PROBING DIPLOMACY ON RESOURCE CONFLICTS BETWEEN KENYA AND SOUTH SUDAN

BY

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NOVEMBER, 2011
DECLARATION

I, Michael Majok Ayom Dor, hereby declare that this mini-dissertation submitted to the University of Fort Hare for the Degree of Master in Public Administration, to the best of my knowledge, is original and has not previously been submitted for any degree at this or any other university. This mini-dissertation is my own work in design and execution and all the material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

Signed…………………………………..

Date…………………………………….

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DEDICATION

To the many martyrs and wounded heroes who have sacrificed their time and life to bring final peace to South Sudan, among them being Dr. John Garang De Mabior and Justice Martin Majier Gai.

To my commander and friend, Comrade Gen. Salva Kiir Mayardit, who deserves sincere appreciation for his relentless commitment to sparing my life; at perhaps ‘when I was close to death, he revived me and introduced to life anew’

To my dear and beloved Father Martyr Executive Chief, Ayom Dor Aliepnyang, who inspired me to be educated.

To my mum, Aciec Malual Ariik, and my late wife, Martha Yar Tupchai, who were sources of courage and strength during my studies.

To my children Dor and Ador who understood why their father was not always at home, instead they lost their parental love and care and were my unwavering source of faith and love. I thank you for your utmost dedication.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I appreciate and acknowledge the valuable contributions, towards the success of this study, made by numerous individuals. It is impossible for me to single out individuals for my indebted acknowledgement; although only a handful are mentioned here, the list is not exhaustive as numerous people have contributed in one way or another during my studies.

Foremost, I wish to offer my thanks to Professor Modimowabarwa Hendrick Kanyane for having identifying potential of and critical role played by freedom fighters in nation building. I am obliged to register a vote of thanks to him as a mentor and coach, during my studies, and for encouraging me to finish this work through his insightful and constructive criticisms.

I also wish to extend a particular thanks to Hon. Philip Thon Leek who enrolled me in the distance learning programme at the University of Fort Hare (without consulting me), during the war of liberation. Thank you for always encouraging me to achieve academic prestige and knowledge.

Finally, I appreciate and acknowledge the effort made by distinguished personalities, among others: Gen, Dr. Majak D’Agoot Atem, Gen Taban Deng Gai, Gen Kuol Manyang Juuk, Gen Deng Alor Kuol, Gen Oyay Deng Ajak, Gen Wilson Deng Kuoiropt, Major Gen Malual Ayom Dor, Mr. Hussein Mar Nyuot, Rev. Gabriel Gai Riam, Artist Panchol Deng Ajang, James Reng Deng, Agnes Gwarinda Shungu and Dr. Michael Brophy of the African Education Trust (AET), who all played a vital role in availing their financial and moral assistance in the completion of my studies in South Africa.
ABSTRACT

The diversity of African Conflicts has become a field of inquiry and drawn the attention of many scholars who wish to theorize the origin of these conflicts. Such conflicts were perceived, in many ways, as originating from a colonial legacy. However, conflicts over natural resources have always played a role in human society, and have retarded socio-development in many countries. Guy Martin acknowledges that, over the last 40 years, Africa has been and continues to be one of the most conflict-ridden regions of the world; this has resulted in untold human suffering (Guy, 2002:185-188). This study focuses on resource conflicts and their outcomes on Public Administration as a discipline. The discussion offers a theoretical review of academic literature in combination with an analysis of the feature of resource conflicts and the relevant policies which govern conflict resolution and management.

According to Terry et al (2007:32), “these two regions suffered from developmental and educational ignorance”. Most of the people living in this area are pastoralists; as such, the violence emanating from cattle rustling within Sudan and across its borders with Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia continues to erode their moral fabric. The remoteness of the area has caused it to be a landscape of conflicts and insecurity and might have been cause for the paralysis of public administration and, in turn, reflected in poor service delivery.

During the course of the study, an orderly and systematic use of mixed methods was chosen, since quantitative and qualitative research methods were found to be complementary rather than oppositional approaches. Using both prominent and modest collection procedures, the methods employed in this study proved to be practical and useful.

The study examines resource conflict between the Turkana of Kenya and the Toposa of South Sudan. It suggests practical strategies and mechanisms by which the problem will be ameliorated, here and elsewhere, in as far as providing effective and efficient service delivery to the community without fail.
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADFL</td>
<td>Alliance Democratic Forces for Liberation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADFLC</td>
<td>Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADLC</td>
<td>Alliance Democratic Liberation for Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BATNA</td>
<td>Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBBEE</td>
<td>Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOMA</td>
<td>Means the basic administrative unit of the County which shall exercise deconcentrated powers within a county (Local Government, 2009: Section 2.1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CODESA</td>
<td>Convention for a Democratic South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOP</td>
<td>Declaration of Principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community Monitoring Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Western African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Inter-Governmental Authority on Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IGADD</td>
<td>Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISDSC</td>
<td>Interstate Defence and Security Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAM</td>
<td>Joint Assessment Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMC</td>
<td>Joint Military Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLC</td>
<td>Congo Liberation Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NANS</td>
<td>National Alliance for National Salvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAYAM</td>
<td>Means the second tier of the local government which is the coordinative unit of a County and which exercises delegated powers from the County Executive in the Republic of South Sudan (Local Government Act, 2009: Section 2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Congolese Rallying for Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLA</td>
<td>Sudan People’s Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLM</td>
<td>Sudan People’s Liberation Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistics Package for Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITA</td>
<td>Unidad Nacionale Independent Totale for Angola</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNOMC</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in the Republic of Congo</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Africa is well known as a home to some of the largest deposits of natural resources in the world. Nigeria, Angola, Algeria and Libya together produce a substantial portion of the world’s crude oil; South Africa and several other African countries are a major source of the world’s gold output; Botswana, the DRC, and Sierra Leone are major sources of diamonds, while other strategic minerals such as chrome, coltont, bauxite and manganese are major export products of a number of African countries. A good proportion of the world’s tropical hard wood, coffee, cocoa and rubber exports are produced in Africa. The foreign exchange earnings from these, and other natural resources, constitute a major source of Africa’s income. However, unfortunately in much of the eastern DRC, the illegal exploitation of natural resources has contributed to continuing violence and instability. In Liberia, the illegal exploitation of timber and other natural resources has, in a similar fashion, helped to fuel that country’s civil war, which is now thankfully at an end. In Angola, the illegal exploitation of diamond resources was a major source of funding for the UNITA rebellion. These and other examples illustrate the negative role that natural resources have played in a number of African conflicts. Several UN reports have, in recent years, tried to assemble the facts about this phenomenon (Legwaila, 2006:1).

Conflicts over natural resources have always played a role in human society, and have retarded socio-development in many countries. Guy Martin acknowledges that, over the last 40 years, Africa has been and continues to be one of the most conflict-ridden regions of the world, which has resulted in untold human suffering. He further argues “that at the international level, sacrosanct principles such as sovereignty, territorial intensity, and the sanctity of existing borders are being challenged while new ones, such as international humanitarian interventions are emerging” (Guy, 2002:185-188). At the sub-regional level, regional authorities have often acted as facilitators in conflict management and resolution (for example, the involvement of the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Somali and Southern Sudanese conflicts).
Despite all the signs of hope for peaceful coexistence, the two areas of Northern Kenya (the North Rift Region) and South Sudan (Eastern Equatoria State) were still dominated by conflicts and insecurity. Eastern Equatoria State comprises the counties of Torit, Lalon/Lopa, Magwi, Ikotos, Budi, Kapoeta North, Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East, whereas the North Rift Region of Kenya is comprised of Turkana, West Pokot, Trans-Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Marakwet, Baringo and Samburu districts. According to Terry et al (2007:32), “these two regions suffered from developmental and educational ignorance”. Most of the people living in this area are pastoralists; as such, the violence emanating from cattle rustling within Sudan and across its borders with Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia continues to erode their moral fabric.

The Turkana of Kenya, who amount to approximately 855,399 persons, are of Nilotic origin. They live in the Turkana region of northwest Kenya; this is an arid and hot region bordering Lake Turkana in the east. The Turkana speak a language they call Ng'aturk(w)ana, which is known to the rest of the world as ‘Turkana’. The Turkana rely on a few rivers, such as the Turkwel and Kerio rivers, and when these rivers are in flood, new sediment and water extends onto the river plain that is cultivated after heavy rainstorms; this does not occur very often. When dry, the riverbeds are dug up to create an open-pit well which is then used for human consumption and for watering livestock. The Turkana, like many other African tribal groups, hold livestock as a very important aspect of their culture. Livestock is not only seen as a source of milk and meat, but also as a form of currency, often used for bridal dowries (McCabe, 2004:23).

The Toposa population amounts to approximately 346,551 people (Census, 2008). They are found in Kapoeta County, east bank Equatoria. Their most important settlements and villages were Kapoeta, Riwoto, Narus, Kauto, Naita, Mogos, Lamurnyang and Karukomuge. Toposa land has rugged topography with hills and ridges cut by shallow plains and seasonal streams. It is arid with very little vegetation of shrubs and short grass. This environment has greatly influenced Toposa’s mode of social production [agro-pastoralism]: referred to plasticizing transhumance. The economy and social life centre around livestock mainly cattle, camels, donkeys, goats and sheep. The Toposa pan gold and other precious minerals in stream beds as the area has significant potential in terms of mineral resources. The Toposa were part of a larger group
known as the Ateker cluster which, in the Sudan, include the Toposa, Nyangatom and Jiye, the Turkana across the border in Kenya, and the Jiye, Dodoth and Karamojong in Uganda. The Toposa speak ‘Toposa’ which is a language very similar to the Jiye and Nyangatom languages, also related to Turkana [Kenya], Dodoth and Karamojong [Uganda]. The Toposa neighbour their kins, the Nyangatom, to the east; the Jiye, Murle, and Kachipo to the north; the Pari, Boya and Didinga to the west and south west, and the Turkana to the south. Cattle rustling and competition over the scarce resources of water and pasture have determined relations between the Toposa and their neighbours (Gurtong, 2009:31).

The two regions shared some common characteristics such as ethnicity, pastoralism and semi-dry land in the three counties of Kapoeta North, Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East and the arid and semi-arid land districts of the North Rift Region of Kenya. Notably, the Turkana and Toposa share common ethnic characteristics and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people; they also occupy remote and semi-land territories that could hardly support any form of settled living. Both the Turkana and Toposa were nomadic, which involved seasonal movements in search for good pastures and water for their livestock; by moving from place to place they interact with other pastoralists. This interaction has not been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points. Historically, they have been clashing over cattle, pasture and ethnic style of life such as status; social worth and existence to date depend, to a large extent, on livestock (Apollus, 2010:182).

The history of conflict bears a historical cultural dimension, in which the activity becomes an act of courage and bravery, acquisition of arms and wealth, indirect controlling of the area and, consequently, increased insecurity at the border between Southern Sudan and Kenya (Terry et al, 2007:32-33). The remoteness of the area has made it a landscape of conflicts and insecurity and might have been the cause of the paralysis of public administration and reflected in poor service delivery.

The IGAD group is composed of seven countries, namely; Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan and Eritrea and was established in 1986 with a limited mandate to address recurring and severe drought and other natural disasters which hit the area in 1974 and 1986. It’s argued strongly for a regional approach to supplement national affairs. After formation, the
IGAD’s mandate became a vehicle for regional security and political dialogue, such as the Sudan and Somalia peace processes. The role of diplomacy in resource conflicts and insecurity management would be necessary to establish the relationship between diplomacy and security. The purpose of the research was to probe diplomacy in resource conflicts and insecurity, which seriously affects goods and services provision to the people. The researcher aimed to assess the impact of diplomacy on resource conflict in the context of public policy within public institutions and would provide possible diplomatic strategies for addressing resource conflicts in the area.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The interethnic conflicts and insecurity in the Turkana-Toposa area existed prior to the independence of Kenya (1963) and Sudan (1956); this conflict has had a negative and severe impact on the communities that were involved, and it has affected the socio-economic development of and service delivery to these communities. Laue (1987), in Kanyane et al (2009:22), defines conflicts as “natural competition between two or more parties about scarce resources, power and prestige”. Thus, the causes of the conflict between Turkana and Toposa could be scarce resources, poor socio-economic development, political incitement, gun culture, ethnic animosity, animal grazing lands, cattle rustling, child abduction and/or testing leadership governance to ascertain whether it becomes a gap; all these elements lead to conflict.

Numerous scholars have attempted to develop frameworks within which conflict and insecurity in the Turkana and Toposa area can be understood. The expanse of literature on Eastern African pastoralists displays little direct awareness of the issue of poverty as the root cause of conflicts (Makoolo, 2005:15). In the context of resource conflicts and insecurity, the following questions guided this study: What impact has diplomacy had in resource conflict resolution and management? To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? How do we ensure sustainable peace in the region?

1.3 Research objectives

The objectives of the study are to:
• Probe the dynamic of diplomacy in the resolution of resource conflicts and insecurity management
• Investigate the impact of resource conflicts and insecurity on these communities in relation to the delivery of goods and services.
• Suggest possible diplomatic strategies that will be used to address resource conflicts and insecurity and, thereby, improve poor relations between the Turkana and Toposa.

1.4 Hypothesis

Effective diplomatic strategies in peace building initiatives determine the sustainability of resource conflict resolution and insecurity management.

1.5 Significance of the study

The area of Turkana-Toposa continues to be the scene of violence and insecurity; there has been recurring violence since the independence of the two countries Sudan (1956) and Kenya (1963). This section outlines the significance of the study in its contribution to relevant individual, community, society and subject areas. The following questions as a more specific group of questions directly related to significance of the study: how will the subject and discipline, or target community, benefit from the study? Why were no studies on this topic previously conducted? What is the value of the study? How will the research on this topic be conducted, in order to meet the need for its investigation? What are the social, economic, political, environmental considerations involved in a study of this nature? The conflict between Turkana and Toposa could be local in nature, but it has become a national issue in dimension, which was manifest in intra-community cattle rustling, abduction of children, and sometimes takes the form of insurgency and ambushes targeting the movement of people and vehicles; in several of these occurrences many lives and properties were lost. On the other hand, it takes on an international dimension when the pastoralists raid across the national borders to the neighbouring country’s counties or districts, which impose on the security of Kenya and Sudan.

Mkutu (2008: 3) acknowledges that the conflict has a regional dimension when the Pokot attack Karamojong or when the Turkana of Kenya ally with Karamojong to attack Sudanese Toposa
and vice versa. Thus, the pastoral conflict takes on a global dimension, because the small arms and light weapons that are used are not primarily manufactured in these areas of conflict, but imported from abroad. The magnitude of these conflicts has caused the deaths of thousands of people every year, although no reliable data has been collected on the matter. It has destroyed all socio-economic activities, thus hindering development and service delivery in the two areas. Toposa and Turkana were considered hotspot of hostility and animosity was directed at any person interested in conducting research in the area. During colonial rule it was among the closed districts which were characterized as dangerous and left to develop along tribal lines. Mkutu (2008: 22) writes that colonial rule in the early twentieth century came with policies, such as the drawing of borders and boundaries, which interfered with the social system and ecology, and disrupted mobility by limiting access to grazing land and water; thus, increasing social conflict.

The creation of borders by the colonial administration was a political tool for easy domination, but they aggravated the relations between the Toposa and their neighbors, the Turkana in Kenya. This was manifest in the inter-group raids along the borders. Therefore, the scope and magnitude of these conflicts invites the researcher to find practical tools that will offer analytical techniques to address and resolve this brutal circle of violence and insecurity in the two areas. The study would take a close look at the resource conflicts of Turkana and Toposa, its historical root causes, and the current dynamic and factors which drive the conflict. The study will consider the response of the Government, and other stakeholders, to ascertain whether they have really invested their efforts in the interests of the communities of Turkana and Toposa.

The research, in its endeavors, would find mutual benefits and practical solutions that could not be exaggerated. There has been little research conducted in the areas of Turkana, Pokot and Karamojong, however, there have been no serious studies conducted in the Toposa area, although some individuals’ attempts exist but they were very weak and unreliable. Knighton (2003:431), in Mkutu (2008:7), notes that relatively little has been published on this region be it anthropological, sociological, political, environmental or developmental, due to chronic insecurity. Even less has been published on why the pastoralists are demanding arms. The researcher considers it important to study this topic, as a study of this nature would address the issue of localization of competition between Toposa and Turkana has led to increased violence.
and undermined governance, sustainable socio-economic development and service delivery that will affect the lifestyle of the people in general. It is equally important to understand how the government addresses this problem, and the methods used to handle this issue. In addition, one would have to question why national government policies might have failed to resolve this problem. A possible response is that, perhaps, the government and stakeholders might have been addressing the symptoms of the problem whilst neglecting its root causes.

The significance of the study would provide a permanent solution to Turkana and Toposa chronic conflicts. In turn, advance peaceful coexistence amongst communities, improving service delivery and creating opportunities to address poverty, reallocating national funds, the reconstruction of physical infrastructure such as roads and transport. The encouragement of border trades and the free movement of the people between countries, increasing opportunities for employment, reducing insecurity and eliminating the source of conflicts, the normalization of border conflicts, and advancing knowledge on conflict resolution and management.

The results of the research study would be used as a tool for resolving other similar conflicts and can be used in government institutions for policy formulation and policy analysis. The purpose of government institutions is to promote the general welfare of society by implementing national policy (Du Toit & Van Der Waldt, 2008: 6). This refers to the duties performed by political office bearers and public officials within the range of government institutions so as to enable different government institutions to achieve their objectives in three spheres of government, which justify the existence of public administration. Further, the study would provide public administration, as an activity, with a set of tools and strategies that would enable political and public functionaries to do their work in order to render goods and services to the people; these include planning, as well as organizing their staff and functions internally.

In the context of Public Administration as a field of study it has made significant contribution to the effective administration and management of government institutions. It originated as a result of a need for the people who had the ability and capabilities to carry out the activity of public administration. Du Toit et al (2008:55) define Public Administration as a discipline that studies administrative systems in government institutions and those which result in goods and services to
the people. It was a field of study which dealt with government institutions of which management was only one facet that had a particular relationship with other disciplines, with its own reason and purpose.

Thus, it is a field of study which offers practitioners the necessary knowledge and skills to successfully carry out public administration in government institutions. Mouton (2008:17) argues that the nature of scientific research or inquiry has been interpreted in various ways. Notably, the four interpretations offer: the epistemic model as the search for truth; the sociological model as a problem-solving social activity; the economic model as the production of knowledge and the management model as project management. In light of the nature of the research mentioned above, the study would contribute to the Public Administration science in its endeavors to find truth perhaps from both unknowns and knowns and will provide it with tools and strategies that will be used for conflict resolution. These will serve as methods, procedures, and knowledge production in the field of resource conflicts and management in government institutions.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

There are several types of conflicts in any society, the most basic being social in nature. The minimum elements of a social conflict could be one or more adversaries who could be either individuals or groups in competition over a scarce resource. These scarce resources could be power, land, wealth or basic needs, either actual or perceived. In fact, the scarcity of resources is in itself enough to ensure conflict as people in any group try by one means or another to increase their share at the expense of others, if possible. Thus, conflict is associated with change and some conflicts were international in nature and arose over a border dispute. Therefore, this study is delimited to the areas of Turkana and Toposa in Kenya and South Sudan, between “2000-2010”, and will focus on the resource conflict and insecurity at the border, with specific focus on the competency of the diplomacy and foreign policies of Kenya and Southern Sudan.
1.7  Chapter outline

Chapter One: Introduction and General Orientation

Chapter one addresses the background of study; it entails a statement of the problem, objectives and aims of the study, the hypothesis, scope and delimitations of the study as well as its ethical considerations. The chapter gives an account of the background of IGAD countries, in particular the areas of Turkana and Toposa in Kenya and South Sudan, where the study is to be conducted.

Chapter Two: Historical Context of Kenya and South Sudan resource conflict

In this chapter, the genesis of the resource conflict, from the past until the present day, is unpacked. The historical connection between Turkana and Toposa will be brought to light in order to reveal the cross border issues, related to resource conflicts, between Kenya and South Sudan.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

This chapter acknowledges the contribution made by various authors in this field. It provides an overview of and a theoretical framework for the study, particularly the role of diplomacy in the resolution of resource conflicts and insecurity management in the area of the study.

Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter Four addresses the research design and methodology of this study; it includes a discussion of the procedures followed when conducting the study and the techniques employed in collecting information from the participants. This includes the primary data source comprising of interviews, questionnaires and observations. The sampling techniques will be employed to identify the specific area for study depending on the intensity of the problem, frequency of the conflict and insecurity. Purposive and non-purposive sampling techniques will be used according to the category of the respondents and whether they are knowledgeable of the study or not.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis

This chapter embarks on data collection and offers an analysis of the findings of the study.
Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

This is the final chapter of study. It is in this chapter that the researcher provides conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.8 Conclusion

It is the duty of every government to ensure the delivery of basic services to its community. This is the ultimate goal of its existence and it must provide these services in a satisfactory manner. The government is mandated by the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (2005) and the Constitution of the Republic of Kenya (2010) which provides for the duties and responsibilities which every government is expected to account for.

