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RESEARCH PAPER

Conflict sensitivity assessment in Marsabit county, Kenya

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That is why we believe that we all have a role to play in building a more peaceful future.

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Abbreviations

BMU	Beach Management Unit
CC	County Commissioner
CIDP	County Intergrated Development Plan
CSA	Conflict sensitivity assessment
DCC	Deputy County Commissioner
FGDs	Focus group discussions
GIS	Geographic information system
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LTWP	Lake Turkana Wind Power Project
MCA	Member of County Assembly
WFP	World Food Programme
WPS	Water, Peace and Security Partnership

Executive summary

In November 2023, International Alert conducted a conflict sensitivity assessment (CSA) in Marsabit county to establish current and potential conflict dynamics, as well as opportunities for building peace during the implementation of the anticipated projects on fisheries and livestock production supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). A total of 88 (66 male and 22 female) representatives of various stakeholders at Marsabit county and Lake Turkana East were engaged through focus group discussions (FGDs), semi-structured interviews and multi-stakeholders' feedback workshop. The data generated was qualitatively analysed using thematic analysis.

The findings reveal three primary types of conflicts in Marsabit county, particularly in Lake Turkana East, namely, natural resources-based, ethno-political and culturally driven conflicts. The main causes included competition for grazing areas and water resources, disputes over administrative boundaries, competition for county positions and resources, and cultural practices. In addition, institutional conflicts were identified in the fisheries sector, primarily stemming from the exclusion of members of Beach Management Units (BMU) and fisheries cooperatives from decision-making processes and disputes over sharing of fishing equipment. The findings further show that there were over 20 conflict hotspots within Lake Turkana East with more occurring on rangeland than in the lake. The conflict hotspots on rangeland were associated with access to grazing areas and boundary disputes, while those on the lake were attributed to access to fishing grounds in restricted protected areas by fisherfolks.

Fisheries and livestock production are the main livelihoods in Lake Turkana East. Participants in this assessment consider this region to be marginalised and isolated from other parts of Marsabit county. Despite several benefits associated with past investments, serious grievances were raised regarding how the investments were designed and implemented, and which the earmarked fisheries and livestock projects will need to do differently to maximise outcomes. From this analysis, potential conflicts and risks observed in previous projects could negatively impact the new project. These include reinforcing the exclusion of fisherfolks and herders with unpredictable movements, exacerbating existing grievances among ethnic groups and increasing political interference. Moreover, unequal distribution of fishing equipment and livestock production inputs may lead to new divisions among community groups. There is also the risk of discriminatory contractual obligations arising, potentially sparking conflicts between local fish and livestock traders and private investors due to preferential terms for investors. Finally, poorly managed participation processes may further marginalise local stakeholders' needs and voices, potentially escalating tensions.

However, the project has an opportunity to positively impact the conflict context by engaging in ways that enable positive intergroup interaction, thereby fostering social cohesion. This includes multi-stakeholders' collaboration and consensus-building initiative, supporting community-led natural resources management mechanisms in project implementation, information sharing and support of an all-inclusive policy framework. These factors have the potential for enhancing relationships and encouraging open communication, ultimately facilitating the collective addressing of grievances. Based on the above findings, for any future external investments in fisheries and livestock production, the focus should be to:

- Strengthen and sustain inter-ethnic dialogue using community-based conflict-resolution mechanisms such as local peace committees and rangeland management structures that were found to be inclusive, and provide resources to address the four types of conflicts in Lake Turkana East.
- Form and strengthen an inter-ethnic grievance-management committee that will address both historical and emerging grievances among different ethnic groups and other stakeholders.
- Build the capacity of BMU and fisheries cooperatives through strengthening their governance and development of regulations/framework for managing resources, including fishing equipment and relations among actors involved in the fisheries.
- Ensure inclusion of the local stakeholders in the activities of the fisheries and livestock projects, with a focus on representation across various community groups in community-based structures and processes supported by the project.
- Build in public participation and consensus building in new projects during the planning, implementation and decision-making processes.
- Through a comprehensive and inclusive community engagement process, support the finalisation of policies related to fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding in the county.
- Support the implementation of a comprehensive rangeland management system provided in the policy framework on fisheries and livestock production.

1. Introduction to conflict sensitivity assessment

International Alert is an independent peacebuilding organisation with a presence in over 15 countries and a 30-year history of working towards positive peace and reducing violence. In Kenya, Alert has been operating since 2007, with a focus on supporting conflict-sensitive governance of natural resources, enhancing inclusive and participatory political governance, and advocating for gender justice and equality. Currently, it is implementing two projects in the Lake Turkana basin.¹ The Water, Peace and Security Partnership (WPS) and the business and human rights projects are being implemented in Turkana and Marsabit counties, respectively.

