court system) to resolve the matter. In Balambala Ward: 26 percent of respondents said they would turn to formal state authorities (police and the court system) first in the case of violent

crime. In Bartabwa Ward, this number rose 15 percent. Nevertheless, in the case of both wards, the respondents view local leaders (chiefs, sub-chiefs, village elders, etc.) as their first port of call for resolving issues of violent crime (see Figure 8).

If you, your family member, or friend was involved in a dispute over [violent crime, like physical or sexual assault, murder or kidnapping], where would you first go for justice/dispute resolution? And where would you go next?

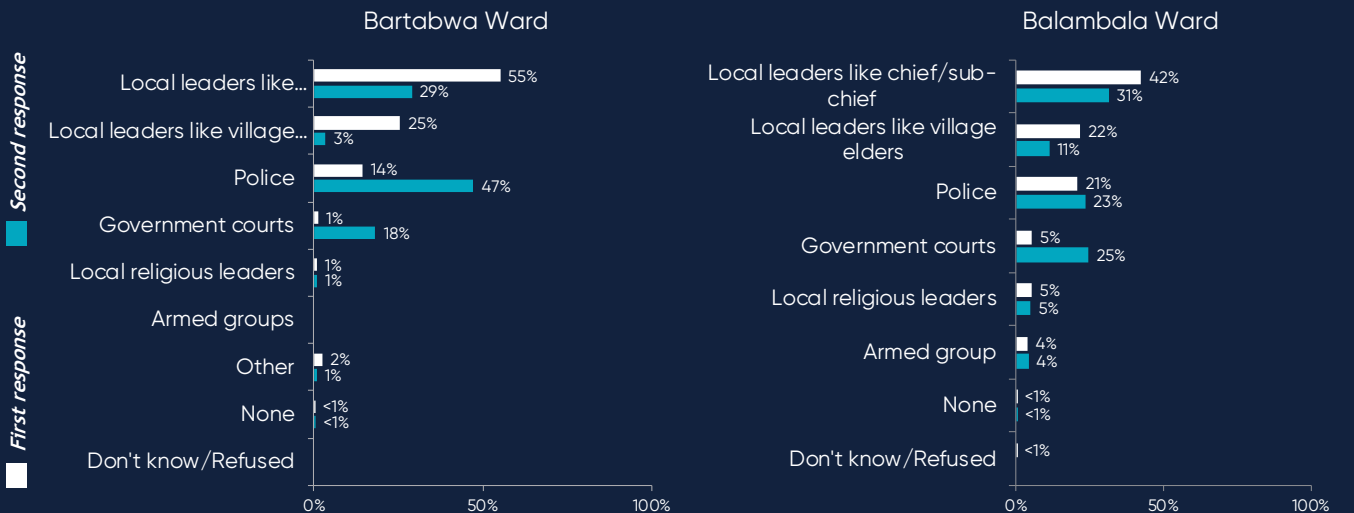


Figure 8: Chart data from Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County & Balambala Ward, Garissa County

However, portraying all local and traditional elites as legitimate because they are closer to the population can obscure the extent to which they can act in a predatory manner. Discussants in Bartabwa Ward revealed how local elites are often to blame for security problems and pointed out that sometimes local business interests and traditional elites work together in criminal activity such as cattle rustling. This aligns with research suggesting traders and business interests are marketing these stolen animals in places as far away as Nairobi or even Uganda.⁴⁷ Indeed, in Balambala Ward, clan leaders jostling for political and economic power have contributed to local insecurity (mentioned in Key Finding 3). This is another manifestation of how local elites are oftentimes just as implicated in conflict as they are in resolving its underlying issues.

Key Finding 9: Women are excluded from formal decision-making

In both Balambala and Bartabwa Wards women play a key role in conflict resolution especially as dispute mediators at the family level, even though in public they are largely excluded from decision-making and tend to defer to their male counterparts. "We have a role since women are the mothers, wives, and sisters of all the men who are taking part in the conflicts and fights. Initially, women had no role in solving problems but since things got tough recently, the society has understood the importance of engaging women in solving problems. This is because of the nature of their relationship with men,"⁴⁸ one Somali woman in Balambala clarified. The survey results suggest that it is not socially acceptable for women to participate in public decision-making in Balambala. Indeed, 47 percent of the survey respondents (including 40 percent of women) said that people in their community were not comfortable when women participated in decision-making (see Figure 9, next page).