However, it is coupled with poor service delivery in the area, including security services. An attempt is made to verify the extent to which violence and resource conflicts might be attributed to the failure of service delivery as well as peace and reconciliation which is long overdue. It is hoped that the study will provide an impartial opinion of the resource conflict as a problem faced by the communities of Turkana and Toposa. The chapter gives an account of the background of IGAD countries, in particular the areas of Turkana and Toposa in Kenya and South Sudan, where the study is to be conducted.

The study will provide a review of concepts and theories that will be employ in the research study of probing diplomacy on resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa that will be describe and explain in the following chapter which deals with literature review.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter one gives an account of the background of IGAD countries, in particular the areas of Turkana and Toposa in Kenya and South Sudan, where the study was conducted. This account of background of the problem which will provide conceptual and contextualizing resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa; in this chapter it will analyze the genesis of the resource conflict and will identify diplomatic strategies that will be used for conflict resolution and management.

Neils Kastfelt (2005:2), in Nhema & Zelega (2008:1), states that “the region from South Sudan through northern Uganda to Rwanda, Burundi and Congo - now the scene of brutal civil wars and genocide, has a long history of colonial violence in the form of slave trading, slave labour, plantation labour, plantation terror and a violent gun culture which all have to be taken into account when explaining the contemporary situation”. He explains that African conflicts are rooted in histories of colonial systems in Africa which portray multiple and multidimensional causes, courses and consequences.

Mazrui, in Nhema & Zelega (2008:36), contends with the position on the roots of African conflicts and states that “while the most lethal of all wars in Africa have been those fought between blacks and whites, the roots of these wars lie in the white legacy”. Furthermore, he ascertains that most African conflicts were partly caused by colonially established borders and the conflicts were not in themselves about borders. The political boundaries created by colonial powers during the scramble for Africa, from 1885 onwards, enclosed groups with no traditions of shared authority or shared systems of settling disputes within one geographical entity; this artificial mixture has led to most of Africa’s great human tragedies. Against this backdrop, this chapter covers the conceptual and theoretical framework that underpins this study. Critical issues of resource conflicts in the African continent are discussed and concluded at the end of this chapter.
2.2 Conceptualizing and Contextualizing Resource Conflict

The concept of conflict resource emerged in 1996, initially in relation to conflict diamonds which financed rebellion in Angola and Sierra Leone and were aptly termed “blood diamonds” (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/conflict_resource). This matter was first officially discussed by the UN General Assembly for conflict diamonds, and provided a narrow definition of conflict resources that were cited in relation to the so-called “blood diamonds” which were used by rebel movements to finance their military activities in an attempt to undermine or overthrow legitimate governments. This definition was used with the intention of describing “the ability of parties to a conflict to exploit natural resources [which] depends on their access to external markets” (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/conflict_resource). It has also been used in reference to several recent armed conflicts in Angola, the DRC, Liberia and Sierra Leone and has been used by the UN Security Council in several resolutions adopted in connection with financed hostilities around the world (UN Resolution 55/56, 2001). On the other hand, a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) usually have a wider definition of the term ‘conflict resources’, like that of the Advocacy Global Witness in relation to conflict timber. This definition was employed to describe the complex political economy of warring countries in which multiple actors utilize resources, not only to carry out warfare, but also to enrich themselves.

The Global Witness group offered the following definition: “Conflict resources are natural resources whose systematic exploitation and trade in a context of conflict contribute to benefit from or result in the commission of serious violations of human rights, violations of international humanitarian law or violations amounting to crimes under international law” (Global Witness, 2002:7). It could be seen that this definition emphasizes the continuous exploitation of natural resources which have initiated conflicts that could possibly be considered serious violations of human rights and would assist the international community in differentiating between cases where natural resources are legitimately used to pay the costs of conflict and in many cases where the extraction and trade of such resources is funding illegitimate activity; likewise, it would call upon international action for perpetrators. Despite the fact that there is no agreement on the definition, the definition of conflict resources as offered by the Global Witness group
would also provide a crucial preventative tool that would help to identify those situations in which natural resources are likely to become conflict resources. Equally, it could also play an important role in deterring trade in these resources and, consequently, human rights abuses.

In the context of theoretical perspectives of African conflicts, it is imperative to explore some conceptual issues before discussing theories which underpin conflict resolution; these conceptual matters include notions of conflicts, crises, reconciliation and mediation. Godfrey et al (2008:1) refer to conflict as “the underlying issue in dispute between or among parties”. Lague (1987:17), in Kanyane et al (2009:49), defines conflict as “a natural competition between two or more parties over scarce resources, power and prestige”. Burton, in Kanyane (2009:49), refers to conflicts as a destructive property and administration, effective participation, security and such basic needs that are known as part of the human developmental process” Godfrey et al (2008:1-2) refer to crisis as “the active outbreak of armed hostilities. Although crisis is often construed to refer to a short period, implying a sudden flare-up, this restriction appears to be too narrow. This is because sudden flare-ups and variations in intensity may prolong a crisis whereas a focus on the short term alone prevents a full investigation of the dynamics of escalation. Crisis, therefore, applies to protracted disputes such as guerrilla warfare and then conventional war as well as brief outbursts such as invasions.

A resolution refers to the elimination of the causes of the underlying conflict. This is generally done with the agreement of the parties concerned; it addresses the causes of conflict and seeks to build a new and lasting relationship between hostile groups, whereas management refers to the elimination, neutralization, or control of the means of pursuing either the conflict or crisis”. Godfrey et al (2008:2) contend that conflict or crisis management involves measures such as lives lost on both sides as the means of combat, neutralizing one party’s means by slightly increasing the other’s, separating the combatants in space of time in a particular area, substituting conferences and negotiation for fighting and so on. Management, therefore, seeks either to prevent conflict from erupting into crisis or to cool a crisis in eruption”. It could be deduced that management aims to limit and avoid future violence by promoting positive behavioural changes in the parties involved in the conflict; this could be seen as preventive diplomacy in the public institutions and as an action to prevent disputes from arising between various parties.
Hopman (1996:445), in Kanyane et al (2009:50) “sees conflict management as the ability to manage conflict effectively”. Villa-Vincencio (2009:152) refers to reconciliation as “a willingness to explore ways of changing negative attitudes and destructive behaviour. Improving relationships between enemies can provide a new basis for addressing the causes of conflicts, implementing goals that are immediately attainable and developing strategies aimed at realizing those objectives that can only be met over a longer period”. He considered reconciliation, in his own expressions, as an ultimate goal more than coexistence, trust building, social cohesion and participatory democracy, although it is related to each of them. Lederach (2001:842), in Kanyane et al (2009:49), refers to reconciliation as a process of making consistent or compatible. It is one of the buzzwords on the peace studies’ circuit and in European post-modern diplomacy”. Lederach perceived reconciliation as an endless process and must be conducted to maintain and manage a certain degree of consistence in multiple views, diversity in all aspects, cohesion, meeting deadlines and creativity.

The concept mediation, according to Zartman and Touval (2001:427) as quoted in Kanyane et al (2009:49), is defined as “a process whereby an impartial third party helps two or more parties discuss a dispute and work towards a solution that is acceptable to all parties”. Thus, mediation could be considered a form of alternative dispute resolution or a method of resolving disputes between two parties. Godfrey et al (2008:1) refer to conflicts as “the underlying issue in dispute between or among parties”. This definition acknowledges that conflicts originate from disputes over certain issues between parties themselves or other groups who had the intention of controlling the issue; it could be associated with competition over limited resources or the inequitable distribution of scarce resources. Nhema & Zelega (2008:1) argue that “violent conflicts of one type or another have afflicted Africa and exacted a heavy toll on the continent’s societies, politics and economies, robbing them of their developmental potential and democratic possibilities”. Also, “the causes of the conflicts are as complex as the challenges of resolving them are difficult. However, their costs cannot be in doubt, or the need, indeed the urgency, to resolve them.

The diversity of African conflicts have caused problems and exacted a heavy toll on the continent’s societies, politics and economies; this is reflected in the retardation of its
development and the democratization of the continent. Further, he examines the twenty-first century and concludes that it has been marked by the depredations of colonialism and its devastating legacies as well as destructive post-colonial interferences. The “armed inter-communal insurrections are often episodic eruptions of violence, sparked by specific incidents that stoke long simmering antagonisms, anxieties and aggressions. They can lead to great loss of life and if unchecked can mutate into prolonged warfare between ethnic and regional militias, which in turn can develop into guerrilla armies that threaten the viability of the nation-state” (Nhema & Zelega, 2008:8). The inter-communal armies refuelled internal conflicts which lead to rebellion and threatened national stability. Sylvanus Olympio, in Villa-Vicencio (2009:17), points out that “the effect of the policy of the colonial powers has been the economic isolation of the people who live side by side, in some instances within a few miles of each other, while directing the flow of resources to the metropolitan countries”. President Sylvanus of Togo clearly states that the effect of colonial policies has been African economic backwardness, while it has geared African resources to flow to their metropolitan capitals.

Villa-Vicencio (2009:19) argues that “the effects of the scramble for Africa at the end of the nineteenth century constitute a crucial part of this historical context. When the would-be colonial masters at the Berlin Conference in 1885 parcellled out land among themselves, they did so without regard for kith, kin, tribe, ethnicity, monarchies, chiefdom, language, culture, or religion. Further, the map of the conference table included large sections of territory simply designated terra incognita, with boundaries between colonies being decreed by the drawing of geometric lines and the tracing of rivers racing between clans, communities, and nations asunder”.

2.3 Resource Conflicts in the context of the Public Administration

Kanyane et al (2009:59) acknowledge that “public administration literature focuses extensively on how the political demands will be converted into authoritative rules in such a way that internal conflicts are minimized and harmony of the people maximized in order to deliver public services in an accountable and responsible manner to promote the general welfare of the people”. According to Barston (2006:4), “the multifaceted nature of contemporary conflicts would establish basics for understanding and utilizing diplomatic methods from diplomacy perspective upon resource conflicts and insecurity”. Barston’s views in the event of violence or insecurity
occurring the task of diplomacy is ultimately peaceful settlement through negotiation, mediation and other methods of a long terms from perspective diplomacy. Barston (2006:206-207) distinguishes between three levels of security; “internationally security can be thought of in terms of the stability of the international system, and defined as the level of tension or violence and the corresponding extent to which actor interests can be accommodated through diplomacy, without recourse to violence, on the basis of mediation, rule and norm setting”. At the national level, he further argues that “security has traditionally been considered in terms of responses to essentially external threats of a military kind”.

It could be inferred that the stability of the international system could be achieved through diplomacy. In this perspective, diplomacy features as the statecraft of force, which involves actions such as deterring aggressors and seeking international support for the use or control of force. The term ‘security’ could be considered as the pursuit of public policies by using diplomacy. At the individual level, security could be thought of in terms of individuals; individuals tend to enjoy varying degrees of protection, depending on state capabilities and conceptions of national security. Godfrey et al (2008:1) argue that “the intensification of African nationalism and the decolonization process in Africa invited the interest of both superpowers that then identified themselves with African nationalism although for their geopolitical and geostrategic interests, who also included trying to stamp their feet on the political-economy of Africa and its socio-cultural outlook, especially during the neo-colonial period”.

Geoffrey considered the interests of superpowers in their endeavour to stamp their feet on Africa’s politics, economy and its socio-cultural outlook as the external sources of African conflicts. Among these conflicts are territorial disputes, external interference, and refugee problems. Geoffrey et al (2008:2) further, states that “there are, however, also domestic sources of conflict such as ideology, personality, international power struggles and mistreatment of minorities, and another set of causes of African conflicts are human and non-human which are also closely related”. Godfrey came with three sources of African conflicts, namely; external sources closely related to colonization, second sources of conflicts were related to domestic rivalry, which has been considered a conflict generated within ideology, personality and internal
power struggles, and third sources were a set of causes of African conflicts that were human and non-human that were closely related to both external and internal sources of conflicts.

Nasong’o, in Godfrey et al (2008:44-45), observes that “the colonial imperialists divided up Africa into nation-states without regard to ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious, or social boundaries is an accurate, often repeated, contention. It has been recorded that of the more than fifty states, only Ethiopia, and to some extent Liberia and Sierra Leone, correspond to historical states. Algeria, Botswana, and Somalia, it has pointed out, have a clearly defined cultural identity”. Hall et al (2005:53) contend that the root causes of political conflicts in Africa are not informed only by the presumed historical inter-ethnic animosity and hatred; but that their causes lie in the skewed manner in which state resources are allocated, especially within the context of low levels of political institutionalization. Thus, the political conflicts in Africa have been explained within the context of the assumption of inter-ethnic hatred, while their real root causes lie elsewhere, predominantly in their contest over resources.

Henderson, in Nhema & Zelega (2008:51, 53) argues that “Africa has been the site of some of the world’s most deadly conflicts in the last few decades, with those in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda each resulting in the deaths through battlefield causalities or war-induced famine and diseases of 500,000 to 1,000,000 persons”. In addition, the focus on political, economic and cultural factors is born of the viewpoint that all of these classes of factors are interconnected and that, without controlling either one of them, one may draw spurious inferences regarding the correlation of African civil wars. The African wars largely result from internal sources within African states, particularly when states fail to respond adequately to service delivery to their citizens and nation building. One interpretation could be that African leaders had deliberate intentions to limit the development of legitimate political institutions and public administration due to their fears that such development might lead to the empowerment of their political rivals and would be a direct threat to their political incumbency. Resources were, therefore, devoted to a military build-up to deter insurgency and defend their regimes at any cost.
2.4 Theoretical Framework on Conflict

“Sociological theory is basically about relationships between social life and society. It includes various social issues present in any society, thus sociological theory is related to the social issues of any society (Apollos, 2010:20)” Apollos further contends that “conflict theory is related to the society and its organization, where each individual group participates in the struggle to maximize its benefits and bring social change”. Kanyane et al (2009:47-48) point out that “there is a stock of a large amount of literature which exists in related disciplines such as sociology, political science, international relations and labour relations, but their main focus is on the impact of conflict, the nature of conflict, the role of players in the conflict and conflict resolution. However, they ignore the impact of conflict on public administration and how it affects service delivery”. The argument clearly follows politics/administrative discourse.

Budjac (2007:37) asserts that there are three widely recognized schools of thought on conflict, namely; the traditional view, which considers conflict as bad and evil and should be avoided. This approach generally fosters both avoidance and competitive behaviour in interaction. The second school of thought is that of human relations, which views conflict as natural and sometimes functional and at other times dysfunctional. According to this view, “conflict can be a mechanism through which views and opinions are made known and through which an opportunity for creativity and persuasion is born, that could be seen in the role of the human factor in management. The third school of thought is the interactionist view which holds that conflict is inevitable and that maintaining and managing a certain degree of it can actually be helpful”. These views suggest that the human relations approach, in public administration, is an appropriate approach to conflict resolution depending on informal and formal considerations.

The Conflict Resolution Model (Littlefield, Love, Peck, & Wertheim, 1993; Sanson & Bretherton, 2001; Wertheim, Love, Peck, & Littlefield, 1998) was formulated by a group of Australian psychologists who set about integrating the literature to create a best-practice prescriptive process for conflict resolution. One of the key concepts in conflict resolution is the win-win solution. Older approaches such as win-lose were based on the concept of distributive bargaining, where the best joint outcome that could be achieved was a fair division of benefits in which one person's gains were another's losses. This approach engages competitive rather than
cooperative processes (Deutsch, 1973) and leads, at best, to compromise. On the other hand, a win-win solution arrived at by integrative bargaining may be close to optimal for both parties. (www.latrobe.edu.au/psy/research/eris/docs/conflicts-res-model.pdf)

This model for resolving conflicts is illustrated in diagram (Figure: 2.4.1) Shown below. In the first place, it is important to break down barriers which hinder successful conflict resolution that is to increase understanding, which provides benefits that the negotiator might not at first expect. The discussion needed to resolve conflict expands people's awareness of the situation, giving them insight into how they can achieve their own goals without undermining those of other people. Secondly, to increase group cohesion, particularly when conflict is resolved effectively, team members can develop stronger mutual respect and a renewed faith in their ability to work together and to improve self-knowledge on conflict which pushes individuals to examine their goals in close detail, thus helping them understand the things that are most important to them, sharpening their focus, and enhancing their effectiveness.

In many cases, effective conflict resolution skills make the difference between positive and negative outcomes as illustrated in figure 2. 4.1. If conflict is not handled effectively, the results can be damaging: conflicting goals can quickly turn into personal dislike; teamwork breaks down; talent is wasted as people disengage from their work and it is easy to end up in a vicious downward spiral of negativity and recrimination. Thus, to eliminate this downward spiral of negativity, one approach is to understand the theories that lie behind effective conflict resolution techniques.

Baker (2001:567), in Kanyane et al (2009:50), confirms that “conflict resolution theory was formulated by a group of experts in international relations, and political scientists, who set about integrating the literature on achieving mutually beneficial outcomes in a conflict situation in order to create a best-practice perspective process for conflict resolution”. Further, one of the key bargaining tools in conflict resolution is the win-win solution. Owen (2010:213-219) writes that win-win is the art of winning while letting the other side think that they have won as well. Besides, the art of the win-win is a basic principle of negotiation, both within the firm and with third parties.

Figure: 2.4.2: Techniques Conflict resolution model

It is important to explore how to apply these five principles in practice. The first principle of win-win is focusing on interests, not position. According to Owen (2010:215), the old approach was that of a win-lose discussion that was natural, but unproductive; in addition, if one party won an argument they lost an ally. It is essential to learn how to win allies, which is more than winning arguments in the long term. One the other hand, the loser in the win-lose discussion will seek revenge.

Therefore, it is important to focus on common interests rather than individual positions, which is a first and fundamental step towards achieving a win-win solution. The second principle is to offer options: by offering choice, it will allow a manager to move from a simple position to taking an interest in discussion, which avoids the win-lose approach. It has been noted that many head-on clashes can be avoided by changing the terms of the debate and offering options and alternative approaches. These alternatives will normally push the interaction away from haggling over position to a rich discussion around interests. The third principle is to make a symbolic concession in which the concessions can be symbolic as much as substantive. The fourth principle is to craft a story based on the premise that no one likes to lose. The goal here is to allow people to convince themselves that they have succeeded in negotiations. The fifth principle is establishing a public private partnership; this allows one to keep doubts and opposition in private, whilst making agreements public. It could be concluded that the win-win approach is about the mind-set and creative options used to provide the best alternative when negotiating the terms of agreement. Thus, a win-win solution allows the negotiator to win without fighting.

Kanyane et al (2009:51) contend that “although there is generally a high degree of overlap among such theories, it could be premature to assign a particularly privileged status to any one formulation”. On the other hand, people in conflict situations assume that the result of negotiation is that one will win and the other will lose; in such a case it is necessary to reframe the process in terms of cooperative problem solving with a view to arriving at a mutually satisfactory conclusion. Saunders (1995:39), in Kanyane et al (2009:51), argues that cooperative problem solving would arrive at a win-win solution, it is usually counter-productive to focus on positions.”
Likewise, in defining the issue in terms of underlying concerns, needs, or interests so as to arrive at a win-win solution, it is usually counterproductive to focus on position.

However, it is easier to reconcile underlying concerns, needs, or interests by maintaining that it is important to explain your own concerns, needs, and interests clearly but not provocatively. In the lieu of maintaining the cooperative frame, it is important to avoid criticism, placing blame, or threatening others. Thus, the likelihood of a satisfactory outcome is improved when each person feels that they are listened to and are subject to valued listening skills such as empathy, summarizing, and attentive body language which facilitates this communication.

Godfrey et al (2008:2) point out that “there are no general theories of conflicts that cut across all situations”. Godfrey et al perceive of difficulties which abound in conceptualizing conflicts in a manner in which every conflict possesses its own historical character. Further, he contends that internal factors interact with external factors. In the same vein, natural factors interact with human-made factors; it is therefore difficult to distinguish between the internal and external roots of conflict. Moreover, the past has a significant bearing on the present, thus different forms of conflicts have been orchestrated by internal and external factors on one hand, and natural and human-made factors on the other hand”.

Kriesberg (1993:27), in Kanyane et al (2009:51-52), posits that the world and its conflicts are complex. It is not very helpful if people stop there without seeking for one mechanism to address them. Also, there is no serious scholarly or professional authority that argues for a single theory or explanation of conflict resolution. There are multiple causes of conflicts, hence the need to apply a multifaceted approach to conflict resolution.Kelman (1992:41), in Kanyane et al (2009:52), states that unresolved dialogue among scholars and practitioners, about the interaction among conflict management on the one hand, and democratization, the rule of law, civil society institution building, and other elements of what can broadly be called governance or nation building on the other hand, place a sharp focus on the significance of these issues. This is because they impose, on peacemaking and warring parties alike, a seemingly stark choice between priorities and reconciliation, power sharing and justice.
Hitherto, the push and pull factors between conflict management, post-governance issues and reconciliation strategies dictate that the presence of theories testifies to the fact that we are only just beginning to understand how to bring about peace, as some peacemaking efforts over past couple of years have been successful. Thus, the role of the state is crucial in understanding, resolving and managing conflicts in Africa. Kurgat, in Godfrey (2008:11), observes that “the paramount objectives of every state is security; that many African states whose borders were established during the colonial period, are particularly under threat, with tensions fuelled by rising levels of poverty, corruption, refugee movements, etc.”

Further, in a case-study, Kurgat identifies the role of Kenyan foreign policy in conflict management in Africa’s conflicts. He contends that, over the years, Kenya has become more experienced in Africa’s conflict management and has been able to broker many deals despite its limited resources. Kenya was fully involved in the independence negotiation for countries like Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the attainment of majority rule in South Africa. Upon assuming statehood, Kenya sought to adhere to a classical balance of power practice as a means of managing regional conflicts. However, Kenya still remains exposed to its own internal, ethnic-based conflicts, despite its long and valuable experience in settling regional conflicts. Policy makers realized that national interests lay in East Africa (Tanzania, Uganda, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and DRC) and declared itself committed to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states (Godfrey, 2008:122). This could be seen as a policy of good neighborliness and ensuring close cooperation and stability that had to be pursued. Kurgat, in Godfrey (2008:120-121), states that Kenya has come to play the role of a prestigious neutral between the radical and moderate states, in the field of inter-African affairs.

In the 1964 Congo crisis, Kenya was found indignant and much involved. Joseph Murumbi, the then minister for external affairs of the Republic of Kenya, launched a bitter attack on Africa’s western policy. He assumed that military intervention was an unwarranted influence in affairs, a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, a threat to the peace and security of the African continent and a calculated attempt to undermine African unity. Kenya was concerned because the Congo crisis was an African problem and in September, 1964, at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) conference in Addis Ababa, President Kenyatta immediately issued an appeal for the cessation of hostilities and convened a meeting of the commission in Nairobi in September,
1964. The Kenyatta commission decided that it would go to the Congo to hold talks with rebel leaders and the government. In addition, a delegation was sent to Washington to urge the Americans to withdraw their military aid as a prerequisite to ending external intervention; this was believed to be a serious factor in encouraging the conflict.

Onyango, in Godfrey (2008:83), argues that inter-state conflicts between Somalia and Ethiopia have been characterized by conflict caused by Somalia’s claims on Ethiopia’s territory, called Ogaden. This was brought by European powers that partitioned the Horn of Africa and divided Somalia into five portions, namely; Italian Somaliland, British Somaliland, French Somaliland, and portions of Kenya and Ethiopia. When the Europeans arrived they made treaties with Africans; the British government was the first to make such treaties along the African Coast of the Gulf of Aden and the Gulf of Tajura in 1864. Britain, however, delayed its effected occupation of those areas for almost half a century between 1862 and 1888 France was active around the Gulf of Tajura making treaties with Dankil chiefs, the sultan of Tajura and Grubbed and, finally, the chiefs of Issa Somalis. Between 1887 and 1888 France signed treaties to determine the boundaries of its newly acquired territory with Britain and Ethiopia and, by 1907; the British concluded agreements with all the neighboring powers to define their territory.

In the 1950s the great powers backed by the Latin American states wanted to place Somalia under United Nations trusteeship for eventual independence. Italy urged the claim to return to Somalia as an administering power so that the proper development of Somalia would not be interrupted. That received strong support and Somalia was placed under a trusteeship of Italy for ten years. That and the eventual independence of Somalia were agreed upon. The United Nations Assembly once again urged Ethiopia and Italy to proceed to arbitration but the two failed to agree. A compromise was later reached which recognized that the Ethiopia-Somalia frontier had been established by the agreement of 1908. However, amendment of both the Ethiopian and Italian delegations became irreconcilable and the conference reached a deadlock. In the midst of this, the Republic of Somalia was born and was destined to be at loggerheads with Ethiopia (Onyango in Godfrey, 2008:85). It could be concluded that the inter-state relations between Somalia and Ethiopia are characterized by conflict caused by Somalia’s claims on the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Somalia’s claims are based on two fundamental aspects; firstly, the political borders created by colonial rule and, secondly, the ethical, linguistic, religious and cultural
grounds. Despite the fact that Somalia has no central government, it remained a problem that needs an effective mechanism for conflict resolution and management that will make it acceptable for both sides, focusing on interests and not position.

Guy (2002:185-186) argues that “while African conflicts are typically internal rather than interstate, many of these conflicts have taken and continue to take an increasingly sub-regional character, particularly in the Great Horn, the Great Lakes regions, and southern Africa. The African conflicts are becoming increasingly ‘civilianized’; 90 percent of the victims of African conflicts are innocent civilians, mostly women and children. As of January 2002, some form of (latent or open) conflict persists in over half of the African countries (30 out of 54): Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Central Africa Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Congo-Brazzaville, Cote d’Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Egypt, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somalia, South Africa, Tanzania, Western Sahara and Uganda”. Luc Reyckler, in Guy (2002:186), identified eight types of costs entailed by African conflicts.

They are worth enumerating:

- a) Humanitarian cost: number of deaths, wounded, refugees, internally displaced persons and famine
- b) Political cost: state collapse, anarchy, subversion of the democratic process, political corruption, and criminalization of power
- c) Economic cost: loss of revenue from trade and tourism, destruction of economic, transport and educational infrastructure, diversion of resources away from development
- d) Ecological cost: loss of arable land, soil erosion, deforestation, and desertification
- e) Social cost: breakdown of family structures, female victims of sexual violence, war orphans
- f) Cultural cost: breakdown of traditional, socio-cultural values, institutions and lifestyles
- g) Psychological cost: psychological disorders post-traumatic syndromes, fears and mutual hostility between groups in conflict
- h) Spiritual cost: loss of values related to the sanctity of life, development of a culture of violence.
In view of this appalling situation, a number of peace-keeping and peace-building measures and policies should be adopted to mitigate, resolve and prevent violent conflict in Africa. At the international level, sacrosanct principles such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the sanctity of existing borders are being challenged while new ones, such as international humanitarian intervention, are emerging. The new conflict management approaches have involved the intervention of individuals, states, or international organizations (both governmental and non-governmental) as mediators or facilitators. Examples of these are the Carter Centre in Atlanta, notably in Ethiopia, Liberia, Burundi and Rwanda and between the Presidents of Uganda and Sudan in 1999. The former South Africa President, Nelson Mandela, acted as a mediator in the final phase of the DRC conflict and in Burundi (for example, Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire in Liberia, Kenya and Uganda in Rwanda and Burundi; South Africa in Lesotho).

There are three notable regional authorities that have acted as facilitators in conflict resolution and management, despite their creation for purposes of sub-regional economic integration. These authorities have been involved in various regional conflicts and are entrusted with security and peace-keeping functions, they are: the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), as a monitoring group involved in the Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) involved in Lesotho and Mozambique, and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) involved in the Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea conflicts (Guy, 2002:189). Guy contends that the ECOWAS states have made a substantial contribution to restoring peace in Liberia; their peace-keeping forces were drawn primarily from Nigeria and Ghana, and innumerable mediation sessions have been assembled in an effort to find a formula for peace among Liberia’s several warring factions. Since the initial period of success, ECOMOG has experienced many obstacles to achieving its mandate, including internal dissent among contributing states and military setbacks on the ground. Peace-keeping efforts were repeatedly stalled, and the civil war remained stalemated until the general elections of July 1997, which brought Charles Taylor to power through the ballot box, rather than through the barrel of gun (Guy, 2002:190).

In the greater Horn of Africa, the main sub-regional organization is the Inter-Governmental Authority against Drought and for Development (IGADD); the members being Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda. According to Guy (2002:192-194), IGAD’s
mission is to achieve regional cooperation and economic integration through the promotion of food security, sustainable environmental management, peace and security, intra-regional trade, and the development of improved communication infrastructure. The mandate of IGAD is to coordinate the efforts of member states in the priority areas of economic cooperation, political and humanitarian affairs, as well as food security and environmental protection.

IGAD’s Division of Political and Humanitarian Affairs is to enhance the capacity of member states in the field of conflict prevention, management and resolution through dialogue in order to facilitate the evacuation of people from disaster or conflict areas through peace corridors, and to assist in rehabilitating areas that have been affected. For example, the 6th IGAD summit in Nairobi, July 1997, formed a peace committee chaired by Kenya and composed of Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Uganda to mediate in the Sudan conflict. Since then, the parties in conflict have accepted the 1994 Declaration of Principles (DOP) as the basis for negotiations, and several ministerial meetings have been held and shuttle diplomacy missions were undertaken as part of the peace process. IGAD also hosted and facilitated negotiating sessions between the Sudanese government in Khartoum and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), from Southern Sudan to try to end the country’s devastating civil war. The Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict is the first IGAD interstate conflict which posed new challenges for the Authority. The IGAD chairman, President Omer Guelleh of Djibouti, attempted mediation at the beginning of the conflict and was a participant in the OAU peace initiative. Other heads of state and governments have held bilateral mediation meetings with both Eritrea and Ethiopia, these initiatives eventually led to a peace agreement. In spite of these signs of hope of peaceful settlement, the implementation of these agreements remained awfully problematic.

Guy (2002:201-202) states “the war in the Congo is a conflict between two regional alliances of Great Lakes (alliance of Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi) and (alliance of Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia)”. At another level, the war is a violent mixture of national civil wars including those of Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Angola, all of which are partly fought on Congolese soil. Finally, the Congo’s own brew of local ethnic feuds has sparked an explosion of violence in the eastern part of the country. All of these conflicts feed upon and reinforce one another and, together, they constitute an explosive combination. The geo-strategic significance of the Congo drives from various factors, notably its population of 50 million occupying an area of 2.3 million km,
geographical location at the heart of Africa bordering Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda, Sudan, the Central Africa Republic and Congo Brazzaville; as well as its vast natural resources which have earned it the French characterization of scandale geologique (diamond, gold, silver, iron, zinc, copper cobalt, columbite-tantalite, cadmium, manganese, bauxite, uranium and radium).

Guy contends that it is significant to note, in this regard, that all the sub-regional actors were involved, as well as the various rebel movements who systematically exploited the natural resources found on the vast portions of the country’s territory which they control for their own benefit. He infers that a specific focus on the role of natural resources in the conflict and on the war economy seems appropriate. For example, in the first quarter of 2000, Uganda and Rwanda became the number one exporters of diamond and copper on the world market (Guy, 2002: 202).

Kanyane et al (2009:54) assert that “the Congo situation provides us with a good example of how neo-colonial forces created conditions for post-independence conflict and instability. Neocolonial interests in Congo are part of the historical root causes of the war here. Unlike other African colonies and neo-colonies, the Congo was a unique centre of economic attraction, with a very high agricultural potential due to its fertile soil, and a favorable climate for production for both food and cash crops”. Mobutu’s rule has led to the total collapse of public administration by abandoning service delivery functions as the main goal for any government to exist, i.e. to promote the general welfare of the society, as well as a total collapse of the political and socio-economic system of the former Zaire.

Anstey, in Kanyane et al (2009:54), states that “the long ruinous rule of Mobutu Sese Seko represents another revolution and chaotic in the cycle of conflict that is characterized by non-development authoritarianism reflecting the incapacities of the Congo’s administrative inheritance”. Thus, the Mobutu regime symbolized an era of conflicts and bad governance which made the former Zaire the scene of brutal civil war. When the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo (ADFLC) led by Laurent Kabila began their reign in 1997, nothing changed. Instead, they pursued the same line as Mobutu and failed to deliver; they eventually escalated internal conflicts and rolled the country back to war. Kanyane et al (2009:55) state that “in May 1997 the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Congo (ADFL) led Laurent Kabila
seized the power and renamed Zaire as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), he could not change anything. He continues to rule the country like Mobutu, with political control, and with patrimonial and ethnic politics. The state becomes more fragile than before until he was assassinated”. It was clear that Kabila’s rule refueled internal conflicts, failed to establish good governance structures and invited external forces to dominate the country and wage wars of interests.

Guy (2002:194-196) states that “[r]ebels backed President Laurent-Desire Kabila’s former allies, Rwanda and Uganda, took up arms in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in August 1998, vowing to topple him. Other countries (Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe) were drawn into conflict and the peace talks eventually failed”. Guy further said in July 1999, African defence and foreign ministers’ meetings in Lusaka (Zambia) adopted a draft cease-fire document, which was formally signed on August 31, 1999. The main elements of this agreement were: the cessation of hostilities; the UN Security Council will be asked to send a peacekeeping force to the Congo; parties to the conflict will set up a Joint Military Commission (JMC), comprising senior military commanders which together with UN/OAU observers group, who will be responsible for carrying out peacekeeping operations until the deployment of the UN peacekeeping force; the disarmament of all renegade forces in the region; a special task force under the JMC will track down mass killers and human rights abusers and bring them to justice. It was concluded, in the agreements, that the final withdrawal of all foreign forces shall be carried out within nine months; and, once the agreement is signed, the government of the DRC and all armed Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), Congo Liberation Movement (MLC) and unarmed opposition groups will enter into open dialogue. These negotiations will be held under the aegis of a neutral facilitator.

On 15 December 1999, OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salem announced, in Addis Ababa, that parties to the conflict agreed that the former Botswanan president, Ketumile Masire, should mediate political reform negotiations aimed at ending the civil war in the country. On 1 December 1999, the UN Security Council agreed to set up a 20,000 person UN peacekeeping force for the Congo. An advance party from Algeria, Malawi and Senegal had already taken position in Goma and Kisangani, in anticipation of the arrival of 500 military observers. In view of the numerous cease-fire violations, at least 50 according to MLC leader Jean-Pierre Bemba
and of the fact that none of the parties welcome it, the United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNOMC) will have a daunting task. The US pledged to finance UNOMC to the tune of $1 million but failed to advocate a large-scale UN operation in Congo.

Guy (2002:196) argues on politics, defence and security that “the SADC organ was established in June 1996 as a successor to the front line states, which were responsible for regional security cooperation. The Inter-state Defense and Security Committee (ISDC) is one of the organ’s main institutions”. He spelled out the various political and security functions of the organization, notably: preventative diplomacy, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and collective security. Moreover, the 19th ordinary session of ISDC in Lusaka, 1997, adopted six important regional policy documents that covered disaster management; a regional satellite communications network (now operational); action against coup makers; peacekeeping training; peacekeeping doctrine; and standard operating procedures for peacekeeping operations.

The reinsertion of South Africa in the post-apartheid sub-regional systems, according to Guy (2002:162), has resulted in severe strains and tensions within SADC; serious disagreements were met with over SADC’s intervention in Lesotho (December 1998), and in the DRC, which further aggravated the tensions. Thus, the Maputo Summit in 1999 maintained harmony for six months while its management was under review and there was a proposed reform within the organization. Guy (2002:197) contends that “the experiences in sub-regional peacekeeping demonstrate the promise of sub-regional organizations as peace makers, despite their principal role in fostering economic cooperation, integration and development. Because of an overriding interest in their neighborhood’s stability and their actual or potential leverage with disputants, sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS, IGAD and SADC may be uniquely qualified to launch preventative diplomacy efforts and to effect a change in attitudes that leads to viable and sustainable negotiated settlements in cases of civil war”.

Collier (2009:75) argues, on post-conflict settlements, that “[w]ith the millennium came peace, the international community finally started to pay serious attention to the running sores of long lasting civil wars, peace conferences were called, pressure was put on the various sides and a whole series of peace settlements achieved: Sri Lanka, Burundi, Southern Sudan, Sierra Leone, Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Bosnia and Kosovo”. This was a splendid
achievement; post-conflict situations are fragile which is evidenced by the fact that, in the past, approximately 40% of them have reverted to violence within a decade. In total, these reversions account for half of all the world’s civil wars; thus, maintaining the post-conflict peace more effectively than in the past would be the single most effective way of reducing civil war. Kanyane et al (2009:56) argue that the management of conflicts has been hindered by recycling the failure of African regimes to create an environment conducive to the establishment of good governance; instead they were influenced by both external and internal actors which caused conflict management to be uncertain. Peace in the DRC could be cited as a good example of a peace settlement which was brought about by all actors, both internal and external; it was not achieved through military might or pure political settlement alone but was negotiated around the table. The role of the DRC’s leadership was significant in terms of how to positively impact on their current political stability.

2.5 South Africa: An African Model of Conflict Resolution

A remarkable settlement that is worth mentioning is a paradigm shift in the Republic of South African, from apartheid to democracy, which makes it an important example of conflict resolution and management. Kanyane et al (2009:56) contend that the South African experience in conflict resolution contains important lessons to be learnt; the apartheid ideology which was pursued by the National Party was based on racial, political and socio-economic discrimination that allowed the minority to rule over the South African majority for many decades. Rothchild (1997:193), in Kanyane et al (2009:56), describes the National Party and the African National Congress as hesitant and reluctant to involve a third party in mediation. They viewed the involvement of a third party as endangering their interests and suspected that this party may impose unwanted compromises on them. In this regard, the opposing parties agreed to the non-involvement of a third party in the negotiation and refused to succumb to the pressure that could emerge from external mediation. In achieving this goal, an enriching environment was created for negotiations and major changes would follow. On 2 February 1990, Mr. FW de Klerk, as state president, delivered a watershed speech in which he announced major changes that greatly surprised all but a few select. In his speech he stated that “the wellbeing of our country would be inextricably linked to the ability of its leaders to come to terms with one another on a new dispensation that none could escape”.
Thus, the age of negotiations began to grow although new changes could not provide concrete guarantees, but it was accepted as the only viable road to the future. Rothchild continues by stating that exerting pressure and offering incentives led to confidence building and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to negotiation between the two parties involved in the conflict. It could be inferred that international and home pressure mounted a process of radical changes which started to manifest and provides incentives that led to confidence building amongst opposing parties. Further, he continues by suggesting that an atmosphere conducive to negotiation was cemented in the 1990s when all unbanned opposition parties and political leaders in detention, including Nelson Mandela, were released and thus paved the way for new opportunities for conducting the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA); this marked the beginning of a direct internal negotiation process without involving external mediators (Kanyane et al, 2009:57).

The involvement of the UN, Commonwealth and other observers played a tremendous role in the peace process so as to create an enriching environment for peace building and negotiation by urging political leaders to focus on interest drivers and to engage in direct bargaining. Rothchild, in Kanyane et al (2009:58), acknowledges some incentives that were exerted, by international bodies, on the opposing parties involved in peace building and negotiation situations that could be related to economic and diplomatic realities, using legitimate incentives. Kanyane et al (2009:58) identified tools and mechanisms that were used in conflict resolution and management derived from the South African experience, as a component of national reconciliation and healing. These were:

   a) A Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed to reconcile the divided society for the common good of the people of South Africa

   b) Black economic empowerment was instituted to empower blacks who were economically disadvantaged during the struggle

   c) Black and coloured people, and white women, were the first to be considered in the employment process.

In the preamble to the Constitution of Republic of South Africa (1996), the ideals of reconciliation and healing are enshrined as follows: “We the people of South Africa recognize
the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; respect those who have worked to build and develop our country and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it; united in our diversity. We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this constitution as the supreme law of the republic of South Africa so as to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”.

In terms of section195(1)(i), public administration must be “broadly representative of the South African people, with employment and personnel management practices based on ability, objectivity, fairness and the need to redress the imbalances of the past to achieve broad representation”. In line with healing and reconciliation, many laws were enacted to phase out the country’s apartheid legacy and to redress the imbalances created by apartheid system; among of them were the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act 53 of 2003; the Basic Conditions of Employment Act 75 of 1997 and the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, the purpose of which was to achieve equity in the workplace by:

a. Promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and

b. Implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce.

The experience of the South African Republic could be an excellent example of the paradigm shift, from an oppressive to a democratic system, that would illuminate other African conflicts which pursue real healing and reconciliation. True reconciliation is an ultimate goal and it should embody elements of peaceful coexistence, true peace building, social cohesion and good governance. President Roman Herzog, in Villa-Vicencio (2008:154), viewed reconciliation as not being about forgetting but rather posited it as an attempt to remember in a constructive manner. Speaking on the occasion of the Deutscher Bundestag (1996), he observed: “The pictures of the piles of corpses, of murdered children, women and children, women and men, of starved bodies are so penetrating that they remain distinctly engraved, not just in the minds of survivors and liberators, but in those who read and view accounts of [the holocaust]
today….why, then, do we have to will to keep this memory alive? Would it not be an evident desire to let the wounds heal into scars and to lay the dead to rest? .... History fades quickly if it is not part of one’s own experience [But] memory is a living future. We do not want to conserve the horror. We want to draw lessons that future generations can use as guidance … In the light of sober description, the worst barbarous act shrinks into an anonymous event; if we wish for the erasure of this memory we ourselves will be the first victims of self-deception” Herzog emphasises remembrance that could create new thinking about the past and not repeating past atrocities.

Former South African president, Thabo Mbeki, spoke of a renewed people in Villa-Vicencio (200:162) when he stated: “for whom the old divisions of race and class would give way to a new sense of togetherness as an ideal on which we should not compromise”. President Mbeki, went on to say that “for political reconciliation to be sustainable beyond the excitement of the early phase of rapprochement and negotiations [which South Africa was experiencing at the time], the economy needs to be restructured in such a way that the poor and socially excluded begin to share in the material benefits of nation’s wealth”. The speech focused primarily on equitable distribution and economic growth and called for political and social engagement as well as sustainable and reciprocal civic trust between all divisions of society. The people need to feel free to participate in the decision-making process in a robust and spirited way. If people do not feel comfortably “at home” in their respective countries, they will not only be reluctant to work for the common good but will also cause considerable trouble. The tragedy is that this is often only realized after an extended period of conflict and violence is over, which leaves its imprint on the attempt to create an inclusive society.