Although the communal perception of the acceptability of women's public participation in Bartabwa is not quite as stark, with 74 percent of respondents (including 79 percent of men) answering that people in their ward were comfortable with women being included in

“ The community [has] the perception that ladies cannot come up with helpful ideas, so we are kept at bay. Even the barazas (community public forums) are only attended by men.”

– Tugen woman, 18–35+, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County

decision-making, there is no doubt that women remain a marginalized group when it comes to participating in the local governance of their community. Indeed, one young Tugen woman explained how women's voices are excluded: "the community [has] the perception that ladies cannot come up with helpful ideas, so we are kept at bay. Even the barazas [community public forums] are only attended by men."⁴⁹ Pokot FGD participants made a similar point, noting that women are not expected to voice their opinions on matters of peace in their community. A Pokot woman said "The women, according to Pokot culture, should not speak in a gathering where men are present. But because of getting education and embracing religion, women are now slowly getting a voice. But when it comes to the peace meetings, women are not allowed to give their opinions."⁵⁰

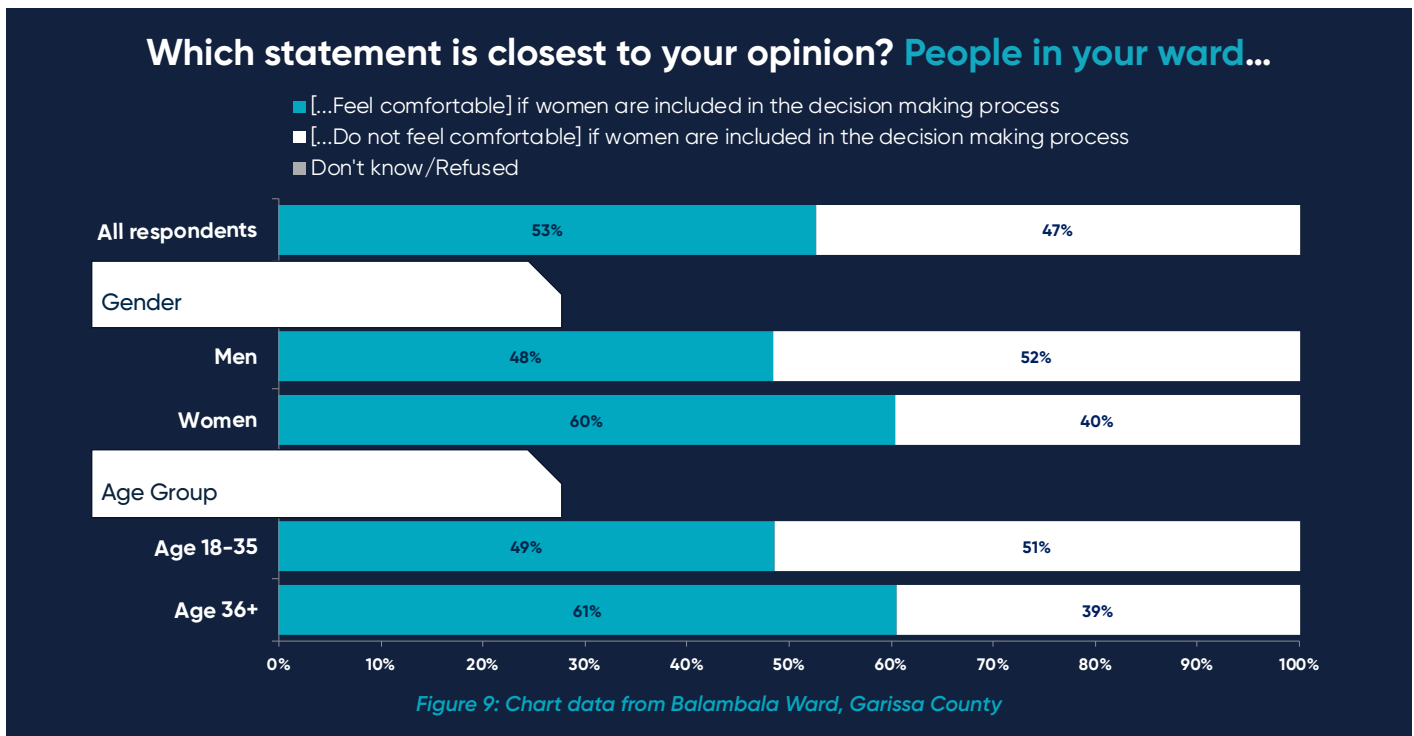
This provides a challenge when addressing governance and conflict. When communities discount the voices and opinions of women as unimportant, they can overlook issues that primarily affect women. The real-world consequences of this are plain to see, as mentioned in Key Finding 2 earlier in this report, as women in Bartabwa have been victims of sexual and gender-based violence during cattle rustling raids. These issues – and a local perspective on how to address them – could go unheeded if women are not legitimate participants in public fora.