President Mbeki stressed the ideals that should be observed and undoubted dedications to their lives in which he claimed that South Africa must belong to all, with economic, political and social empowerment which are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996. Thus, in terms of conflict-resolving mechanisms, Villa-Vicencio (2008:172) contends that “reconciliation begins where force, adjudication, and arbitration begins to give way to negotiation, mediation and social interaction. Ultimately reconciliation is about sustainable peace. It is about the internalization of peace-building attitudes at the national, communal and
individual levels, which realizes alternatives to the escalation of violence in countries seeking to extricate themselves from situations of violence and civil wars”.

2.6 The Sudan Experience

The Sudan experience in conflict resolution has created a unique opportunity for the Sudanese people to take charge of their own future, break the circle of violence and war, and embark on a journey of conflict resolution and peace-building; this opportunity has laid a strong foundation to redress the root causes of violence and conflict. It could be recalled that the first initiative to engage warring parties was in April 1985, after Numieri’s regime, by the Sudanese intellectuals and civil organizations who formed what was called the National Alliance for National Salvation (NANS) to negotiate with the two opposing group. Akol (2009:49-50) states that “four main issues occupied the attention of the NANS and featured in its discussion: the Islamic laws, peaceful resolution of the war, the transitional constitution of the Sudan and electoral law”. He argues further, on the matter of the war raging in the Southern Sudan that “the NANS was at one that the only option was a peaceful resolution of the conflict through negotiations with the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) and called for a cease-fire between the warring parties to create an atmosphere conducive for the talks to take place”. In spite of the unanimity on the policy, this was the area where the NANS received its setback, for no aspect of the policy was affected. Ceasefires were always declared unilaterally and never implemented”.

Despite all attempts of the NANS, as internal mediator, to bring about a political settlement as a home-based initiative ended unsuccessfully. The failure of all home initiatives was that each opposing group negotiates only on its own positions. Akol (2009:164) states that the position of government was outlined by Col. Mohamed Khaliffa, a member of Revolution Salvation, which comprises of three phases: “first stage was to conduct preliminary meetings to discuss the following: the cease-fire arrangements; continuation and expansion of relief assistance; cessation of press hostilities against each other; and establishment of direct communication channels between the two sides. The second stage was convening a conference in Khartoum. The conference was to be attended by the SPLA, the Government, national figures and foreign personalities (if the two sides agree to have them) and the third stage was to take measure to return life to normality in three Southern provinces”.
On the other hand, according to Akol (2009:167), the position of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement was contrary to the government position, and was as follows;

a) “Establishment of an interim broad-based government of national unity, free of sectarianism (racial, religious, tribal or any other politicized localism) that have plagued and bled our country for the last 33 years of our formal independence

b) Establishment of a national, non-sectarianism, non-regional army from both SPLA and the regular army.

c) The convening national constitutional conference by the interim government of national unity to resolve the country’s fundamental problems based on the Koka Dam Declaration was an agreement made between the National Alliance for National Salvation (NANS) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) on a general framework for the political settlement of the conflict in Sudan as the Sudanese peace initiative.

d) Preparation for elections and ratification of the constitution by elected constituent assembly and establishment of elected government”.

However, there was an initiative made by former president of United States of America, Jimmy Carter, in 1989, between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM). Akol (2009:173) states that President Carter said that he had persuaded both sides to hold fresh discussions without preconditions and continues by claiming that both sides think they can initiate talks once again, without mediation. Former president Carter’s initiative was only based on shuttle diplomacy to build confidence, while the peace process was left for warring parties to negotiate alone, without mediation, despite the fact that the situation in Sudan was at the edge of an explosion which may take people to square one (war situation) (Akol, 2009:172). It was clear that the peace process would end without success because each opposing party was adamant to maintain its positions, based on a win-lose solution in order to achieve an advantage during negotiations. The approach towards negotiations was negative and characterized by contestations, win or lose, disputes, tensions and manipulation which inevitably led to failure.
Serious peace talks began in September 1993, during the Summit of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), and formed a four-country committee headed by Kenya to mediate the Sudanese conflict; this laid the foundation for real peace negotiations and the drafting of a framework for talks which has become known as the Declaration of Principles (DOP). Akol (2009:300) notes that “the DOP declared that a military solution cannot bring about lasting peace and stability to the country and that a peaceful and just political solution must be the common objective of the parties to the conflict”.

In terms of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (2005:2), the two warring parties agreed on principles that were driven from the Declaration of Principles (DOP) that identified the root causes of Sudan conflict, which were resting on and revolved around access to resources, economic opportunity and power. The CPA concluded the final phase of negotiation to address issues of inclusiveness, identity, and access to resources that were among the most significant structural causes of the conflict. This includes “the power sharing agreement; that the unity of Sudan, based on free will of its people democratic governance, accountability, equality, respect and justice for all citizens of the Sudan is and shall be priority of the parties and that it is possible to redress the grievances of the people of South Sudan and to meet their aspirations within this Comprehensive Peace Agreement framework; that the people of South Sudan have the right to control and govern affairs in their region and participate equitably in the national government; that the people of South Sudan have the right to self-determination, inter alia, through a referendum to determine their future status”. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) acknowledges that the religion, customs and traditions are sources of moral strength and aspiration for the Sudanese people and must be enshrined in the Interim Constitution of the Sudan.

Further, that the people of the Sudan share common heritage and aspirations and accordingly agree to work together to establish a democratic system of governance taking to account of cultural, ethnic, racial religious and linguistic diversity and gender equality of the people of the Sudan; the wealth sharing that to find a comprehensive solution that addresses the economic and social deterioration of the Sudan and replace war not just with peace, but also with social, political and economic justice with respects the fundamental human and political rights of all the Sudanese people; the security arrangement, that to negotiate and implement a comprehensive
ceasefire to end the suffering and killing of the Sudanese people; formulate a repatriation, resettlement, rehabilitation, reconstruction and development plan to address the needs of those areas affected by the war and redress the historical imbalances of development and resources allocation; design and implement the peace agreement so as to make the unity of the Sudan an attractive option especially to the people of South Sudan; and undertake the challenge by finding a framework by which these common objectives can be best realized and expressed for the benefit of all the Sudanese”.

These principles were a road map for Sudanese peace and culminated in the so-called Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) by involving external mediators; this was supervised and monitored by the regional and international community. The CPA negotiations were based on a win-win solution mechanism which gave positive results in conflict resolution processes. The approach to negotiation was characterized by elements of interaction, mutual benefit, opportunity and interdependency. The Sudanese conflict has shown that it is impossible to use internal mediation of conflicts in diversity to achieve a desirable peace settlement, without the involvement of skilled and powerful external mediators (regional and international) as crucial for helping parties achieve constructively desirable outcomes in conflict. Budjac (2007:35) came up with approaches to conflict by comparing the win-win and win-lose solutions illustrated in the table below.
Figure: 2.6.1: Comparison between win-win and win-lose solutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Win-win solutions (Positive Approach)</th>
<th>Win-lose solutions (Negative Approach)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening</td>
<td>Destructive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Developmental</td>
<td>Pain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
<td>War</td>
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<td>Courageous</td>
<td>Hostility</td>
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<td>Helpful</td>
<td>Threat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exciting</td>
<td>Violence</td>
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<td>Stimulating</td>
<td>Competition</td>
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<td>Creative</td>
<td>Anger</td>
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<td>Energizing</td>
<td>Distress</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarifying</td>
<td>Alienation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enriching</td>
<td>Hopeless</td>
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<td>Good</td>
<td>Bad</td>
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It is clear that a negative approach produces rigid thinking while reducing cognitive ability and creativity, whereas a positive approach produces flexible thinking, in terms of interdependence and mutuality, which helps in developing the essential skills for the successful resolution of conflict. Maill (2004:2-4), in David (2008:70), argues that “conflict resolution aims to address causes of conflict and seeks to build new and lasting relationships between hostile parties by helping them to explore, analyze, question and reframe their positions and interests; it moves conflicting parties from the destructive patterns of zero-sum “conflict to positive-sum” or “constructive outcome”.

2.7 Diplomacy in the public institutions

There are theories of diplomacy related to resource conflicts; the purpose of these theories is to explore the arguments of conflict theories and how these are related in order to conceptualize the scope of conflicts based primarily on competition for natural resources. Several theories were identified such as: Multi-Track Diplomacy which is an expression of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville, in 1982, between track one (official, governmental actions) and track
two (unofficial, non-governmental action) approaches to conflict resolution (Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 2004). Another theory which was identified in this regard is the Classical theory which, according to Diamond and McDonald (2003:1), “emphasizes that the roots of conflicts stem from group competition and the pursuit for power and resources, it capitalizes on observations of group phenomena for single event in order to study the problem in depth”.

Diplomacy could be traced back through ancient history. Originally it stems from the Greek word ‘diploma’ which means something folded into two; it was also used to describe official travelling documents and was then introduced into English by Edmund Burke in 1796, with the same meaning it had in Latin (http://www.worldwidewords/topicalwords/tw-dipl.htm). The notion of diplomacy has usually been confused with foreign policy despite the fact that the two terms are not identical. Diplomacy could be regarded as the chief instrument of foreign policy set by political leaders whereas foreign policy, according to Nierkek et al (2001:91), “foreign policies are closely linked to the nation’s survival and the quality of its way of life”.

Further, Berridge (2005:1) purports that Diplomacy establishes goals and prescribed strategies and sets the broad tactics to be employed in accomplishment of national interests. Diplomacy, as a human talent and practice, has presumably arisen in primitive society seemingly without external interactions; this assumption could be tested by studying the diplomacy of primitive people encompassing societies that still exist today, particularly in the IGAD countries. African primitive societies were familiar with the idea of messengers and special envoys to maintain intertribal relations – which was one kind of diplomacy. Due to the scarcity of written documents on diplomacy in ancient times, very little has been known about it, particularly in reference to diplomatic concepts across many societies, e.g. Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonian, Chinese and Hindus. These diplomatic documents reveal that there was exchange of envoys between Egyptian pharaohs and neighbouring monarchs, the ancient Chinese were more isolated and their records describe only the protocol and rules used in dealing with the territories they occupied.

The Hindus recognized the importance of diplomacy, particularly in Kautilya’s Arthashastra, in ancient India. This outlines the responsibilities of envoys when transmitting the points of view of their rulers, preserving treaties, defending their countries (India, Chinese, Assyria, Babylon and
Egypt) positions, issue of ultimatum for envoys to leave the hosting country, gaining of friends and gathering information (Kothari, 2008:56). The first diplomatic figures portrayed in ancient Greek were those which appear in the Greek mythology related to Hermes. The Italian city states system created an enriching environment favourable to the further development of diplomacy (Berridge, 2005:2). Bull (2008:156) argues that the functions of diplomacy would be communication; negotiation of agreements; gathering information; to minimize friction and to symbolize the existence of the society of the state.

Berridge (2005:1) argues that “Diplomacy is not merely what professionals diplomatic agents do. It is carried out by other officials and by private persons under direction of officials. It is also carried out through many channels besides the traditional resident mission”. The argument notes the importance of diplomacy as a public and political activity within the domain of public administration, which could be considered a means by which states pursue their foreign policies to achieve their national interests. It could be seen as a distinct field of study which consists of a process of dialogue and negotiation between agents of states. In the process of conducting dialogue and negotiation, diplomacy could also be accepted as the communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy through either formal agreement or implicit adjustment (Cunningham, 2005:164).

2.8 Conclusion

African conflicts are rooted in histories of colonial systems in Africa which offers multiple and multidimensional causes, courses and consequences for the continent. The root causes could be traced back to the political boundaries that created by colonial powers in Africa and had enclosed groups without consideration for their traditions of shared authority or shared systems of settling disputes; this artificial mixture has led to most of African’s great human tragedies. The other causes could be the interests of superpowers in their endeavour to stamp their feet on African politics, its economy and its socio-cultural outlook; among these are the concepts of decolonization, territorial disputes, external interference, and refugee problems.

There are also domestic sources of conflict such as ideology, personality, international power struggles and the mistreatment of minorities, in addition to human and non-human factors, which are also closely related to both external and internal sources of conflict. The causes of Africa’s
conflicts are complex and defy the explanation of any single analytical perspective. Some see the causes of Africa’s conflicts as economic and linked to poverty, debt and structural adjustment (Brown, 1995; Adekanye, 1995), others reduce them to political and governance-related factors such as the struggle for power, the fragility of the African state and ethnicity (Adedji, 1999; Lake and Rothchild, 1996; Copson, 1994). Others also point to ecological factors such as competition over farming and grazing land as well as other natural resources.

Many authors confirm that conflict resolution theory was formulated by a group of experts in international relations, and political scientists, who set about integrating the literature on achieving mutually beneficial outcomes in a conflict situation in order to create a best-practice perspective for conflict resolution. One of the key concepts in conflict resolution is the win-win solution, which is loosely considered as the art winning while allowing the other conflicting party to believe that they have also won. This is a basic principle of negotiation, both within the firm and with third parties focusing on interests, offering flexible options and making a symbolic concession.

To this end, there are theories of diplomacy related to resource conflicts, among others; Multi-Track Diplomacy which is an expression of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville, in 1982, between track one (official, governmental actions) and track two (unofficial, non-governmental action) approaches to conflict resolution. Another theory identified in this regard was the Classical theory, which emphasizes that the roots of conflict stem from group competition and the pursuit of power and resources; it capitalizes on observations of group phenomena for a single event in order to study the problem in depth. Thus, probing diplomacy on resource conflicts would need employment strategies and tools driven from the theories on conflict resolution in order to provide incentives and flexible options that will lead to the prevention, management, settlement, resolution and transformation of conflict into cooperation, in order to achieve mutual benefits. The chapter two offers a theoretical review of academic literature in combination with an analysis of the feature of resource conflicts and the relevant policies which govern conflict resolution and management. The chapter three which deals with research design and methodology that provides a discussion of the procedures followed when conducting the study and the techniques employed in collecting information from the participants.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a description of the instruments and tools that were identified in the previous chapter two and will be employed in the study. The methodological design of the study has provided an overview of the different research designs that were used to interact with the respondents. These tools and methods i.e. the questionnaire, interview and documentary surveys, including observation, were used to serve as a guide to a researcher on the procedure to be followed when interacting with study participants. The methodology that was employed has greatly assisted the researcher in being sensitive to various issues during the data collection process, within the context of the ethical requirements of the study.

3.2 Area of the study

The study is delimited to Turkana in northwest Kenya and Toposa in southeast South Sudan. The two counties were purposively selected as hot spots of violence emerging from resource conflicts and the research suggests that they have a direct impact on service delivery in the Turkana and Toposa counties.

- The Turkana County

Turkana is a term used to describe the pastoral community found in north western Kenya, north-eastern Uganda, south Eastern Equatorial and south-western Ethiopia. Most of these bordering communities share a common language and culture. The ethnic group is make-up of the Matheniko, Bokora, Dodouth, Pian, Nyagathom, Didinga, Merille, Toposa, Jie, Tepes, Luguar, Upe and Kormojong. The Turkana County extends from Somalia across Northern Kenya to Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda. It is divided into six administrative districts, namely; Turkana North, Turkana West, Turkana South, Turkana East, Turkana Central and Roima. Most of the west of the district is covered by a range of hills and the lowest area is Lotikipi in the North West and the area around Lodwar.
The Turkana county lies between Latitude 1°30’ and 5°00’ N and Longitude 33°25’ and 3°35’ E degrees and encompasses approximately 67,000 square kilometers. The Turkana people lie entirely within the Gregory Rift Valley which is bordered to the west by the Rift Valley wall, to the north by the mountains and plains occupied by the Toposa of South Sudan, to the east by the western shoreline of Lake Turkana, and to the south by the plains inhabited by the pastoral Pokot (Gwynne, 1969 in Olang, 1984: 3). During colonial rule which was characterized by the British policy of closed districts, the Turkana habitually roamed with their livestock in search of waters and pastures, and rotated around their traditional centres of Lokichoggio, Lodwar, Lokituang, Likichar and Kakuma. (Makutu, 2008:13). The region is largely semi-arid with the annual rain fall averaging 500-700mm. Generally, there is a decrease in rainfall and this may occasionally fluctuate depending on its time of its manifestation, in which it may rain in an area for one or two days in a year or the rain may fail altogether. Thus, since vegetation consists of seasonal grasses, thorny plants and the occasional shrub tree, in this harsh environment the community’s livelihood depends largely upon livestock (Herlokcer, 1994:15).

- **Livelihood Systems of the Turkana**

The majority of the population is neither sedentary nor completely nomadic and is best categorized as having their lives revolve around their two locations of permanent settlement (Manyatta) where livestock production takes place and some animals are kept to sustain households, and where they have seasonal mobile livestock camps (kraals). This system is well adapted to the uncertain environment. Turkana pastoralists usually employ an array of coping mechanisms that enable them to survive shocks, especially the severe droughts and famine that characterizes their environment (NORAD, 1979 in Olang, 1984:245).

The Turkana have a population of approximately about 855,399 according to the 2009 Kenyan National census of Population and Housing. The Turkana, like many other African tribal groups, hold livestock as a very important aspect of their culture and tradition stay in Manyattas. The elders decide where the herds and flocks will be grazed and where to find water. Weak livestock and some milking ones stay in and around the Manyattas, whereas the rest of the herds and flocks move to kraals during the dry season to cope with the harsh climate and limited availability of pasture and water. However, natural resources are owned and managed by clans.
and tribes. Livestock, including goats, sheep, cattle, donkeys, and camels are central to the Turkana community.

Indeed, both livestock and social status are heavily dependent on the size of livestock herds and flocks; this suggests that everybody strives to sustain and restock livestock, which leads to serious competition and rivalry for the existing resources. This would, in turn, threaten peace and trigger conflicts. Livestock is not only a mere producer of milk and meat but, beyond that circle, it is also as a form of currency, often used for bridal dowries. Turkana pastoralists live in plains with no permanent shelters (homesteads) in which to keep their many livestock. Their staple food includes milk, meat and livestock blood mostly are accessible and consumed during migrations for pasture and water (McCabe, 2004:23).

- **The Toposa Region**

The Toposa of South Sudan are found in Kapoeta County, in east bank Equatoria. Their most important settlements and villages are Kapoeta, Riwoto, Narus, Kauto, Naita, Mogos, Lamurnyang and Karukomuge. Toposa land has rugged topography with hills and ridges cut by shallow plains and seasonal streams. This land is arid with very little vegetation, consisting primarily of shrubs and short grass. The Toposa are part of a larger group known as the Ateker cluster, the Nilotic group which, in the Sudan, includes the Turkana, Matheniko, Bokora, Dodouth, Pian, Nyagathom, Didinga, Merille, Toposa, Jie, Tepes, Luguar, Upe and Karamoja. The Toposa speak ‘Toposa,’ a language very similar to the Jiye and Nyangatom language, which is also related to the Turkana of Kenya, as well as the Dodoth and Karmoja of Uganda; they share borders and have a common language and culture.

Cattle rustling and competition over scarce resources, such as water and pasture, has determined the relations between the Toposa and their neighbours (Gurtong, 2009:31). Toposa altitudes in South Sudan range from (600-3000) meters above sea level. Rainfall in Toposa County is about 700-1,300mm annually, whereas the south-eastern part receives the least rainfall of about 200mm annually (Livelihoods Profile 2006). In this area the temperatures are typically above 25°C and can rise above 35°C, particularly during the dry season, which lasts from January to April. For pastoralists, hot and dry conditions trigger seasonal human and livestock migration to
more permanent water sources (the toic), which serve as dry season grazing pastures (Southern Sudan: Agro-meteorology Update: Vol.002/09).

- **Livelihood Systems of the Toposa**

The main sources of information for this research include the 2008 national population census, documents and reports on Eastern Equatorial state and South Sudan. The existing database for South Sudan is likely to be very weak and have little information about the area, although there has been several national demographic surveys carried out and these would have to provide reliable sources of information. Toposa land has rough topography with hills and ridges cut by shallow plains and seasonal streams. The Toposa pan gold and other precious minerals in stream beds. The area has significant potential for the mining of mineral resources.

- **Common characteristics of Turkana and Toposa people**

The two areas share some common characteristics of ethnicity, pastoralists and semi-dry land in the three counties of Kapoeta North, Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East as well as the arid and semi-arid land County of the Turkana of Kenya. Notably, the Turkana and Toposa share common ethnic characteristics and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people, while occupying remote and semi-arid land territories that can hardly support any form of settled living. Both the Turkana and Toposa are nomadic. This involves seasonal movements in search for good pasture and water for their livestock; by moving from place to place they interact with other pastoralists. This interaction has not been cordial due to competition over rangeland, pasture and water points. Historically, they have been clashing over cattle, pasture and their individual ethnic styles of life, such as; status, social worth and existence which, to date, depend primarily on livestock (Apollos, 2010:182). The history of conflicts bear historical cultural dimensions, in which the activity becomes an act of courage and bravery, acquisition of arms and wealth, indirect control of the area and, consequently, increases insecurity at the border between South Sudan and Kenya (Terry et al, 2007:32-33). The remoteness of the two areas has made it a landscape of conflicts and insecurity.
3.3 Research design, methodology and sampling

Kumar (2005:164) defines sampling as “the process of selecting a few (sample) from the bigger group (the sampling population) to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group”. Stratified sampling and purposive sampling were used in this study. Stratified sampling was used to correspond with the qualitative nature of the study. The samples were selected from similar ethnic groups in such a way that the population within a stratum was homogenous with respect to the characteristics chosen as the basis for selection within the sample. In stratified sampling, the researcher has made it clear that the sample must be representative, irrespective of the sample size. Further, the researcher employed purposive sampling in which the subjects that were selected meet the needs of the study. The study population, as previously mentioned, is comprised of the Turkana and Toposa; they have been described in detail in terms of their people, ethnic group, households, and institutions that have been established in the two areas, as well as the types of services offered and events that have occurred during the period under investigation.