47 Greiner, "Guns, Land, And Votes," 220; and Schilling, "Raiding pastoral livelihoods," 9.

48 FGD participant, Somali woman, 36+, April 23, 2021, Balambala Ward, Garissa County.

49 FGD participant, Tugen woman, 18–35, April 27, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.

50 FGD participant, Pokot woman, 18–35, April 29, 2021, Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION IN BALAMBALA AND BARTABWA WARDS

This final section provides some recommendations for governance actors in the two wards which, if implemented, could mitigate conflict. As mentioned before, although the research is specific, some of its lessons are general in nature and could be applied elsewhere. These recommendations are informed by the key findings of the study (including the qualitative and quantitative portion of the study). During the FGDs, participants also suggested improved ways to mitigate and manage conflicts in Balambala Ward (in Garissa County) and Bartabwa Ward (in Baringo County) and their specific suggestions have been included in the list of recommendations. These recommendations are by no means definitive, nor are they a cure-all for the challenges presented by social conflict in these wards. Nevertheless, their effective implementation could, in part, lead to better management of the conflict landscape in each ward.

Ensure that conflict prevention interventions align with the seasonal nature of conflict

Governance actors, including formal governance providers, NGOs, and community-based organizations, should **target and tailor their interventions around seasonal grazing patterns**. Focus group participants in Balambala asked for interventions during the dry season, when migratory herding is most common, so that the causes of conflict can be addressed when the potential for strife is at its highest. Study participants in Bartabwa Ward echoed this point in their focus groups. This does not mean that interventions should not take place during the rainy season, only that the types of interventions may need to shift depending on the season. For example, since seasonal migration between areas (and regions) is greater during the dry season, and the chance of conflict is higher, communities should bolster intergroup communication by ensuring that peace committees are properly staffed and able to respond to issues in a timely fashion.

Engage legitimate actors with a stake in peaceful intercommunal relations

In both wards, participants emphasized that it was **critical to engage legitimate grassroots actors** (from the groups and communities affected by issues of conflict) in promoting peace **via participatory community meanings**. Groups in both wards said it would be **beneficial to keep political actors who have a vested interest in inciting tensions out of these meetings**. It is important that these actors use existing mechanisms (such as peace committees), or third-party arbiters (in some cases, NGOs) that are perceived by both parties as impartial to resolve local-level conflicts most effectively.

Foster intercommunal understanding through shared positive experiences.

This can reinforce a sense of community across groups affected by issues of conflict. In both Balambala and Bartabwa focus group participants noted that **intercommunal sporting events have the benefit of increasing social tolerance** and ensure that youth – some of the most frequent participants in conflict – are engaged in peaceful communal activities during their leisure time. Participants in both wards emphasized that **local-level traditional leaders**, typically some of the most highly legitimate actors at the local level, **should spearhead intercommunal peace rallies** to encourage mutual understanding and convey the importance of peace.

Improve the legitimacy of security sector actors and curtail security sector abuses

Formal security actors in both locations need to play a role in **working with rather than against local populations** when it comes to advancing security. Bartabwa Ward FGD participants noted that the ward had a history of community policing programs, which relied on civil society actors and young people from across different communities. However, this was shut down, despite its successes in curbing violence. **Reviving programs for which there appears to be local demand** could be a

way for local security actors to improve their image, as well as their effectiveness in reducing violence. Frustrations in Balambala Ward over security force injustices driven by national level counterinsurgency policies appear to be deep-seated. In both wards, local government actors (in collaboration with their counterparts at the national level) should work to **curb security force abuses** and encourage a softer approach to boost public trust.