The population was divided into sub-populations, such as districts, and further into villages and households which were mutually selected. The Turkana population constitutes approximately 855,399 persons and is distributed across five districts, namely; North Turkana, West Turkana, East Turkana, South Turkana and Central Turkana, whereas the Toposa of South Sudan have a population of 346,551 persons and are distributed across four counties of Kapoeta North, Kapoeta South, Kapoeta Centre and Kapoeta East (Sudan National Census, 2008). It was observed, during the process of data collection, that the demographic information of the pastoral people has been difficult to collect, perhaps due to harshness and vast expanses of the Toposa and Turkana counties which were combined with the high degree of mobility of the people; this has added to the problem associated with collection of data and information.

3.4 Sample of Population

The population of the two areas of Turkana and Toposa comprised the target population for this study. This population includes the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomats,
District/County commissioners, administrators, police service, chiefs, community leaders, cattle camp leaders, community organizations and local politicians, all of whom formed part of the sample population. From this population, a number of households, diplomats, chiefs, community leaders, cattle camp leaders, community organizations and local politicians were sampled and participated in the study. The stratified random sampling method was employed in selecting the research sample for districts/Payams, Bomas/villages, diplomats, chiefs, camp leaders, local politicians, community leaders and community organizations; whereas purposive sampling was used for the Heads of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, District /county commissioners, members of police service and administrators.

The population was made representative. Each stratum (Payam/District) was then sampled as an independent sub-population out of which individual elements were randomly selected as households. The sample of the entire population of the two areas, Toposa and Turkana, was selected for study; this was considered representative for all the elements in the entire study population. The population composed of five counties from the two areas of Toposa and Turkana, 36 Payams/districts and 216 Bomas/villages.

The research took the form of a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques which involved common research methods such as observations, interviews, and questionnaires, through conflict and resource mapping of the study area of Turkana and Toposa. The aforementioned sampling techniques were employed to identify the specific area for study depending on the intensity of the problem, frequency of the conflict and insecurity. It would be argued that the variables to which the sample was drawn up were analytically and theoretically linked to the research questions: What impact has diplomacy had on resource conflict resolution and management? To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? And, how do we ensure sustainable peace in the region? The target groups were segmented into household heads, women, youth, cattle camp leaders, diplomats, administrators, chiefs, and traditional leaders.
3.5 Data collection techniques and procedures

The data collection was employed with care to ensure that the methods and instruments match the research questions, objectives, hypothesis, design and method. The primary data was obtained from field visits, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, County commissioners, District administrators, police service, chiefs, community leaders, cattle camp leaders, community organizations and local politicians. The researcher opted to employ various methods, such as observations, participant and non-participant techniques, structured and unstructured interviews. Further secondary sources, such diaries, files, records, reports, memoranda, etc., were used to ensure the reliability and validity of the data collected from the numerous respondents who were selected and who participated in the research. The field work was carried out for a period of three months: June, July and August 2011. The researcher employed two field assistants who were trained and equipped with the knowledge of data collection methods, and they proved helpful in approaching the selected sample and explaining the purpose of this study to them, in addition to stressing the voluntary nature of their participation and assuring them of the confidentiality of the process.

3.5.1 Questionnaire survey

A questionnaire survey (see Annexure E) was used in collecting data in this study. The total number of respondents was 1557 and they were distributed as follows; diplomats 72 (4.6%), administrators 360 (23.1%), councillors 113 (7.3%), community leaders 441 (28.3%) and households 540 (34.7%). The actual respondents who participated in the questionnaire survey were 1,526 (98%) and only 31 (2%) declined to participate on the grounds that a lot of research that has previously been conducted was merely academic work and failed to yield positive results. Other would be participants, including administrators and councilors, feared reprisals on the grounds that they were ineffective in their roles in resolving conflict. Some community leaders and household heads found it difficult to handle the research questions since they did not want to pinpoint any parties responsible for the conflict, in case they were to be reprimanded by the relevant authority for disclosure of information.
The first engagement, in this regard, was meeting with diplomats at the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Regional Cooperation of South Sudan, which has now become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. The purpose of the meeting was to brief them about the necessity of conducting research in the areas of Toposa and Turkana and how the two governments will be benefit from the outcome of the research, since the study will help to formulate a policy on how the resource conflicts between communities could be resolved. The diplomats were asked to participate in the research processes and they were helpful in providing their opinions about the conflict. The diplomats also coordinated between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and authorities of States who, in turn, allowed the researcher to reach the population of the study. The study covered a period of three months from June to August 2011.

The research tools used here were a questionnaire and question guide which were distributed to the respondents and administered by the research and field assistants. There are several challenges which were met with in the field, these were among others: (a) interviewees demanded allowances and compelled the field researcher to pay them money (b) it was noticed that many respondents could not communicate in Arabic, English or Kiswahili and, as such, translators were deployed. Further, (c) the area was rampant with hunger and famine that made it difficult for them to commit to the survey, and (d) some government officials were reluctant to answer the questionnaires provided. The challenges posed were ameliorated by strict adherence to the ethics of research and the researcher responded immediately in order to resolve these challenges. The language challenge was resolved by employing indigenous people, particularly educated individuals, who could translate the questions into the language of the participants. On the matter of hunger and famine, the problem was communicated to UN agencies to respond to the human crisis in the affected areas. It is important to recognize these challenges that are the responsibility of any government in terms of providing services to its people, in order to promote the general welfare of its inhabitants.

3.5.2 Interview Survey

The field research used a questionnaire and question guide which was prepared in order to gather information from the respondents. The research touches on issues of the root causes of resource
conflict, major threats to resource conflicts, cattle rustling, the kidnapping of women, child abduction, and the role of the government in ascertaining peace building.

The interview was a mutual venture between the researcher and participants whose insights, feelings and cooperation were very essential to revealing the subjective perceptions and meanings of resource conflicts. Indeed, an interview was a helpful tool in that it involved the mutual sharing of experiences and issues of concern with the intention of creating mutual trust and encouragement; this led to the process of mutual innovation and concrete examples.

During field interviews, the researcher probed the role of diplomacy in resource conflicts in the areas of Turkana and Toposa. The question guide was only used to streamline the discussion, but the interview itself was not formulated as it appears in the guide (see Annexure G). The interview was a mutual interaction between a researcher and respondents in which although the interviewees were ‘led’ to a specific answer …like ‘leading the witness’ in a court case and their insights, feelings and mutual cooperation was an integral part of the process.

The respondents were interviewed in their locations, diplomats were interviewed in their offices at the ministry of foreign Affairs in Nairobi and Juba, and councillors were interviewed in legislative assemblies, whilst administrators were interviewed at their respective county headquarters in Kapoeta and Lodwar. Community leaders and households were interviewed at kraals and villages. The interviews were very important because they helped to unearth what respondents know about the problem being studied and they proved useful in recording what the respondents’ views are.

In spite of the success of the interviews conducted, there were some challenges which were confronted during the process. In several cases, the researcher found it difficult to obtain approval, and it took a period of 10 months to be granted permission, primarily because security in the Turkana area is very bad. It demanded that the researcher conducted a series of consultations at different levels of government, including the office of the Presidency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Apart from longevity in obtaining permission to conduct the
interview survey, some respondents demanded that some money be paid before commencing with the interview.

These challenges were ameliorated by establishing official communication with the Office of the President, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which a green light was given to the researcher to commence with the research in the area. The National Council for Science and Technology finally approved the interviews that were to be conducted. The respondents were also compensated for being interviewed (see Annexure F).

3.5.3 Documentation survey

The availability, and antiquity, of existing documents has added value to the richness of sources of data for this study. The presence of some studies in the national museums, district archives, policy documents, diaries, letters, memoranda, reports and government publications as well case studies and documentary data collected in conjunction with interviews and observations were of great importance.

The researcher further employed artefact collections in obtaining further data about the study. These types of documents, as utilized in this regard, were official documents of the governments of South Sudan and Kenya, including:

- Kenya Census & Housing 2009,
- Strategic Plan, 2009: The role of the National Museum of Kenya in Development
- The Role of National Museums of Kenya in Development,
- Kenya Metrological Department 2010,
- Arid Lands Resource Management Project 2007-2008,
- Sudan National Population Census and Housing 2008,
- South Sudan Agrometeorology Update Vol.002/2009
- Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) 2005,
- JAM Sudan: Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) 2005,
3.5.4 Observation

Observation is a qualitative method of collecting primary data; it is a purposeful, systematic and selective way of watching and listening to an interaction or phenomenon as it takes place. During observation, the researcher ought to be very cautious in order to scrutinize the physical setting and capture its atmosphere. There are two types of observation in which the researcher was involved, namely; participation in which the observer fully participated in or took on a variety of roles in the events being studied. In participant observation, the researcher and assistant spent a few days in various villages observing and taking part in household activities such as church services, community meetings and settlement kraals as well as non-participation observation was a part of process and carried out without manipulation or intimidation.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data, in its raw form, does not speak for itself and thus needs to be processed and analyses (Kothari, 2004:31). Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study (Robin and Coulter, 2002:75). The researcher needs to rely on experience and literature to present the evidence in various ways, using various interpretations. This becomes necessary because statistical analysis is not necessarily used in all studies. The Data obtained from the field was checked for consistency. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:133) state that such data must be cleansed, coded, key-punched into a computer and analyzed. This study generated both qualitative and quantitative data. For the quantitative data, an analysis of the data was performed through descriptive statistics with the use of frequencies and percentages.

The researcher used the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyze the data. The steps which were followed included coding, editing and data entry, amongst others (Orodho, 2003). Sommer and Sommer (1997:123) define coding as the transformation or reduction of raw data into a set of standard categories for statistical analysis. The coding process involves assigning numbers to the values or levels of each variable (Morgan et al, 2004). The participants’ responses were coded in the order in which the questions were answered to ensure consistency.
For the qualitative data, a content analysis was performed in order to analyse it. This is a systematic qualitative description of the composition of objects or materials of study. It involves observation and a detailed description of objects, items or things that comprise the study. This approach has previously been used in similar research papers, such as the study conducted by Odundo (2007:29). The qualitative method was used to uncover and understand what lies beneath the phenomenon under study.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are thought to be the guiding rules that govern the practice of a profession. According to Mouton (2011:238), “the ultimate goal of all science is the truth. The epistemic imperative refers to the moral commitment that scientists are required to make to the search for truth and knowledge”. Mouton emphasizes that the epistemic imperative is not merely a good idea but acts as a regulative principle that guides the conduct of scientists. For the purpose of this study, permission was sought from all the relevant authorities including attaining letters of transmittal from the National Council for Science and Technology, a letter from the office of the president to the provincial commissioner and permits from research area administrators. In addition, the researcher appealed for a courtesy escort from the chiefs and sub-chiefs, who agreed to accompany him to the various areas of study. Further, all information derived from the study was treated with utmost confidentiality (see Annexures A, B, C & D).

3.9 Conclusion

The research design and methodology were systematically followed by the researcher. The interviews were selected to assist the researcher which his fieldwork by creating variables and communicating issues of importance when the respondents offered answers to the questions. The selection of observation as a research instrument was done because the researcher had to act rapidly on the perceptions of resource conflicts, its impact on the community and the physical expressions of the respondents when responding to some of the questions that they might have regarded as sensitive to their communities.
The methodology which was used has assisted the researcher in maintaining consistency in investigating the research problem, without deviation, throughout of the process of data collection and with the observation of some ethical considerations that had to be respected. The data that was collected and analyzed during the course of this study and were presented in chapter four which deals with data analysis and presentation.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an analysis of the data that was collected as a result of the interaction between the researcher and the respondents. Kothari (2004:122) argues that “the term analysis refers to the computations of certain measures along with searching for patterns of relationships that exist among data-groups. Thus in the process of analysis, relationships or differences supporting or conflicting with original or new hypotheses should be subjected to statistical tests of significance to determine with what validity data they can be said to indicate any conclusions”.

This chapter reflects upon the findings of the study in context, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This chapter will cover the perceptions of the two communities on the matter of security threats, and how authorities can effectively resolve this conflict. Finally, the chapter will be concluded by raising the critical issues which emanate from the findings of the study.
4.2 Quantitative analysis

4.2.1 Demographic Information

Figure: 4.2.1.1: Participants in the study

Figure: 4.2.1.1, above, indicates that 35.4% of the participants represent households, 28.9% community leaders, 23.6% administrators, 7.4% councillors and 4.7%, diplomats. The fact that the majority of respondents were found in households indicates that households were directly subjected to resource conflicts followed by community leaders who were always involved in problem-solving. Further, administrators assumed the third position which could illustrate that they live within these areas in which resource conflicts abound and were involved in the problems as they arose. At the bottom of this demographic scale were the councillors and diplomats; this illustrates that the role of administrators was based on the nature of the work assigned to them and the distances of the areas, although the role of advocacy of the problem
seems to be difficult in participation in policy making (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

**Figure: 4.2.1.2: Population of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties**

Figure: 4.2.1.2, above, illustrates the distribution of the population of Toposa and Turkana in which the population of Turkana amounts to 51.9%, which is higher than Toposa’s 48.1% (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
**Figure: 4.2.1.3: Distribution of Population of Turkana and Toposa according to places of residence**

The above figure, 4.2.1.3, illustrates a distribution of the population of Turkana and Toposa according places of residence (county set up); these results in a range of opinions on the best way to approach them. It is worth noting that most of the population of these two counties resides in rural areas; this reflects a typical distribution of the African societal population. There is a slight difference between the two areas. Toposa’s population is 85.5% in the rural area and 14.5% in the urban; whilst 93.5% of the Turkana stay in rural areas and only 6.5% are found in urban areas. It is believed that these populations, which exist in rural areas, have been influenced by issues related to poverty, thus indicting that there are recurrent resource conflicts for survival (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
Figure 4.2.1.4: Respondents by urban/rural division of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties

Figure 4.2.1.4 shows the distribution of respondents according to the rural/urban division of Turkana and Toposa counties, in which 89.7% of the respondents were found to be residing in the rural areas, whilst 10.3% of the respondents were found in urban areas.
Figure: 4.2.1.5: Respondents from a representative sample of payams/districts of Turkana North and Kapoeta counties

The figure above, 4.2.1.5, depicts the number of respondents, from a representative sample of payams/districts of counties, who represent the Eastern Equatoria state: Naita 39.5%, Kauta 28.8% and Karikomuge 21.7%, whereas North Kenya represents Oropol 31.5%, Lockichar 38.2% and Lockitang 30.3% (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
Figure 4.2.1.6: Types of Residence in Turkana North and Kapoeta counties

Figure 4.2.1.6 depicts the percentage of respondents from a representative sample of payams/districts of Turkana North and Kapoeta counties. It shows that the majority of the populations are temporary nomads 82% and semi-permanent residents of the county amount to 18% of this sample. It could be inferred that the majority of the population is nomadic and usually seeks a better life elsewhere; in this process, they interact with other neighbouring communities in search of a means of living (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
4.2.2 Diplomacy on Resource Conflicts Resolution and Insecurity Management

Figure: 4.2.2.1: Perception of security threats

Figure 4.2.2.1 depicts the respondents’ perceptions of the three biggest threats to the security of their communities. The majority of the respondents, 61.4%, perceived that armed cattle raiding was the most common event, followed by uncontrolled youths (33.5%) and abductions (5.1%) as the main threats to the security of households (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

The respondents’ explanations as to why they have chosen these three as the biggest threats to their security is because human lives were likely to be lost and livestock would be significantly reduced during raids. The emergence of several youth gangs which have transformed themselves into uncontrolled youths are easily manipulated and mobilized and thus pose a serious threat to
urban and rural stability; these youths would opt to exact revenge in order to restock their losses through raids, cattle rustling and abductions. The respondents argued that the three biggest threats mentioned here are likely to have an impact on their lives, because their livelihoods and social status are heavily dependent on the size of their livestock herds and flocks.

**Figure: 4.2.2.3: Perceptions of resource conflict**

Figure 4.2.2.2, above, illustrates that 96.2% of the respondents’ perceptions of resource conflict seem to agree with the conceptualization of resource conflict as “conflict as encountered through tribal/clinical competition/rivalry of benefits from resources available such as pastures, waters, lands and livestock”. 3.8% of the respondents perceived it as risks and attacks associated with changes in environmental conditions and factors affecting the migration of pastoralist herds and flocks (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
4.2.2.3 Perception of Authority Effectively Resolving the Conflict

Figure 4.2.2.4: Perception of authority effectively resolving the conflict

Figure 4.2.2.3 highlights that 64.8% of the respondents from households and the community believe that community leaders resolve conflict effectively through traditional courts. This is because the pastoral conflicts and age system, in different sectors of community, play different roles in raids. Pastoral communities were socially organized in an age-grade system with age-sets consisting of all youths who have been initiated in particular years. Elders were collectively responsible for the governance of the community and founded the ruling body and the court of judges that made decisions (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

35.2% of the respondents from administrators, councillors and diplomats believe that other tools have to be introduced; these tools include alternative migration patterns that could assist in resolving the conflict effectively if employed. Alternative migration patterns include peace talks, reconciliation, disarmament, negotiation, stopping cattle rustling and the rule of law, among others. It seems that a number of respondents indicate that people value face-to-face negotiation as a way to resolve conflict. Although there is widespread recognition of the outcome of peace
meetings, in certain cases peace meetings are believed to have resulted in renewed conflict as the meetings refresh memories of old grudges.

4.2.3 Access to Services and related Security Issues

![Bar chart](chart.png)

**Figure: 4.2.3.1: Access to Services and related Security Issues**

Figure 4.2.3.1 illustrates that 64.8% of access to services related to security issues are found and accessed by communities within their villages, whereas 35.2% of the services related to security issues are accessed outside villages at grazing lands. In accessing services which exist in various communities most of them are predominantly inside villages and basic water sources such as rivers, pools or streams and others are accessed outside villages, such as pastures and grazing lands (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
4.2.4 Responsibilities and Perceptions of Security

4.2.4.1: Perceptions of security situation in Turkana and Toposa

Figure: 4.2.4.2: Perception of security situation in Turkana and Toposa

On the question of perceptions of the security situation in the areas of Turkana and Toposa, about of 46% of the respondents from households perceived a security risk in their localities; this is very bad as it indicates that proper protection arrangements are not in place and people were subjected to several factors including harsh climatic conditions. This critical situation has recently been manifest in North Kenya and the South Sudan in terms of the severe famine and drought which millions of people will be subjected to it. In spite of the manifestation of severe famine in Toposa areas, there is no data that can determine its magnitude in comparison to the Turkana area. This could explain why the area had a relative rainfall that allowed them to cultivate and provide relatively good pastures for their herds and flocks (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
The bar chart shows that 34.1% of the respondents from the group of community leaders expressed that security improved in comparison to the previous situation. 15.1% of the administrative respondents were not fully convinced and/or satisfied because they perceived the security situation as remaining the same. 0.9% of the respondents from councilors were not sure whether the security situation has improved or was getting worse. 0.5% of the respondents from diplomats expressed that they do not know and 0.8% of the respondents refused to answer questions on the grounds that they do not benefit from this research and may be harassed by the authority if they provide the correct information, which they considered confidential. Finally, 2.6% of the questionnaire forms were not returned and/or were considered missing.

Regardless of the motivation for the border dispute, it is an extremely volatile and potentially explosive issue for the governments of Kenya and South Sudan. Inhabitants in the region are feeling unsecure and it is believed, locally, that there has been an increase in the possession of arms by civilians. It is evident that the security situation in both the Turkana and Toposa areas was very bad; this made it a substantial element needed by communities so as to achieve a peaceful co-existence between Toposa and Turkana. The chart demonstrates that the communities of the two areas are really in need of peaceful coexistence amongst themselves. It is the responsibility of the two governments to provide security services.

4.2.4.2: Comparison of Security Situation before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)
In an evaluation of the agencies present in their areas, it was found that many agencies such as local government administration, traditional authority, police, the village local army and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were available. Looking at the security situation, the findings show that the presence of agencies was deemed responsible for providing security-related services in their localities.

Figure: 4.2.4.3: Comparison of Security Situation before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

Figure: 4.2.4.2 displays a comparison of the security situation before and after the comprehensive peace agreement between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement. It is clear that respondents seem to have acknowledged that there is an improvement in the security situation. 58% of the respondents from households claim that there was an improvement in security, 19.8% of respondents who are community leaders still believe that the situation has remained the same; whilst 19.1% of the respondents who are administrators and councilors feel that the situation is worse than before. 6.4% of the respondents refused to answer on the grounds that they will be harassed and the research did not yield positive results.
and, finally, 8.3% of the questionnaires were not returned and were, thus, considered missing (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

The perception of household respondents, regarding the resource conflict at the Kenya-South Sudan border was rated as good and some improvements were made. In this situation, the status of order and rule of law has, to a certain extent, been achieved. Some respondents argued that resolving a resource conflict would ensure that justice is achieved and that it would provide some tools and mechanisms for the protection of resources, whilst helping the conflict resolution process. Tracking resource conflict resolution would facilitate arbitral and informal decision making that will foster joint learning and testing of various conflict resolution techniques.

While government structures are being established, these structures do not necessarily reflect existing power relationships. Instead, whilst the actual power is played out, administrative confusion arises. The systematic disconnection between citizens’ and governments’ sentiment is widely echoed in civil society’s criticism of how peace and reconciliation processes were conducted. This highlights that there is difficulty in establishing an appropriate entry point or mechanism for any activity that controls local violence.
4.2.4.3: General feelings of households regarding their safety

![Bar chart showing general feelings of households regarding their safety](image)

**Figure: 4.2.4.4: General feelings of households regarding their safety**

Figure 4.2.4.3 offers an illustration of the general feelings of households regarding the areas in which they live. According to 26.7% of household respondents, they feel insecure because there is an abundance of fire arms. 20.5% of the respondents from community leaders feel a bit insecure, which is a result of the reduction of cattle raids and child abduction. 37.6% of the administrative respondents feel fairly safe and 15.2% of the respondents who are diplomats feel very safe due to the fact that various factors that they considered to be affecting their lives have been satisfactorily addressed (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
4.2.4.4: Acts of violence to which households’ members have been subjected

Figure: 4.2.4.5: Acts of violence to which households’ members have been subjected

Figure: 4.2.4.4, above, depicts the victimization suffered by household members; however, the household members feel that they were frequently victimized by acts of violence. According to the respondents, the victimization has been manifest in child abduction, the kidnapping of women, housebreaking, armed robbery, land grabbing, cattle rustling, tribal conflict, and revenge.

20.3% of the respondents from community leaders regard child abduction as the most frequently occurring event and 17.8% of the respondents who are administrators consider the kidnapping of women as the most frequently occurring, whereas 56.4% of the respondents from households consider cattle rustling as the most dominant practice among communities. Further, 2.7% of the respondents who are councilors maintain that the act of revenge still exists because, during the migration cycle, some lives are lost in fighting to control points of water and pastures or during cattle rustling which motivates other clans to exact revenge. 0.5% of the respondents, i.e. those
who are diplomats, expressed that one cause of victimization was traditional fighting, whilst 0.9% of household respondents claimed that armed robbery is a cause of victimization. 1.4% of the respondents who are community leaders consider land grabbing as another cause of victimization in which some communities replace other communities in order to claim the land as their ancestral land (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

4.2.4.5 Provision of security

![Provision of security](image)

*Figure 4.2.4.6: Provision of security*

Figure 4.2.4.5, above, depicts the provision of security services to the entire community; the majority of respondents from the households 74.2% believe that security is provided by community vigilantes. The respondents who are community leaders 25.8% replied by stating that the police service provides security to the community (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).
4.2.5 The Respondents’ General Comments about Resource Conflict and how it should be Resolved

Figure: 4.2.5.1: General comments about resource conflict and how it should be resolved

Figure: 4.2.5.1 highlights the opinions of the respondents on how resource conflict could be resolved. 84.3% of the respondents from households perceived of resources as a collective resource which is owned by the community and ought to be managed collectively, through a resource governance system (Sudan National Census, 2008 & Kenyan National Census, 2010).

The bar chart reveals that 13.5% of the respondents, who are community leaders and administrators, believe that resolving resource conflict would necessitate a good governance infrastructure. 2.2% of the respondents, who are councilors and diplomats, acknowledge the involvement of all stakeholders in a resource conflict as a crucial and important factor for resolving conflict.
4.2.6: Qualitative Analysis

After analyzing the empirical data collected from various respondents in the quantitative analysis, it is important to present a qualitative analysis to capture the perceptions of respondents regarding the questions that were set. With regard to the question titled ‘what are root causes of resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?’, the households replied that the root causes of the resource conflict are probably derived from poverty, famine and drought, boundaries, traditions and the surrounding environment. The community leaders’ concerns were that the main factors that affect the resource conflicts were drought and famine, the long dry season, scarcity of water and pastures, border demarcation and communal raids, in addition to border issues and poor leadership and governance (Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994 & Arid Lands Resource Management Project, 2007-2008, Kenya).

The administrators expressed their dissatisfaction with the way that their resources are being subjected to the conflicts. They believed that livestock are threatened by human migration during the search for pastures and water. The magnitude of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa was seen in decline of inter-marriages, deterioration of the relationship between communities, poor association and lack of cooperation. In addition, there is the decline of border trade, lack of sharing traditions, and the expansion or spread of weapons possession, as well as limited water sources, pastures and migration.

4.2.6.1 Root causes of the resource conflicts between Turkana and Toposa

In debating the root causes of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa, councilors faced some challenges that were considered root causes of the conflict, such as inadequate resources of feeding, non-quarantined migration in searching for pasture, vulnerability of animals, decline of animal produce, increase of human diseases, worsening starvation and revenge attacks.

The researcher observed that the general impression of diplomats was that the two governments have foregrounded the conflict situation and have not paid much attention to peace processes and
reconciliation so as to pave the way for addressing the issues which trigger the conflict. Contrasts in opinion about the root causes of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa vary widely on the matter of whether the root causes of the conflict are associated with increased violence. Households expressed that the root causes of the resource conflict, between Turkana and Toposa, were numerous and ranged from competition over grazing land, poverty and hunger that brings with it raids between communities, fighting for power and pride, scarcity of grazing land, and fighting to claim location. The administrators felt that addressing these complex and multi-layered issues would require a closer look at the issues related to resource conflicts and how they form part of the weakness in governance and, possibly, a lack of services and poverty.

Community leaders attributed the root causes of the resource conflict to the migration cycle in search of pastures and water. During the migration cycle there is interaction between other communities that may cause and accelerate conflict between them. Further, administrators and diplomats answered that, although raiding is the most common and obvious problems, there are other factors that could be associated with the conflict, these are poverty; availability of fire arms and weapons; illiteracy; primitive life and ignorance of the law; lack of common intervention for development.

The councillors argued that the root causes could be attributed to the loss of lives and livestock, force marginalization, advanced weapons, lack of civic education amongst pastoralists, rebellion against authority and the absence of law and order. According to the community leaders of Toposa, one of the things that triggered conflict was that the government of Kenya decided to change the border from Lokichoggio to Nadapal and began requesting that the Toposa present their passports and travel permits in order to cross the border. On the other hand, the community leaders of Turkana accused the Toposa of breaching the peaceful co-existence that they previously had and politicized the issue (Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994 & Arid Lands Resource Management Project, 2007-2008, Kenya).

The diplomats articulated that the root causes of resource conflicts could be related to the livestock itself, pasture and water, land borders, traditional or cultural pride, rivalry and competition over resources. Further, they articulated that the root causes of the conflict could be
connected to jealousy over livestock and grazing land, a surplus of fire arms, the culture and traditions of some communities and political incitement from some government officials and local authorities.

In arguing the root causes of the resource conflict, councilors noted that sources of conflict were derived from hunger, poverty, famine and drought, borders/boundaries, as well as tribalism and clanism. In addition, community leaders expressed the view that the hybridization of customary law creates ambiguity in the judicial system which results in violence and the youth taking justice into their own hands. The resolution of this problem is intimately connected to issues of poverty, cattle raiding, famine, drought, land and political influences. According to these community leaders, the protracted process of reconciliation and peaceful co-existence necessitates that local power structures handle the conflict.

4.2.6.2 The factors affecting the resource conflict in villages of Turkana and Toposa

The main factors affecting resources in the village, in the view of respondents from households, were attributed to the inadequacy of conflict resolutions. Further, community leaders perceived that the main factors were inaccessibility to some resources, frequent conflict between communities, disputes over boundaries, an outbreak of livestock diseases as well as drought and famine or a long dry season. Moreover, they suggest that the unfavourable weather conditions, insecurity, conflicts, drought and famine, as well as the inaccessibility of water and pastures were the root causes of the conflict. The administrators observed that conflict resolution seems to be equated with ‘forgiving and forgetting’ rather than bringing justice; this provides each party to the conflict with an incentive to solve the conflict, which could be termed ‘social justice’.

4.2.6.3 Opinions of resources threatened by conflicts in the counties of Turkana and Toposa

Regarding the opinion on resources which are threatened by conflicts; the households point out that the resources threatened by conflict are grazing land, pastures, water, borders and the
frequent subjection to conflicts due to frequent raids, drought, famine, pests and diseases (JAM Sudan: Joint Assessment Mission, 2005 & Strategic Plan, 2009: The role of National Museums of Kenya in Development).

Community leaders believed that livestock has been threatened by conflict due to human migration in search of pastures during the dry season, as well as water and grazing land which triggers conflicts. The administrators underlined that the approach to peacemaking between Turkana and Toposa was based on the belief that the two had more in common and both sides need the water, pasture and border trade between them, because local peace-building would provide peace dividends. Further, it provided an incentive to stop and underline official involvement for peaceful co-existence.

The councils expressed that the resources under conflict, as accessed in their community, were found in their collective settlement (Kraals), area demarcations of boundaries, alternative grazing patterns along the season, and areas where negotiations and dialogue have been underway. The diplomats felt that the resources under conflict are found in areas where alternative migration patterns were conducted, similarly, negotiations and dialogue between communities would demand the recruitment of the local police reserve to maintain law and order as well as avoiding neighbouring communitys’ border conflict.

There is no peace without food, water, pastures, shelter, security or good governance. It is important to acknowledge that the concentration on peace and reconciliation, without the other components of political and social justice, will bring no permanent peace to these warring communities. This could mean employing diplomatic strategies and techniques, such as negotiating peace agreements through dialogue amongst communities. It is important to individualize peace-building into a different kind of discussion about peace, including elements such as learning common languages to make sure that the communities of Turkana and Toposa are able to negotiate and talk to each other without barriers. It would be important for the government to intervene in processes and this can only be built through improved living situations; thus, pairing peace with infrastructure, programming or enforceable local contracts over resources, creates a credible incentive structure that is needed to create a political
environment conducive to peace engagements between the two communities (Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005 & Strategic Plan, 2009: The role of National Museums of Kenya in Development).

4.2.6.4 The Impact of resource conflicts on lives of Turkana and Toposa communities

According to the households, the direct impact on the lives of communities is manifest in the appearance of sudden death, missing livestock, emergence of desperate families, poverty, no specific revenge mechanism and/or the victimization of the innocent. Community leaders say that the direct impact is seen in the drop in animal yields, inadequate food resources, diseases, starvation, weak people who care for animals, a decrease in the livestock population and the destruction of livelihoods. The councillors replied that the direct impact on lives is manifest in the numbers of livestock drastically declining, the destruction of the livelihood of the people, poor animal yields, increases in disease, pests and starvation which ultimately leads to death. Further, the administrators claim that the direct impact on lives is seen in the loss of lives of their loved ones, orphans, widows, widowers, lack of humanitarian grounds, justice, rights, necessities, essentials, identity and a drop in population figures.

Community leaders from the two counties, Turkana and Toposa, believe that the magnitude of the resource conflict on lives of communities of Turkana and Toposa, could be seen in the displacement of people from a ‘better to worse’ environment characterized by poverty and hunger, scarce grazing land and resources. Households related the magnitude of resource conflicts to a decline in inter-marriage between the Turkana and Toposa, the deteriorating relationship between the two communities and decline of border trade, lack of sharing traditions and cultural activities, widespread weapons possession, limited water sources, pasture and the migration cycle. Administrators attributed the magnitude of the resource conflict between the Turkana and Toposa to poverty, hunger, displacement, diseases and pests, loss of land and livestock, lack of respect for the rule of law, and the death of emaciated animals.
According to community leaders, the extent of the conflict on the lives of the communities of Turkana and Toposa was measured in terms of loss of lives and livestock which has, in turn, left children orphans and women widowed and marginalized. The households replied that the extent was manifest in the death of relatives, the disintegration of families which leaves some children orphaned and some women widowed, as well as poverty, hunger and the scarcity of grazing land.

Further, it was demonstrated in hunger and famine, that the animal product yield has declined and poverty increased. Some respondents claimed that the extent of the consequences is revealed by poverty, displacement and generational shortcomings. Only a few of the respondents from households, particularly women, regard milk yield decline, the death of vulnerable animals, a drop in available feed resources, migration in search for pasture, shortage of livestock, livelihoods destroyed and livestock prices falling as triggers of the conflicts.

The extent and magnitude of the resource conflict is reflected by insufficient pastures, limited water points, chronic poverty and the absence of community-led, cross-border management of shared resources. This has resulted in intense competition and regular violent conflicts between ethnic groups and specific clans within Toposa in South Sudan and Turkana in Kenya; this produces the widespread availability of fire arms which people from these areas use to protect and attack each other.

**4.2.6.5 The Acts of victimization of members of households of Turkana and Toposa communities**

On the subject of how members of households have been victimized by acts of violence, it was ascertained that the most common acts of violence which they experienced were child abduction, women kidnapping, cattle rustling, revenge killing, traditional fighting, armed robbery and land grabbing. The patterns of victimization in Turkana and Toposa varied from one place to another, in which the households suggested that cattle rustling occurs most frequently, followed by child abduction, women kidnapping, revenge killings, land grabbing, armed robbery, and traditional fighting. Violent conflicts have had very negative and severe impacts on communities, as evident
in the loss of human life and it is likely difficult to be determine the impact of this, because all the data related to the impact of resource conflict was ultimately based on verbal reports that cannot be independently confirmed by officials. This was especially difficult to confirm since there was a lack of impartiality, which influences their cultural attitudes and styles of communication.

4.2.6.6 Opinion on the County’s policy framework to support the implementation of peace building programmes

The administrators acknowledged that the county’s policy framework supports the implementation of peace building programmes and was mainly directed towards improving security and saving lives, whereas the community leaders and households rejected any claim of the existence of such a policy framework, whilst insisting that there was no county policy which supported peace building programmes. It seems that administrators and councillors might have laid down some programmes that were not known to the communities and their leaders; this could be why they were unable to substantiate the presence of the county’s policy framework to support the implementation of peace building processes. The resolution of resource conflict would require a mechanism in which such resolution depends on peace and security in the region. The Turkana and Toposa conflict has the potential to become an interstate issue as it appears to be serving local interests.

4.2.6.7 Diplomatic strategies employed to address resource conflicts between Turkana and Toposa

With regard to possible diplomatic strategies that could be employed to address resource conflicts, the councillors believed that civic education could ensure the sustainability of peace and support the development of the area. In addition, the disarmament of all armed communities, as a government intervention, would curb conflicts and empower it to deploy more security forces whilst promoting stability in the area. Further, community leaders alleged that government has not considered resource conflict as a priority on its national agenda, yet this turbulence continues to rock stability in the region.
Diplomats claimed that the exchange of programmes between communities would develop the pastoralists and enhance the peace process amongst communities. On the other hand, administrators contemplated that conducting peace meetings among communities, as stipulated by the constitution, would provide peace dividends and a mechanism for punishing offenders and establishing channels of communication, coordination and cooperation so as to achieve collective security arrangements.

The administrators reported that the source of conflict goes beyond incompatible livelihoods to who controls power structures. It suggests that the controlled management of grazing, construction of dams, water pans, harvesting water, government intervention, indulging income generation activities, empowering pastoralists to identify and remove barriers to development, promoting the improved management of livestock and other natural resources, agreement on subjects that address real community needs, holding community meetings and mining pastoralist sessions for earning cycles so that hands-on experience of all seasons is gained in the kraals and, when the group splits, the resources should regularly be observed and discussed. Thus, incompatible modes of production and clashing livelihoods caused conflict between the Turkana and Toposa (Strategic Plan, 2009: The role of National Museums of Kenya in Development & Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994).

The households stated that restocking the animals stolen by the youth, competition over water points and pastures, as well as an outbreak of pests and diseases are direct sources of conflict. The councilors reported that recruiting local guards, putting in place a representative of communities at the border, choosing a peace district committee, stabilizing community structures, coordination and cooperation with other government authorities; for example, by returning the stolen animals and abducted children and kidnapped women, would generate positivity and cement peaceful settlement.

According to the households, the magnitude of resource conflicts is seen in the decline of traditional inter-marriages between the two communities, the deteriorating relationship between the communities, poor association and lack of cooperation, as well as a decline in border trade.
Further, they believed that widespread weapons possession has worsened the relationship and created an attitude of vengeance and the adoption of frequent attacks of neighbouring communities in order to occupy and control the limited water sources and pastures.

4.2.6.8 The role of the District peace committee in peace-building between Turkana and Toposa

The administrators reported that a District Peace Committee was formed to handle community meetings, sustain peace among communities, promote and improve upon the management of livestock and other natural resources. Further, it was involved in settling disputes concerning border migrations to areas inhabited by other people, empowering communities to recognize and remove all developmental barriers (social and technical), conducting awareness of communities on security measures that would be arranged in collective homesteads, and encouraging service delivery agents interested in building the capacity of the community, particularly in terms of animal health workers.

The administrators replied that both communities were involved in information sharing and took part in meetings, negotiations and dialogue between the communities; thus, seeking government intervention and living in collective settlements (Kraals). The households alleged that communities were not involved in cooperating with government in returning stolen livestock; nor were they allowed to negotiate with communities at borders in order to share pastures, water and/or promote border trade. They have also been involved in the process of controlling migrations from tribal borders, constructing a dialogue on peace and negotiations, respecting the law, order and authority, negotiating for the elimination of cattle raids, and the recruitment to police reserves.

4.2.6.9 Peace dividends derived from peace building programmes

The councilors believed that peace dividends had been achieved, and that their department/unit was involved, in cooperation with the government, in establishing a reporting system, recruiting more security agencies to maintain law and order (local guards to sustain more peace), and the encouragement of collective settlement (Kraals). Moreover, they claimed that the unit was
involved in establishing a district peace committee and council of elders as well as dealing with peace settlement processes, and fostering peace dividends. The peace dividends were a provision of a communication facility that made it easy to receive radio calls as a means of sharing information on security and communicating common measures to be taken; this involves a local peace committee, ease of reporting security incidences and the introduction of education and training for natives on peacekeeping matters.

4.2.6.10 Involvement of department/unit in peace-building plan

The administrators acknowledged the involvement of their department in the formation of their own authority structures and leadership, by promoting dialogue on resource conflicts. Perhaps the peace dividends were seen in tracing the rights of respondents, particularly in the demarcation of land, for their livelihood depends on their defense, mounting fences for homesteads and the availability of common grazing land for their livestock. It was found that the department was involved in the formation of their leadership structures, which reached others, as well as the sharing of ideas and experiences with other neighbouring community members/groups for the sake of pastoralism which is an innovative mechanism for peace. In spite of the limited involvement of the department, this remained an integral part of the peace processes, and will provide an opportunity for pastoralist groups to share their experiences, ideas, innovations and knowledge with the wider community. It reinforces the pastoralist group’s cohesion and raises awareness amongst these communities, local governments and other organizations in the area, thus creating support and a demand for new pastoralist groups.

4.2.6.11 The nature of involvement of provincial/ state and national spheres of government in peacebuilding

In response to the involvement and participation of provincial or national spheres of government, the councilors acknowledged that there was significant involvement in reporting incidences, despite the position taken by some respondents who claimed that this was only evident at a national level, in the monitoring system. Further, it was seen at the regional level, particularly the
Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) which tasked Kenya to broker Sudanese peace and ended with the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM), which might have improved insecurity in the area. It could be concluded that some respondents seem to have disagreed with others on the involvement of their department, but it was found that programmes and projects were locally based (mainly on reporting systems), despite the involvement of regional actors such as IGAD in these programmes.

Regarding the nature of participation, the administrators stated that this was based on reporting occurrences and deploying home guards at the border. Further, the diplomats claimed that the nature of participation was the creation of a writing and reporting system, which emphasised communication, reporting and relaying information regarding the occurrences of incidences. At the same time, community leaders disagree on the nature of participation of other actors such as IGAD (Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005).

A number of councilors believe that the nature of participation in programmes, projects and activities was meant to make sure that the grouping of people bound together by common historical origins and cultural practices prevails over peaceful co-existence. They also promoted the notion of precisely defined geographical territory under which one community and others will live peacefully and reinforce community participation in its matters of concerns. According to the diplomats, there were some peace building initiatives that were not being undertaken seriously enough, especially initiatives in searching for long term solutions to the conflict, viable mechanisms for a communication sharing system, the mediation and negotiation process as well as a comprehensive peace analysis desk to deal with the wrong interpretation of incidences of conflict.

4.2.6.12 Some peacebuilding initiatives were not afforded significant attention in Turkana and Toposa counties
In the view of community leaders, the researcher observed that the process of disarmament of both communities was given little attention; this is seen in the insignificant creation of social benefits such as education and inter-marriages. However, peace building initiatives were not expected to yield positive results. They were also not thoroughly undertaken in that they were not entrenched in the constitutional legal framework, which entails strategies on dialogue, negotiation and programmes which substitute pastoralist attitudes with innovative activities such commercialization of cattle and flock and the introduction of agro-husbandry farming towards removing attitudes, depending on the traditional means of life. The community leaders and pastoralists criticized the passive position of government in that some top officials are reluctant to implement the resolutions that communities have agreed upon. The passive attitudes were seen in the insufficient deployment of security personnel, the failure to address issues of illiteracy and backwardness, as well as poverty and hunger. It was clear that nothing was done to substitute pastoralism with another means of life. It could be argued that local peace agreements and processes often fall apart in this region because they are not documented and lack accountability and because local and national police services have little to no involvement and do not own the process.