Integrate women's perspectives on conflict management

In both locations, local actors should engage with women peacebuilders and listen to their concerns. This goes **beyond merely making sure women have a seat at the table**, but that they have the confidence to speak up so other actors can hear their voices. Indeed, it is critical that women's participation does not simply lead to a tokenized presence. This can be a challenge, especially in settings where women's voices have been traditionally disregarded in public fora. However, to avoid the exclusion of women's voices in communal decision-making, influential actors need to see that not only are women participating but also that their opinions and feedback are being incorporated into local plans and activities.

Coordinate local government action to increase community engagement and promote peace

Discussants across both wards implored the government to take action to resolve the most critical community needs, including insecurity. This can include **liaising with local leaders**, disarming fighters, providing social and economic opportunities, and **expanding avenues for engagement across various sub-locations**. For example, a Tugen man from Balambala called on members of the county assembly to implement projects related to youth engagement and to promote effective and non-violent means of redressing grievances. Government-led conflict mitigation projects can go a long way in building trust and reinvigorating the legitimacy of government institutions.

ANNEX 1: QUALITATIVE DATA SOURCES

Breakdown of Focus Groups

Focus Group Participant Information			
County & Ward	Ethnic Identity	Gender	Age
Baringo, Bartabwa	Tugens	Mixed Gender	18–35 years
Baringo, Bartabwa	Tugens	Mixed Gender	36+ years
Baringo, Bartabwa	Marakwets	Mixed Gender	18–35 years
Baringo, Bartabwa	Marakwets	Mixed Gender	36+ years
Baringo, Bartabwa	Pokots	Mixed Gender	18–35 years
Baringo, Bartabwa	Pokots	Mixed Gender	36+ years
Garissa, Balambala	Somali	Women	18–35 years
Garissa, Balambala	Somali	Women	36+ years
Garissa, Balambala	Somali	Men	18–35 years
Garissa, Balambala	Somali	Men	36+ years
Garissa, Balambala	Non-Somali (Christian)	Mixed Gender	18–35 years
Garissa, Balambala	Non-Somali (Christian)	Men	36+ years

Breakdown of Key Informant Interviews

County & Ward	Role	Title
Baringo, Bartabwa	Government Official	Area Sub Chief
Baringo, Bartabwa	NGO Member	Reconcile
Baringo, Bartabwa	NGO Member	Red Cross Representative
Baringo, Bartabwa	Journalist	Freelance Journalist
Baringo, Bartabwa	Traditional Leader	Tugen Tribal Leader
Baringo, Bartabwa	Traditional Leader	Pokot Tribal Leader
Baringo, Bartabwa	Traditional Leader	Marakwet Tribal Leader
Garissa, Balambala	Government Official	Ward Administrator
Garissa, Balambala	Government Official	Area Chief
Garissa, Balambala	NGO Member	Mercy Corps
Garissa, Balambala	NGO Member	Red Cross Representative
Garissa, Balambala	Radio	Star FM Radio Journalist
Garissa, Balambala	Journalist	Kulmiye FM Radio Journalist
Garissa, Balambala	Religious Leader	Christian Pastor
Garissa, Balambala	Religious Leader	Imam