The administrators observed that the promotion of the wellbeing and social security of individual citizens necessitates a reduction of inequalities in wealth and privilege as a paramount responsibility of any government which must ensure general welfare and create an environment conducive to access to basic services and security without discrimination.

4.2.6.13 Comparison of security situation in the past and present in Turkana and Toposa

Respondents from households replied by stating that they considered security, particularly the security of households and animals, as the most serious issues of concern. The security in the past was more sympathetic, because headmen were not killed in the past; instead, herds and flocks were stolen. At present, things are very different and this is seen as eroding the ethics of humanity in the sense that it is barbaric and results in the loss of human lives and livestock.
The community leaders said that, in previous times, the security situation was good with minimal loss of life, but these casualties have now become more rampant and are associated with climate changes. The community leaders were content with their former way of life in which there were minimal deaths because people used spears, however, these deaths are now being facilitated by modern automatic weapons which lead to the rampant death of the people. In the past, there was no competition for resources such as grazing land because water and rangeland were sufficient; but now, however, the people who live in this region compete for grazing land, water, borders and rangeland (South Sudan Agrometeorology Update, Vol.002/2009 & Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994).

The households seem to have reacted vigorously to the security situation and they rated the current security situation as worse than it was before. The proliferation of guns, at present, and the commercialization of traditional cattle resulted in the emergence of modern warrior/banditry groups which have contributed negatively to the security and management of resources, and heightened the culture of violence within and outside communities.

4.2.6.14 Potential threats to the peacebuilding process between Turkana and Toposa

Regarding the potential threats to the peace process, community leaders believe that security in their villages is a potential threat to the peace process; jealousy over livestock is a second threat and competition/unfaithfulness to the peace accord, boundaries issues, traditional norms and harsh climatic conditions were also considered potential threats to the peace. They perceived that these threats to peace include revenge due to the loss of lives, a lack of genuine leadership, untimely competition over resources, poverty, incitement of politicians and the influence of traditional leadership.

The diplomats alleged that potential threats to peace are linked to poor leadership, bad governance, poor communication, a lack of representation, political incitement, traditions, culture, pride, partial mediations, poverty and hunger. Further, they regarded uncontrolled range
management patterns, government negligence and pastoralists’ livestock production systems as potential threats to the peace process.

The administrators stated that the community deals with resource conflicts by participating in the disarmament of illegal fire arms and joining the operation against illegal arms; this includes the involvement in mediation, negotiation and dialogue in order to reach a peace agreement. They replied that the community deals with resource conflict through negotiation, migration to a more resourceful area, and applying alternative seasonal migration tools such as mediation. In addition to requesting that governments provide communities with water pans/boreholes, the increase in fire arms has led to a request for more security personnel and cooperation between community members.

4.2.6.15 Communitys’ mechanisms for dealing with resource conflict resolution

The community leaders stated that the community deals with resource conflict by migrating and settling in kraals, as well as engaging in a peace dialogue and negotiations, organized and controlled range management for grazing, requesting that the government constructs dams, water pans and growing pastures. The responses from community leaders reveal that the mechanism employed by the community to deal with resource conflict focuses widely on the problem-solving methods of mediation, negotiation, dialogue, conciliation, arbitration, and the management of conflict by sharing resources for mutual benefit and understanding.

4.2.6.16 Expectations of Turkana and Toposa Communities from Governments of Kenya and South Sudan

According to the households, they expected the Kenyan and South Sudanese governments to carry out joint operations on both borders, conduct joint disarmament and create social amenities such as sports and education, as well as civic education. These include, programmes for sports and academia and encouraging inter-marriage across these communities. Others recommended that an effective method of resolving resource conflicts would be to come to a constitutional
agreement and dialogue, setting this need as recognizance, negotiations, substituting pastoralism with the implementation of measures of improving livelihoods like agriculture activities, trade, and employment in government’s various institutions (Sudan Population Census and Housing, 2008 & Kenya Population Census and Housing, 2009).

The administrators believed that the Kenyan and South Sudanese governments have the capacity to establish protection structures and should embark on outlining programmes to substitute pastoralism; implementing constitutional agreement and dialogue; negotiations and conducting joint operations on illegal fire arms. They recommend the use of a matrix scoring scale and dialogue that bears objectives critically in order to analyse relationships between neighbouring clans and to identify ways of overcoming inter-clan conflict and tensions. The councilors express the need to share ideas and experiences with other members of the pastoralists group; pastoralist members also need to reach out to others, including members of the community, who are not pastoralists.

The households expected that the Kenyan and South Sudanese governments would help to reinforce the pastoralist group’s cohesion and raise awareness among the communities, local governments and other administrative bodies in the area; thus, creating support and demand for the newly improvised pastoralists group. This cooperation and mutual understanding would introduce an exchange of visits by both governments and would initiate educational tours to another pastoralist group; this would encourage pastoralists to adopt the new techniques used by innovative farmers and other pastoralists from the region and elsewhere in the world. These new techniques include the introduction of microfinance initiatives and the development of business ideas.

The community leaders stated that peace activities, including peace initiatives and conferences, should focus on diplomatic strategies and methods such as mediation, negotiation and dialogue; these have gained significant application in the resolution of resource conflicts. Perhaps this is because local conflict resolution mechanisms appear to provide positive results for the community’s conflict resolution efforts. Further, they urged the leadership of Kenya and South Sudan to establish a body specifically for resource governance so that they could guide
authorities in managing poor decisions that will stir up political incitement and/or manipulative actions. In addition, they should create a governance infrastructure that will provide good governance and promote the people’s management of their community resources (Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994 & Arid Lands Resource Management Project, 2007-2008, Kenya).

However, councilors commented that inter-ethnic conflicts and disputes continue to overrun the community/country because there are contributory factors such as the proliferation of guns and the frequency of cattle rustling. It is important to resolve resource conflict collectively; therefore, the two governments should create a legal framework that will guide the two communities in this regard and prevent the recurrence of violent attacks between them. The administrators believed that the resources are their property and that they should collectively manage these resources; in this case, communities must be consulted and their views on resource management must be considered and respected.

### 4.2.6.17 General comment on resource conflict resolution

The general expectations of all stakeholders in these resource conflicts is to create a viable infrastructure that will address the root causes of resources by involving the communities in peace processes that are intended to bring about relative peace between the communities. It is also important to implement developmental programmes with the involvement of the communities in the decision-making process.

Household respondents were prepared to contribute voluntarily to the resolution of resource conflict. According to them, resource conflict is a real problem which has a negative impact on the lives of communities and must be resolved. They argued that “Resources are our own collective resources which belong to us, it is our common heritage and we must be managed equitably and reasonably to develop own areas”. Further, they maintained that there is a necessity to adhere to principles of transparency and accountability in its management and they pointedly commented that “Inter-ethnic conflicts and disputes continue to ravage the community/country”. They believed that there were other contributory factors to the resource
conflict, these include; the proliferation of guns, commercialization of traditional cattle by rustlers, emergence of modern warriors/bandit groups; recurrent droughts and famine (Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994 & Arid Lands Resource Management Project, 2007-2008, Kenya).

The diplomats suggested that the effective resolution of resource conflict could be attained by involving both governments in the creation of a strict mechanism derived from national constitutional provisions that will guide the communities by detaining those community members who first launch an attack against others and thus ensure a healthy environment in which to conduct joint operations on illegal fire arms, in order to resolve the conflict.

The councilors offered the following comments, which centre on the historical background of the conflict: “Historically, certain areas/communities in Kenya and South Sudan have been favoured by successive governments and they have continued to enjoy better infrastructure and easy access to services, whereas others suffered government’s neglect in terms of devolution and spending and they lagging behind economically and can make their own decisions in the line of their own needs and desire resulted in conflict”. This category provides a resolution to the conflict whilst arguing that participatory developmental democracy should be about involving all people in the decision making process, at all levels.

Further, the households offered the notion that “Leadership is a key factor in resources governance”. They proposed that resource conflicts could be resolved by leaders who are able to provide solutions to resource conflicts; in this regard, they should recognize that their actions must correspond with the interests of the people they lead, and they must be ready to take responsibility and make themselves accountable to the people they lead.

The vulnerability of the two areas to internal and external invasion has been aggrevated by poor communication between state agencies and locals. It has been noted that there are no adequate police posts in the region. It could be concluded that most conflicts result from social exclusions without ignoring the internal dynamics of the affected groups; such conflicts become visible and result in the rapid loss of livestock holding in the wake of drought and famine. The root causes of
resource conflicts are likely to be the forces that pull people away from areas like arid lands. These are perhaps reinforced by climate changes that would lead to the migration of these people from place to place whilst searching for pastures and water; thus, such areas will become increasingly appealing to these communities (Sudan JAM: Joint Assessment Mission, 2005; Focus on South: Facts about Eastern Equatoria State, 1994 & Arid Lands Resource Management Project, 2007-2008, Kenya).

4.3 Conclusion

The data gathered on the root causes of resource conflict, in the Turkana and Toposa areas, has provided the researcher with the two communities’ perceptions of security threats, and their ideas of how authorities can effectively resolve this conflict. The research touched on issues related to the root causes of resource conflict and the major threats to resource conflicts, cattle rustling, the kidnapping of women, child abduction, and the role of the government in peace building.

The diplomats, councillors, administrators, community leaders and households observed that there had been persistent tension between the Turkana and Toposa communities. This situation has given them significant problems in that the majority of the respondents were from households on the region, which indicates that it is the households who were primarily subjected to resource conflicts. They were followed by community leaders, who are always involved in problem-solving particularly in managing migration for pastures and waters, and who were likely to encourage revenge, especially with the availability of fire arms and weapons which trigger conflicts. Further, the administrators, diplomats and councillors were involved in the problems that may arise by virtue of the nature of their work, but they have been criticized for their inability to redress the resource conflict.

The extent of the conflict has been measured in terms of the loss of lives and livestock and the role of communities was seen in their involvement in public meetings, mediation, conciliation, negotiation and dialogue between communities which seems viable, particularly in matters of local and traditional administration. There were some peace building initiatives that were not undertaken, such as; long term solutions to the conflict and disarmament programmes which were given little attention.
The governments of Republic of Kenya and Republic of South Sudan have promised to handle the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa and will provide an amicable solution that will create social justice among the communities. Even with the commitment of governments, the people still expect an immediate remedy, especially considering the fact that the same government does not consider the dilemma regarding security, which they claim to provide. In conclusion, the effective pastoral learning season’s management not only necessitates the use of the powerful tools and techniques that have been developed, but also requires leadership on the part of a pastoral learning knowledge manager. Thus the major findings drawn from the study in chapter four were presented in the chapter five as conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

This present study offered an analysis of the role of diplomacy in resource conflicts, particularly in the region of Turkana in Kenya and Toposa in South Sudan. Conflicts over natural resources have always played a role in human society, and have retarded socio-development in many countries. The retardation of development and delays in service delivery are an awful issue the world over and, in this case, necessitates that the Governments of the two countries involve the communities so that they can assist in their peace building and development programmes, to ensure sustainable results. It is for this reason that the participatory process is an essential phase of dealing with communities, especially those in remote rural areas.

While reflecting on the objectives, the study sought to probe diplomacy on resource conflicts in Kenya and South Sudan and to evaluate the role played by the governments of these two countries in terms of conflict resolution and service delivery. The governments of Kenya and South Sudan tried to involve the communities and their organizations, even though the participation or interaction took on a top-down approach. It was primarily the authorities who were consulted and had to pass information on to the relevant communities. The authorities in turn, were supposed to be the major role players in the resolution of resource conflicts which affect them directly. This study’s objectives, of addressing resource conflicts, was focused on the two governments in order to attempt and develop diplomatic strategies that would benefit the people it targeted and the parties concerned, hence the recommendations made in the next section of this chapter.

Chapter One of this study presented the introduction of the study, which acquainted the reader to the key concepts of the study under analysis. It included the statement of the problem, the objectives, hypothesis, research design, methodologies and ethical considerations of the study. Chapter one outlines the general orientation of the study.
Chapter Two offered a literature review of research relevant to the study. This literature review aimed to analysis the existing discourse on the primary subject of this study, in order to validate significance of a study of this nature and identify gaps in the existing research, which this dissertation hopes to fill. The literature review consists of a collection of different authors who have deliberated over the social problem of resource conflicts and its sustainability in rural communities. Some of the authors were very particular to argue the case of Turkana and Toposa. The review has tried to prove that the problem under study is actually a social problem which government authorities can combat if they have the political will. In addition, this can only benefit from the involvement of the relevant communities in the participatory process, in efforts to promote general welfare.

Chapter Three elaborated on the research design and methodology employed in this project and the procedures followed during the interaction with the study participants. This chapter serves as a base to demonstrably showcase the validity of the findings in Chapter Four, as they are informed by the scientific methods outlined in this chapter. The data was triangulated and analyzed using the SPSS package and a content analysis. It became obvious that the fieldwork was met with daunting challenges and problems which were, however, ultimately resolved with a high response rate.

Chapter Four of the study presented and analyzed the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study. In this chapter, the genesis of the resource conflict from its inception until the present day is unpacked. The historical connection between Turkana and Toposa was brought to light so as to reveal the salient cross-border, resource conflict problems which are manifest between Kenya and South Sudan.

On one hand, the critical issues which emerged from the study confirmed that the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa was not yet addressed and has a direct impact on the provision of services in the two areas. Resource conflict tensions between the two counties have led to instability and frequent violence, with a complex and destabilizing effect on the peace processes. These tensions proliferated into, amongst other things, cattle raiding, the kidnapping of women, child abduction which has a negative impact on service delivery and which has
hindered the peaceful coexistence of these communities; it has, in fact, delayed and frustrated
peace initiatives.

To this effect, even the governments of both the Republic of Kenya and South Sudan acted in a
manner that worsened the situation through bureaucratic top-down approaches which were
unsustainable.

On the other hand, due to the lack of mechanisms to deal with peace processes and
reconciliation, the issue of resource conflicts tends to be overly politicized and contested; this
reveals elements of political incitement which result in recurrent violence and decline of service
delivery.

It could be argued that local peace agreements and processes often fall apart in this region
because they are not documented, are not adequately followed up and lack accountability due to
the fact that local, national and police services are rarely involved and do not own the process.
After close observation of the situation, coupled with interviews with a vast range of actors, the
study revealed that the solution to managing these resource conflicts rests in policies which seek
to develop effective diplomatic strategies for peace building, and initiatives that will determine
the sustainability of resolutions to resource conflicts; this includes insecurity management,
through alternative livelihoods, and economic opportunities which need to be suited to the
culture and lifestyle of pastoralists. The immediate task is to put stringent measures in place in
order to control the violence as it erupts; such methods would necessitate the employment of
effective tools and strategies that have been identified during interactions with various actors.
These strategies include, amongst others: dialogue, negotiation, a traditional mechanism for
conflict settlement, conciliation and reconciliation. Having said this, the study hypothesized and
confirmed that effective diplomatic strategies and peace building initiatives determine the
sustainability of resource conflict resolution and insecurity management.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the critical issues raised by the resource conflict between the Turkana and Toposa
communities, the following recommendations are drawn from the study:
a. The first problem inherent in the government’s approach is that the root causes of resource conflicts have not been addressed. To address these issues effectively, government’s institutional mechanisms are required to intervene in order to increase investment in socio-economic development and security in two regions so as to redress sources of insecurity that have been worsened by inadequate socio-economic development, such as education, health, security, food, roads and infrastructure. This intervention seeks to bring on board local communities and other development actors so as to ensure a cohort of alternative means to improve service delivery and security in the region of Toposa and Turkana. Further, it is meant for building the capacity of administration police in order to ensure an effective response to the recommendation.

b. The establishment of a more adequate judicial response to cattle raiding and a peace and development committee to coordinate peace and development in Toposa and Turkana is required. This necessitates the use of traditional conflict resolution and judicial settlement mechanisms whilst creating links between formal law enforcement agencies and judicial courts of law which recognize the cultural values and social structures that exist in order for these communities to achieve peace within an inclusive process. This helps to change perception of communities who do not bother to report conflict and violence as they feel that no action has been taken by government authorities.

c. The introduction of strategies for promotion and the facilitation of inter-community dialogue which aims to build a culture of community reconciliation and peaceful co-existence is also recommended. This dialogue includes peace meetings, grass-roots partnerships to bring broad and representative participation on board, especially that of the youth. In addition, other tools such as public meetings, traditional ceremonial rites meetings and encouraging inter-marriages between the Turkana and Toposa should be employed to ensure that youth out of school are approachable and encouraged to be agents of peace in the region, by owning the peace process. The two governments should not ignore the potential contribution offered by customary governance systems because policies of forceful disarmament, amnesties and peace meetings have failed, and will continue to pose challenges to the resource conflict management of the two governments.
If customary governance is integrated into modern public administration, and harmonized, these systems could provide a valuable mechanism for peace building, peacemaking and conflict resolution.

d. Finally, a five year peace building and conflict management, compact strategy must be developed for Toposa and Turkana; this must be signed by the two government authorities in order to create viable avenues for other partners to join in the efforts made towards bringing peace to the region and its neighbouring counties which are also affected by the overflow of violence from the region. In turn, an implementation plan to guide the processes, such as institutional reforms, disarmament and involvement of civil societies, should be formulated.
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ANNEXURE A: PERMISSION LETTER

TO: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
FROM: MICHAEL MAJOK AYOM DOR

DATE: 04 August 2010

SUBJECT: REQUEST TO ALLOW MR. MICHAEL MAJOK AYOM DOR (STUDENT NUMBER: 200808095) TO CONDUCT RESEARCH SURVEY IN YOUR JURIDICAL AREA

Sir/Madam

Mr. Michael Majok Ayom Dor is a registered student in our Masters in Public Administration programme. As part of the requirements for the degree, the student is supposed to conduct research and submit to us a research report upon completion. The report is solely for academic reasons, and nothing else.

The research is focused in the area of diplomacy entitled “Probing diplomacy on resource conflicts between Kenya and Southern Sudan” We humbly request that you allow Mr. Dor to conduct research in your juridical area and, amongst others, to interact with relevant structures and individuals on issues of diplomacy. We have instructed the student to observe professionalism and ethical considerations by maintaining the anonymity of study participants and the structures concerned. Once the research is complete, it will be made available, on request, to you and other individuals who participated in the survey. We hope that the findings of the research will benefit your country in many ways.

Your support in this research endeavour is much appreciated.

Regards,

Prof. Kanyane MH
Research Supervisor
HOD: Department of Public Administration, School of Public Administration & Development,
Faculty of Management & Commerce
Bhisho Campus, P.O Box 1153, King William’s Town, 5600
Tel: 27-40-608-3426, Fax: 27-86 651 8210
ANNEXURE B: COVERING LETTER

TO: STUDY PARTICIPANTS
FROM: MICHAEL MAJOK AYOM DOR
DATE: 04 AUGUST 2010

SUBJECT: RESEARCH INTERVIEWS
The above matter refers:

Thank you for taking your valuable time to participate in this research entitled “PROBING DIPLOMACY ON RESOURCE CONFLICTS BETWEEN KENYA AND SOUTH SUDAN” (2005-2010).

The study is conducted by Michael Majok Ayom Dor in partial fulfilment of the degree of Masters of Public Administration with the University of Fort Hare. Your participation in this study is voluntary, all your feedback will be treated with the strictest confidence and your identity will not be disclosed at any stage during the analysis.

The interview will take about 10 minutes to complete and, should there be any enquiries, please feel free to contact the researcher at +254 736 123 030/+249919060222 or, alternatively, at his e-mail address: dormajokayom@yahoo.com/goss@iconnect.co.ke

The findings will be available, on request, upon completion of this study.

Thanking you in advance.

__________________________________________  ____________________________________
Prof. M.H. Kanyane Supervisor               Michael Majok Ayom Dor
University of Fort Hare
ANNEXURE C: REQUEST TO ALLOW MR MICHEAL MAJOK AYOM DOR
(STUDENT NO.200808095) TO CONDUCT RESEARCH SURVEY IN YOUR
JURISDICLAL AREA

GOSS/GLO/ (20-2)2011
8TH FEBRUARY, 2011

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
GOVERNMENT OF KENYA, NAIROBI
ATTN: AFRICA AND AU DIVISION.

The Liaison Office of Southern Sudan in Kenya presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Kenya and has the honour to request your approval to allow me to conduct a research survey in Turkana areas from February to July, 2011.

I am currently a registered student undertaking a Masters in Public Administration programme at Fort Hare University in South Africa. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am expected to conduct research and submit a research report upon completion. The research focuses on the area of diplomacy and is entitled “Probing Diplomacy on resource conflicts between Kenya and Southern Sudan.” The research is conducted solely for academic reasons and, upon completion, can be availed on request to your office.

I humbly request that your office assist me in this regard by alerting the local authority in the Turkana area of the research which is to be conducted in the stipulated areas. During the course of my research, I will observe professionalism and ethical considerations by maintaining the anonymity of the participants and the structures concerned.

The Liaison Office of the Government Kenya avails itself of this opportunity to reaffirm to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurance of our highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Amb. Michael Majok Ayom Dor,
THE PRINCIPAL AND HEAD OF MISSION
Following your authorization to carry out research on “Probing diplomacy on resource conflicts between Kenya and South Sudan”, I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in the North Turkana District for the period ending 31st August, 2011.

You are advised to report to the District Commissioner, the District Education Officer, the Police Commissioner, North Turkana District before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and two soft copies of the research reports/thesis to our office.

P. N. Nyakundi,
For: Secretary/CEO.

Copied to:
THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,
NORTH TURKANA DISTRICT.
THE DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER,
NORTH TURKANA DISTRICT.
THE POLICE COMMISSIONER.
ANNEXURE E: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

GENERAL

OVERVIEW
The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common characteristics of ethnicity and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic peoples. Both of them are nomadic; this involves seasonal movements in search for good pasture and water for their livestock. By moving from place to place they interact with other pastoralists, which is not cordial due to the competition for rangeland and water points and, consequently, increases insecurity at the border between Southern Sudan and Kenya. The purpose of this tool is to assess the impact of resource conflicts and insecurity on service delivery and the general welfare of the people.

RESPONDENTS
This questionnaire has been prepared for the participation of County’s councillors who are elected representatives of their respective Payams/district constituencies. Within a representative democracy model, county councillors are advocates of the developmental and service delivery mandate at the community level, in the County Execute Council.

GUIDELINES
The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, stressing the voluntarily nature of their participation and assuring them that confidentially would be maintained and that the information gathered during this research will be handled in a responsible manner, within the confines of research ethics.

PROCESS
The researcher and/or field Assistants will administer the questionnaire based on direct engagement/interaction with respondents.
COMMUNICATION
The researcher and/or field assistants will engage the respondents in Turkana/English/Kiswahili and Toposa/Arabic/English. However, all respondents will be captured in English.

DISCLAIMER
This questionnaire has been prepared for a research project undertaken in fulfilment of the requirements of a Master’s Degree in Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare, Republic of South Africa.

DEAR RESPONDENTS
Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

PART ONE

1. COUNTY PROFILE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Name of the State/Province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Name of County</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Name of Boma/Village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. County population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Total number of Households and distribution into rural and urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Place of Questionnaire: Public place/at home/others (specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Date of conducting Questionnaire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Status of Questionnaire: completed/incomplete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TICK IN THE RELEVANT BOX, THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER

1.1 What are the three biggest threats to the security of your community?

<p>| Fights or attacks within the village/Boma                                |   |
| Fights or attacks outside the village/Boma                               |   |
| Fights or attacks by an outside group                                   |   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robberies within your village/Boma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robberies outside your village/Boma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle raids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abductions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse by military, police or government authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home-based violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncontrolled youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate the reasons (Explain) why you identified the three biggest threats stated in 1.1


1.2 Tick in the relevant box, which one, among these groups, resolves resource conflicts effectively?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yourself and family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governments Courts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders and traditional courts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.3 **How does the community deal with the resource conflicts?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inform the police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform the Armed Forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform militia group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform community army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do nothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explain how they deal with the insecurity.**

………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………………

2. **PART 2**

**ACCESS SERVICES AND RELATED SECURITY ISSUES**

**TICK IN THE RELEVANT BOX, THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER**

2.1 **Where are these services accessed in your community?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Within the village/Boma</th>
<th>Outside the village/Boma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic/primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Center</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Water Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River/stream/pool</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic/primary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Water Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River/stream/pool</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand pump</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Ground</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grazing Areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Tick in the relevant box to indicate which of these services above mentioned are threatened by resource conflict?

3. PART THREE
RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERCEPTION OF SECURITY

TICK IN THE RELEVANT BOX, THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER
3.1 **Tick in the relevant box, how would you describe the security situation?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Good</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>Very bad</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3.2 **Tick in the relevant box, which of the following agencies are present in your Boma/village?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Government Administration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Traditional administration at Boma/village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The village/Boma home guards/local army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 **Tick in the relevant box, who is responsible for providing security-related services in your area/village?**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Administrator</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The chief of the Boma/village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The village/Boma home guards/local army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community/community police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nation police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 How do you compare the security situation before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>The same</th>
<th>Deteriorated</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 Taking into consideration the past 5 years (since the signing of CPA); what is your perception of conflict in the area?

3.6 Generally, do you and your household feel that the area you live in is safe?
3.7 Have you or members of your household been a victim of the following acts of violence?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual assault</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child abduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women kidnapping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House breaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land grabbing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle rustling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge killing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.8 Tick in the relevant box to indicate what, in your opinion; are the main factors that affect security in the area/village?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Famine, poverty and unemployment</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Civil disobedience
Arms proliferation
Inter-ethnic conflicts
Inter-ethnic raiding
Lack of law enforcement forces
Corruption/favouritism
Culture of war/ violence due to long periods of war
Behaviors of political parties
Presence of armed militias/community army
Presence of militia/army among civilians
Lack of democracy
Lack of respect for the rule of law

### 3.9 Tick in the relevant box, to indicate who provides security for your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armed militias</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Armed forces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10 **Tick in the relevant box, who established these groups in no.3.9?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Area administrative authorities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The area community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The youth of the area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of political parties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local chiefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.11 **What do they do? Tick in all the applicable boxes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ensure law and order for the public</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protect the public properties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent crime</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent public disorder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide services to the public</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulate people movements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolve disputes in the area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolve disputes between communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molest people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do nothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are no police in my police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 PART FOUR

GENERAL COMMENTS

Provide generally comments about resource conflict and how it should be resolved.

…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
Thank you for your time spent in completing this questionnaire!

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## ANNEXURE F: LIST OF RESPONDENTS WITH WHOM UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Portfolio</th>
<th>Place of Interview</th>
<th>Date of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Kapoeta County</td>
<td>Payam Administrator</td>
<td>Naita</td>
<td>5/01/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Kapoeta County</td>
<td>Councillor</td>
<td>Kauta</td>
<td>14/12/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous s</td>
<td>Kapoeta County</td>
<td>Chief administrator</td>
<td>Kapoeta</td>
<td>4/12/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Turkana County</td>
<td>District Officer</td>
<td>Karikomuge</td>
<td>22/07/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Turkana County</td>
<td>District Administrator</td>
<td>Lockichar</td>
<td>25/07/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Turkana County</td>
<td>Councillor</td>
<td>Lockitaung</td>
<td>16/07/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>5/03/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
<td>18/11/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Ministry of Regional Cooperation</td>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>Juba</td>
<td>11/12/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Ministry of Regional Cooperation</td>
<td>Diplomat</td>
<td>Juba</td>
<td>28/11/2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANNEXURE G: INTERVIEW GUIDE

GENERAL

OVERVIEW
The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common characteristics, such as ethnicity, and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people in North Kenya and South Southern Sudan. Both communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists and this involves seasonal movement in search of good pasture and water for their livestock. The act of moving from place to place results in interaction with other pastoralists. This interaction has not always been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points and consequent increases in insecurity at the border between Kenya and Southern Sudan. The purpose of this tool is to interview a representative sample of participants indirectly and directly involved in the provision of services to the people, so as to assess the impact of conflicts and insecurity on service delivery.

RESPONDENTS
This interview has been prepared for all participants (officials, county councillors, traditional leaders and households) who will be interviewed.

GUIDELINES
The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, stressing the voluntary nature of their participation and assuring them that confidentially would be maintained and that the information gathered during this study will be handled in a responsible manner within the confines of research ethics.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE
The researcher and/or field Assistants will administer the interviews based on direct engagement with respondents.

COMMUNICATION

The researcher and/or field assistants will engage the respondents in both Turkana/English/Kiswahili and Toposa/Arabic/English. However, all respondents will be captured in English.

DISCLAIMER

This interview has been prepared for a research project undertaken in fulfillment of the requirements of a Master’s Degree in Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa.

QUESTIONS

1. Please indicate your position, organization and the number of years that you have worked in this job?
2. In your opinion, what are the roots causes of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
3. What is the magnitude of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
4. To what extent has the resource conflict negatively impacted on the lives of the conflicting communities of Turkana and Toposa?
5. Does this resource conflict directly impact on the lives of conflicting communities? Explain your answer.
6. In your opinion, does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes and the improvement of security and lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of peace settlements and management processes that have been implemented and the challenges they faced?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? Explain your answer.

9. Which programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved in under the county peace-building plan? Provide a list and brief description of peace dividends available under this project or activity.

10. Did these programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national spheres of government?

11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?

12. Are there some peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken and that need attention too? Explain your answer.

13. How do you rate the security situation at present and previously?

14. In your opinion, what are the potential threats to the peace process?

15. How do we ensure sustainable peace in the area?

16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?

17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are threatened by conflict?

18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?

19. How does the community deal with resource conflicts? Explain your answer.

20. In your opinion what would you expect from the government of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.

21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!

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ANNEXURE H: INTERVIEW GUIDE

DIPLOMATS

OVERVIEW

The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common ethnic characteristics and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people in North Kenya and South Sudan. Both communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists and this involves seasonal movements in search of good pasture and water for their livestock. The act of moving from place to place results in interaction with other pastoralists. This interaction has not always been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points and, consequently, increases insecurity at the border between Kenya and Southern Sudan. The purpose of this tool is to interview a representative sample of participants who are indirectly and directly involved in the provision of services to the people, so as to assess the impact of conflicts and insecurity on service delivery.

RESPONDENTS

This interview has been prepared for all participants (Officials, county councillors, traditional leaders and households) who will be interviewed.

GUIDELINES

The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, and stress the voluntary nature of their participation whilst assuring them that confidentiality would be maintained and that the information gathered during this research will be handled in a responsible manner, within the confines of research ethics.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The researcher and/or field Assistants will administer interviews based on resource conflicts.
COMMUNICATION
The researcher and/or field assistants will engage the respondents in Turkana/English/Kiswahili and Toposa/Arabic/English. However, all respondents’ answers will be captured in English.

DISCLAIMER

This interview has been prepared for a research project undertaken in fulfilment of the requirements of a Master’s Degree in Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa.

QUESTIONS

1. Please indicate your position, organization and the number of years that you have worked in this job?
2. In your opinion, what are the root causes of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
3. What is the magnitude of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
4. To what extent has the resource conflict negatively impacted on the lives of the conflicting communities of Turkana and Toposa?
5. Does this resource conflict directly impact on the lives of the conflicting communities? Explain your answer
6. In your opinion, does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes, the improvement of security and the lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of peace settlement and management processes that have been implemented and the challenges faced in this regard?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? Explain your answer.
9. What programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved with under the county peace building plan? Provide a list and a brief description of peace dividends under this project or activity.
10. Did the programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national spheres of government?

11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?

12. Are there any peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken, that need attention too? Explain your answer.

13. How do you rate the security situation at present and previously?

14. In your opinion, what are the potential threats to the peace process?

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16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?

17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are threatened by conflict?

18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?

19. How does the community deal with resource conflict? Explain

20. In your opinion what would you expect from Government of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.

21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!

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ANNEXURE I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

COUNCILORS

OVERVIEW

The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common characteristics of the ethnicity and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people in North Kenya and South Sudan. Both communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists and this involves seasonal movements in search of good pasture and water for their livestock. The act of moving from place to place results in interaction with other pastoralists. This interaction has not always been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points and, consequently, increases insecurity at the border between Kenya and Southern Sudan. The purpose of this tool is to interview a representative sample of participants who are directly and indirectly involved in the provision of services to the people, so as to assess the impact of conflicts and insecurity on services delivery.

RESPONDENTS

This interview has been prepared for all participants (Officials, county councillors, traditional leaders and households) who will be interviewed.

GUIDELINES

The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, stressing the voluntarily nature of their participation and assuring them that confidentiality would be maintained and that the information gathered during this research will be handled in a responsible manner, within the confines of research ethics.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The researcher will administer the interviews based on direct engagement with respondents.
COMMUNICATION
The researcher and/or field assistants will engage with the respondents in Turkana/English/Kiswahili and Toposa/Arabic/English. However, all respondents’ answers will be captured in English.

DISCLAIMER
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QUESTIONS

1. Please indicate your position, organization and the number of years that you have worked in the job?
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4. To what extent has the resource conflict negatively impacted on the lives of the conflicting communities of Turkana and Toposa?
5. Does this resource conflict directly impact on the lives of conflicting communities? Explain your answer.
6. In your opinion, does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes, the improvement of security and the lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of the peace settlement and management processes that were implemented, and what the challenges in this regard were?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of the peace building efforts? Explain your answer.
9. What programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved in under the county peace-building plan? Provide a list and brief description of peace dividends under this project or activity.
10. Did the programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national spheres of government?
11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?
12. Are there any peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken, and which also need attention? Explain your answer.
13. How do you rate the security situation at present and previously?
14. In your opinion, what are the potential threats to the peace process?
15. How do we ensure sustainable peace in the area?
16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?
17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are threatened by conflict?
18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?
19. How does the community deal with resource conflict? Explain your answer.
20. In your opinion, what would you expect from the Government of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.
21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how you think it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!

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ANNEXURE J: INTERVIEW GUIDE

ADMINISTRATORS

OVERVIEW

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RESPONDENTS

This interview has been prepared for all participants (Officials, county councillors, traditional leaders and households) who will be interviewed.

GUIDELINES

The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, stressing the voluntary nature of their participation and assuring them that confidentially would be maintained and that the information gathered during this research will be handled in a responsible manner, within the confines of research ethics.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The researcher and/or field assistants will administer the interviews, based on direct engagement with the respondents.
COMMUNICATION

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6. In your opinion, does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes, the improvement of security and the lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of peace settlements and management processes that were implemented and what were their challenges?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? Explain your answer.
9. What programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved in under the county peace-building plan? Provide a list and brief description of peace dividends under this project or activity.

10. Did the programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national spheres of government?

11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?

12. Are there any peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken that also need attention? Explain your offer.

13. How do you rate the security situation presently and previously?

14. In your opinion, what are the potential threats to the peace process?

15. How do we ensure sustainable peace in the area?

16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?

17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are threatened by conflicts?

18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?

19. How does the community deal with resource conflicts? Explain your answer.

20. In your opinion, what would you expect from the Government of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.

21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how you feel it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!

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ANNEXURE K: INTERVIEW GUIDE

HOUSEHOLDS

OVERVIEW

The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common characteristics of the ethnicity and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people in North Kenya and South Sudan. Both communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists; this involves seasonal movements in search of good pasture and water for their livestock. The act of moving from place to place results in interaction with other pastoralists. This interaction has not always been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points and the consequent increases in insecurity at the border between Kenya and Southern Sudan. The purpose of this tool is to interview a representative sample of participants who are directly and indirectly involved in the provision of services to the people, so as to assess the impact of conflicts and insecurity on service delivery.

RESPONDENTS

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RESEARCH PROCEDURE

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QUESTIONS

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5. Does this resource conflict directly impact on the lives of the conflicting communities? Explain your answer.
6. In your opinion, does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes, the improvement of security and the lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of the peace settlements and management processes that were implemented and their challenges?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? Explain your answer.
9. What programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved in under the county’s peace-building plan? Provide a list and brief description of peace dividends under this project or activity.

10. Did the programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national of spheres of government?

11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?

12. Are there some peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken and that need attention? Explain your answer.

13. How do you rate the security situation at present and previously?

14. In your opinion, what are potential threats to the peace process?

15. How do we ensure sustainable peace in the area?

16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?

17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are threatened by conflict?

18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?

19. How does the community deal with resource conflicts? Explain your answer.

20. In your opinion what would you expect from the Government of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.

21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!

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ANNEXURE L: INTERVIEW GUIDE

COMMUNITY LEADERS

OVERVIEW

The Turkana and Toposa ethnic groups share common characteristics of the ethnicity and constitute the largest group of the Ateker speaking Nilotic people in North Kenya and South Sudan. Both communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists; this involves seasonal movements in search of good pasture and water for their livestock. The act of moving from place to place results in interaction with other pastoralists. This interaction has not always been cordial due to competition over rangeland and water points and the consequent increases in insecurity at the border between Kenya and Southern Sudan. The purpose of this tool is to interview a representative sample of participants who are directly and indirectly involved in the provision of services to the people, so as to assess the impact of conflicts and insecurity on service delivery.

RESPONDENTS

This interview has been prepared for all participants (Officials, county councillors, traditional leaders and households) who will be interviewed.

GUIDELINES

The researcher will explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, stressing the voluntary nature of their participation and assure them that confidentially will be maintained and that the information gathered during this research will be handled in a responsible manner, within the confines of research ethics.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The researcher and/or field assistants will administer the interviews based on direct engagement with the respondents.
COMMUNICATION

The researcher and/or field assistants will engage the respondents in both Turkana/English/Kiswahili and Toposa/Arabic/English. However, all respondents will be captured in English.

DISCLAIMER

This interview has been prepared for a research project undertaken in fulfillment of the requirements of a Master’s Degree in Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa.

QUESTIONS

1. Please indicate your position, organization and the number of years that you have worked in this job?
2. In your opinion, what are the root causes of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
3. What is the magnitude of the resource conflict between Turkana and Toposa?
4. To what extent has the resource conflict negatively impacted on the lives of the conflicting communities of Turkana and Toposa?
5. Does this resource conflict directly impact on the lives of the conflicting communities? Explain your answer.
6. In your opinion does the county’s policy framework support the implementation of peace-building programmes and the improvement of security and the lives of people?
7. Describe the success, if any, of the peace settlements and management processes that were implemented and what the challenges were?
8. To what extent have the affected communities been involved in the formulation and implementation of peace building efforts? Explain your answer.
9. Which programmes, projects or activities have your department/unit been involved with under the county peace-building plan? Provide a list and brief description of peace dividends under this project or activity.
10. Did the programmes, projects or activities involve the participation of provincial/state or national spheres of government?
11. If yes, what was the nature of participation?
12. Are there any peace-building initiatives that are not currently being undertaken which need attention too? Explain your answer.
13. How do you rate the security situation at present and previously?
14. In your opinion, what are the potential threats to the peace process?
15. How do we ensure sustainable peace in the area?
16. In your opinion, what are the main factors that affect resources in the area/village?
17. In your opinion, which of these resources are threatened by conflict? Explain why and how they are being threatened by conflict?
18. Where are these resources under conflict accessed in your community?
19. How does the community deal with the resource conflict? Explain your answer.
20. In your opinion, what would you expect from the governments of Kenya and Southern Sudan in order to resolve these resource conflicts effectively? Explain your answer.
21. Offer a general comment about resource conflict and how it should be resolved.

Thank you for your time spent in participating in this interview survey!
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ANNEXURE M: FIGURES

Figure: 4.2.1.1: Participants in the study

Population of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties

County

Toposa  Turkana North
Figure 4.2.1.2: Population of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties

Figure 4.2.1.3: Population of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties

Respondents by urban/rural division of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties
**Figure: 4.2.1.4: Respondents by urban/rural division of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties**

![Bar chart showing respondents by urban/rural division of Turkana North and Kapoeta Counties.]

**Figure: 4.2.1.5: Respondents from a representative sample of Payam/districts of Turkana**

![Bar chart showing respondents from a representative sample of Payam/districts of Turkana.]

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Figure 4.2.1.6: Types of Residence in Turkana North and Kapoeta counties

Figure 4.2.2.1 Perception of security threats
Figure 4.2.2.2: Perception of resource conflict

Figure 4.2.2.3: Perception of authority effectively resolving the conflict
Figure 4.2.3.1: Access to Services and related Security Issues

Figure 4.2.4.1: Perception of Security situation in Turkana and Toposa
Figure 4.2.4.2: Comparison of Security Situation before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

Figure 4.2.4.3: General feelings of households regarding their safety
Figure 4.2.4.4: Acts of violence to which household members have been subjected

Figure 4.2.4.5: Provision of security
Figure 4.2.5.1: General comment about resource conflict and how it should be resolved

- 84.3%: Resource governance
- 13.5%: Good governance
- 2.2%: Involving all stakeholders in resource conflict resolution
Techniques Conflict resolution model

1. Define the issues & identify the parties
2. Set the stage for WIN-WIN Outcomes
3. Understand Your Interests
4. Understand their Interests
5. Brainstorm creative options
6. Combine options into WIN-WIN Solutions (Evaluate and fine tune options)
7. Is agreement reached?
   - NO: Redefine areas of disagreement
   - YES: Is agreement reached?
   - NO: *Retreat to BATNA*
   - YES: Develop alternative & BATNA*

Encourage positive relations & handle negative emotions

Objective criteria

Broaden the context or break the problem down

Analyse reasons for disagreeing

Set the stage for WIN-WIN Outcomes

Figure: 2.4.3: Techniques Conflict resolution model
Figure: 2.6.2: Comparison between win-win and win-lose solutions

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ANNEXURE N: EDITORIAL LETTER OF CONFIRMATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
Private bag x1314
Alice
5700
15 DECEMBER 2011

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN
Editorial Services for Mr. Michael Majok Ayom Dor

I, Nancy Morkel, herewith confirm that I have edited and proofread the mini-dissertation completed by Mr. Michael Majok Ayom Dor to be submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Public Administration, at the University of Fort Hare. I am satisfied with Mr. Michael Majok Ayom Dor’s final changes and polishing of the document after the completion of the editorial work.

Sincerely,

Nancy Morkel

MA English cum laude (NMMU), BA Honours English cum laude (UPE), BA Media, Communication and Culture (UPE), PGDHET (UFH)