ANNEX 2: DEMOGRAPHIC AND IDENTITY BREAKDOWN OF QUANTITATIVE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

Demographics and Identity in Bartabwa Ward

Demographic Data on Survey Participants

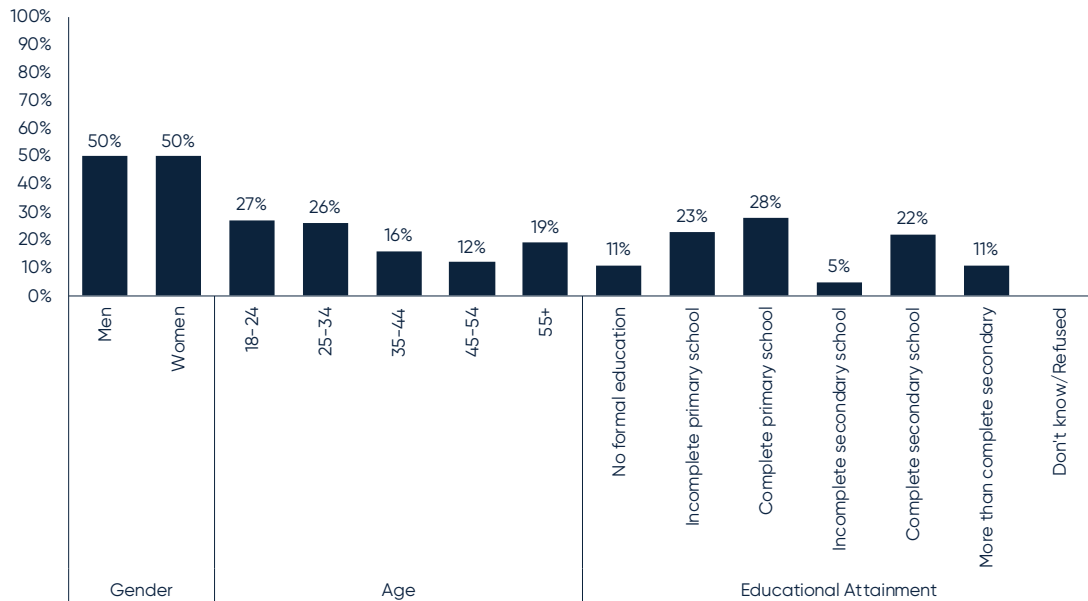


Figure 10: Chart data from Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County

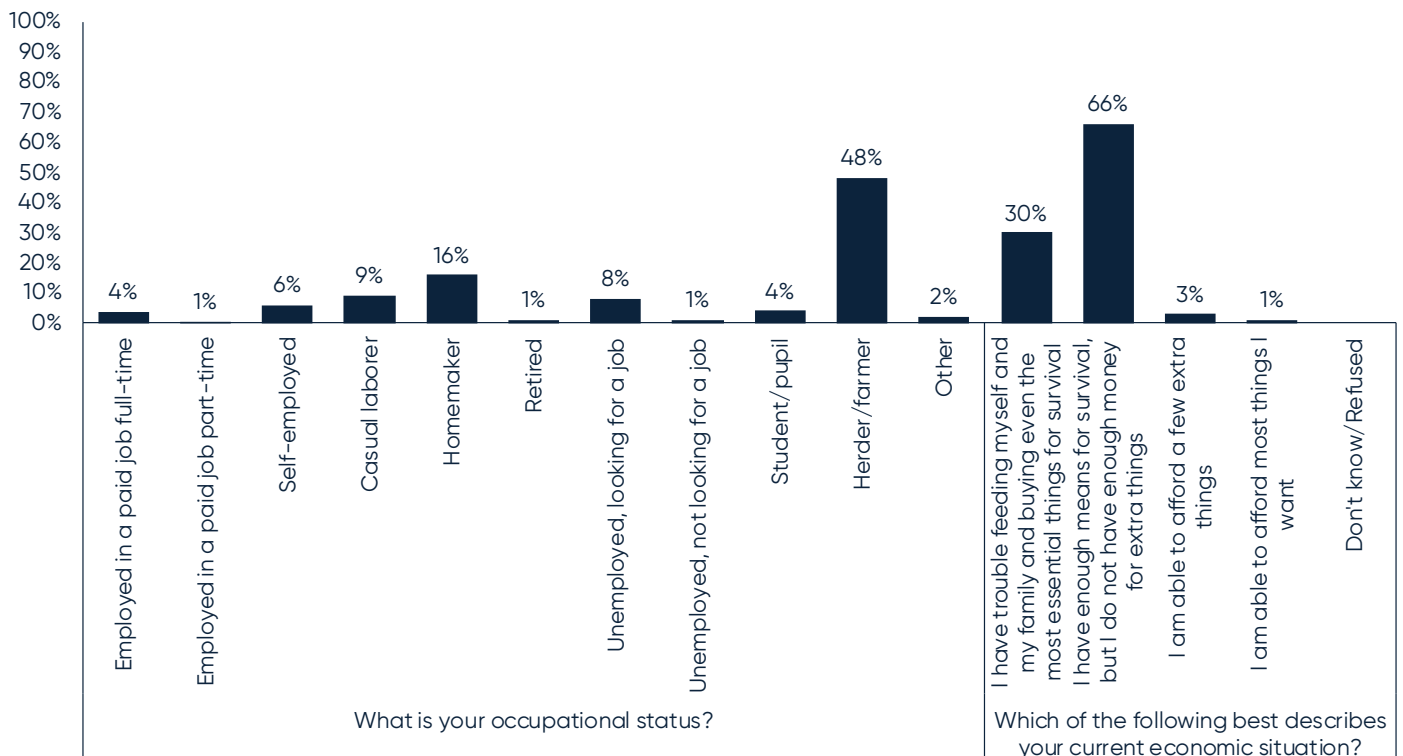


Figure 11: Chart data from Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County

Self Reported Identity of Survey Participants

People choose to define themselves in different ways. What would you think is your dominant identity from the following list? Please name the top three, in order of importance to you.

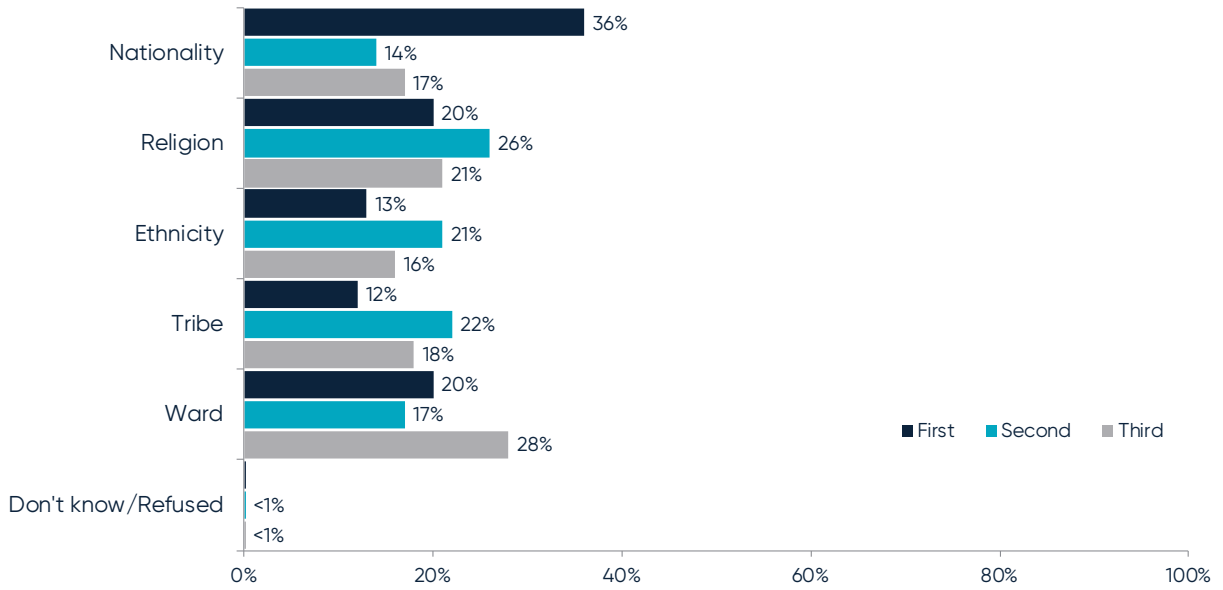


Figure 12: Chart data from Bartabwa Ward, Baringo County

Demographics and Identity in Balambala Ward

Demographic Data on Survey Participants

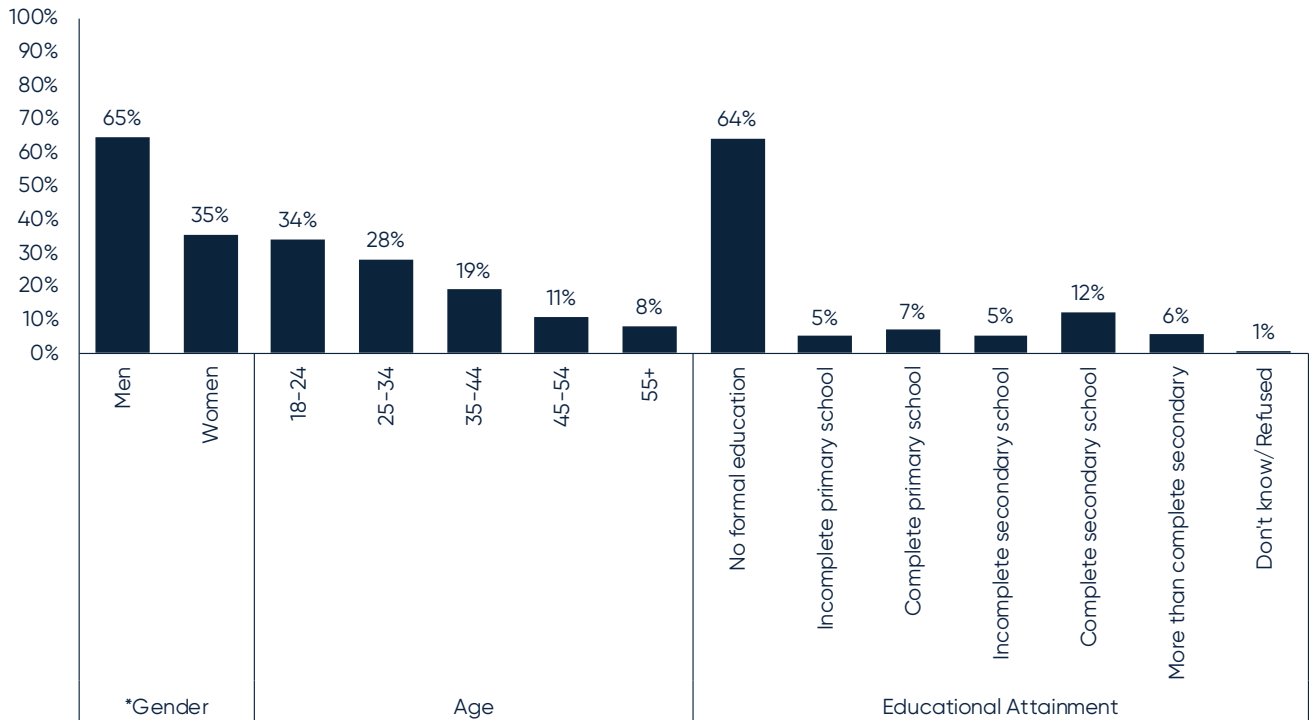


Figure 13: Chart from Balambala Ward, Garissa County

*The achieved sample for Balambala Ward exhibited an overrepresentation of female respondents (60%) compared to the 2019 ward-level parameters from KNBS (35%). This has been addressed through weighting down female respondents, however this gender distortion should still be noted when analyzing the survey results.

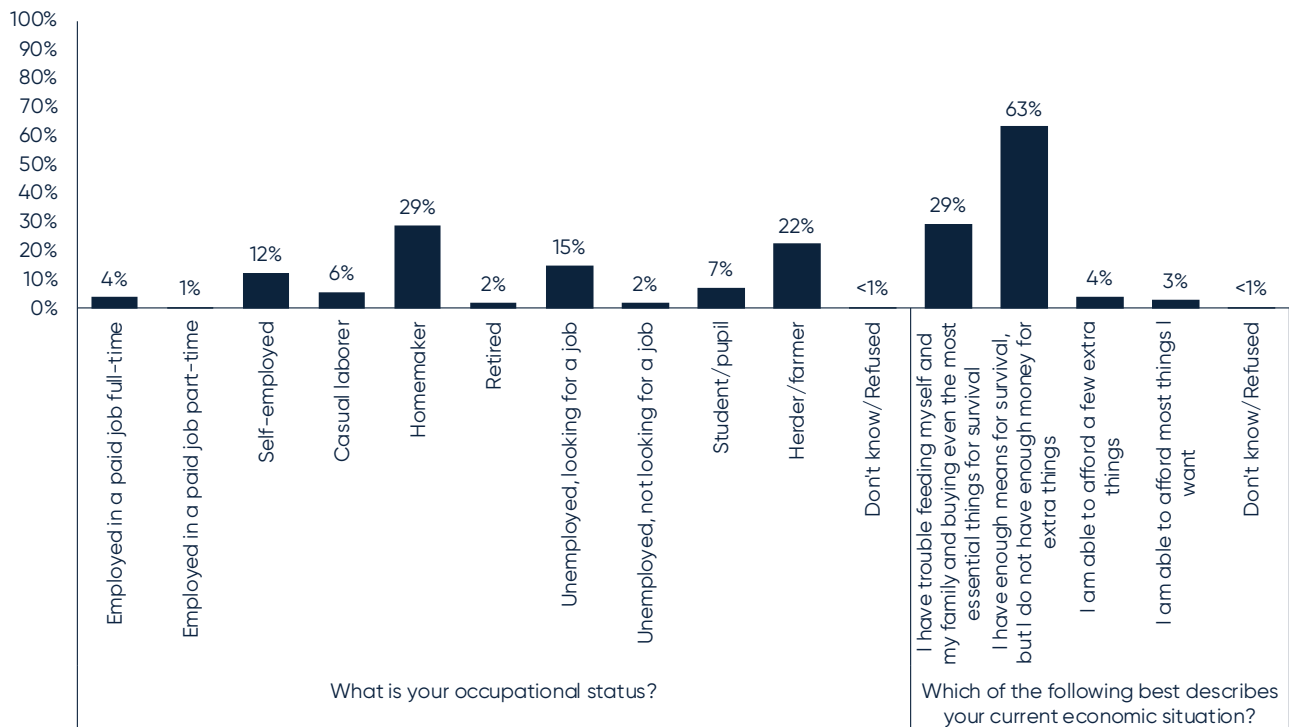


Figure 14: Chart from Balambala Ward, Garissa County

Self Reported Identity of Survey Participants

People choose to define themselves in different ways. What would you think is your dominant identity from the following list? Please name the top three, in order of importance to you.

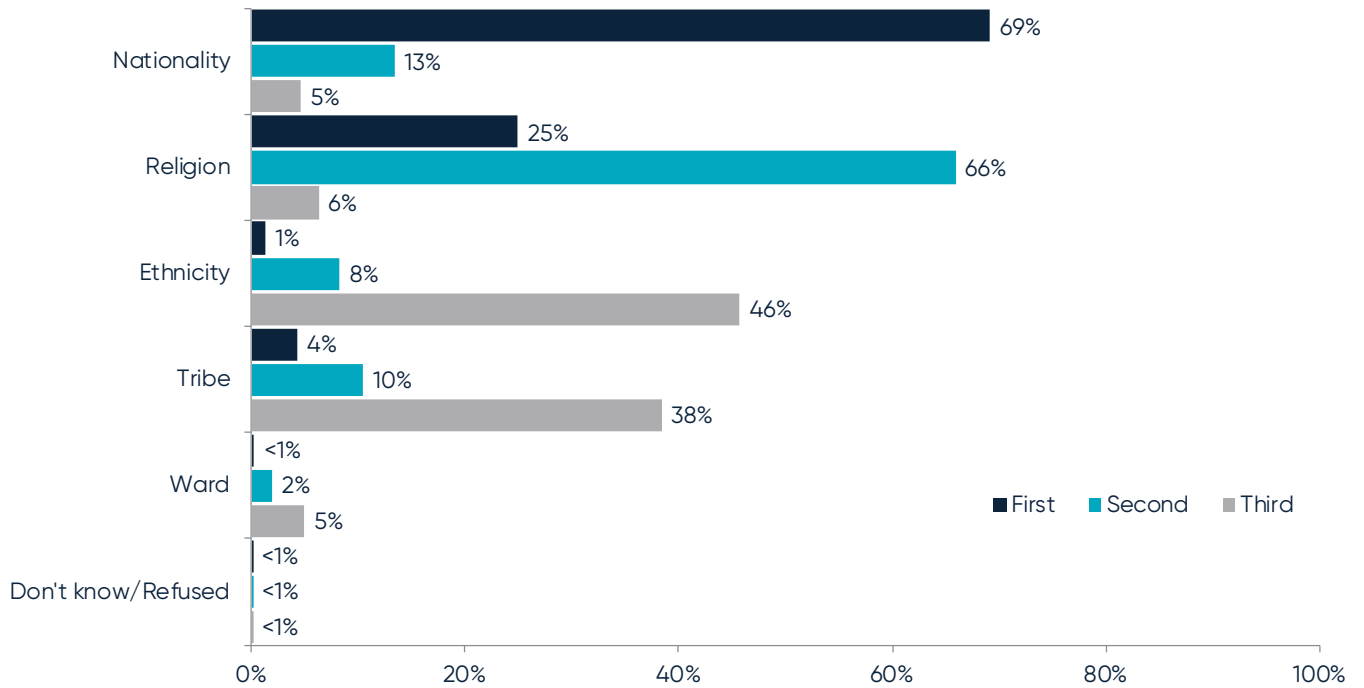


Figure 14: Chart from Balambala Ward, Garissa County

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