In November 2023, Alert commissioned a conflict sensitivity assessment (CSA) in Marsabit county with a focus on Loiyangalani and Illeret wards to identify conflict-sensitivity risks concerning the anticipated fisheries and livestock projects in Marsabit and Turkana counties with support from the Dutch Embassy in Kenya. The project will be implemented as part of the Dutch government's aspirations to contribute to resilience building in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) areas of Kenya, fostering sustainable livelihoods, economic development and food security in well-managed landscapes, and in alignment with the aspirations of the county governments of Turkana and Marsabit as formulated in their County Integrated Development Plans (CIDPs).

1.1. Purpose and specific objective

The purpose of the conflict sensitivity assessment was to collect information regarding current and potential significant conflict fault lines, key dynamics, involved actors, as well as the potential for cohesion and opportunities while implementing the fisheries and livestock projects in Marsabit county. Specifically, the CSA:

- Assessed the conflict context to identify existing and potential conflict in Marsabit county, and specifically in the locations where the fisheries and livestock projects are to be implemented. This included identifying causes and dynamics as well as key actors involved (positively and negatively) in such conflicts.
- Assessed the potential impact of the context both positively and negatively on the project delivery.
- Outlined the existing community capacities for preventing conflict and building peace.
- Provided recommendations to mitigate negative impacts and enhance positive contributions of the projects, including opportunities for mainstreaming peace and conflict mitigation through the project implementation activities.

1.2. Assessment methodology

The CSA was conducted in Marsabit county, specifically in Lake Turkana East,² between November and December 2023. The fisheries and livestock projects will be implemented in Turkana and Marsabit counties. On the side of Marsabit county, they will be implemented in Loiyangalani and Illeret wards. The two wards border Lake Turkana on the east side. However, the projects' work, to some extent, will affect livestock production in North Horr ward as part of the rangeland ecosystem.

Sample sizes and sampling procedures

Purposive sampling was employed to identify participants engaged in data collection using predetermined criteria, which encompassed gender representation, categories of stakeholders involved in fisheries and livestock keeping, ethnic groups living in the two target wards, age groups and local leadership. A total of 88 (66M, 22F) individuals, representing various stakeholders, were engaged (see Box 1).

Box 1. Sample size distribution of the participants

Category	Sample size		Target participants
	Male	Female	
Community groups	42	18	Fisheries cooperative members, women, youth, livestock keepers and traders, and local different traders
Local institutions officials	5	0	Fisheries cooperative, local peace committees and Beach Management Unit (BMU)
Local leaders	6	2	Ethnic elders, pastor, Imam, women, youth and teacher
National government officials	3	0	County Commissioner (CC), Deputy County Commissioner (DCC), Chiefs and Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and chief
Marsabit county officials	6	2	Ward administrators, Member of County Assembly (MCA) and county directors, Chief Officer – Fisheries, Chief Officer – Livestock, Director of Peace and Cohesion, County Secretary, Committee of County Executive Committee (CEC) – Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and directors (Peace and Cohesion and Fisheries, Livestock)
Non-governmental organisations	4	0	Pastoralist Integrated Support Programme (PISP), World Food Programme (WFP), Interpeace and Inter-faith
Total	66	22	

The sampled stakeholders operated at the local level (community groups and leaders) and county level, especially government officials. The development organisations operated at county and local levels.

Data collection methods

Four data collection methods were employed. They included the literature review, FGDs, semi-structured interviews and stakeholders' feedback workshop. The four methods were classified under literature review and field data collection and conducted as described below.

Literature review: An extensive review of literature was carried out focusing on conflict dynamics in Marsabit county and Lake Turkana East for the last five years. This review encompassed projects implemented in fisheries and livestock production, existing policies, and historical as well as contemporary conflict issues. The goal was to identify broader contextual factors influencing conflicts.

Field data collection: During the field visit to Marsabit county headquarters and Loiyangalani ward, semi-structured interviews were carried out with local leaders and county and national governments officials, and FGDs were conducted with representatives from various community groups. These interactions aimed at understanding the current conflict contextual dynamics and interaction with investments implemented in fisheries and livestock production. In addition, opinions and suggestions regarding the delivery and potential impacts of the anticipated fisheries and livestock projects were solicited.

Stakeholders' feedback workshop: The field visit culminated in a multi-stakeholders' feedback workshop where preliminary findings were shared and validated. It also provided an opportunity to collect more data and insights on conflict-sensitivity risks in Lake Turkana East. The workshop was attended by representatives of county officials, religious leaders, development organisations, political leaders, women and youth leaders.

Data analysis and report writing

The data collected from FGDs and semi-structured interviews were transcribed into scripts. Nvivo software³ was employed for qualitative data analysis, generating codes to extract relevant information aligned with the assessment objectives. Through the thematic analysis, the extracted codes were grouped into emerging themes, addressing the assessment's objectives and other significant findings. Relationships among the themes were identified and discussed and supported by quotations from the participants.

Utilising geographic information system (GIS), spatial mapping of conflict hotspots in Lake Turkana East was generated using ArcGIS,⁴ highlighting specific areas of active conflict and associated crucial information. Some important information was also presented in boxes for the purposes of emphasis and explanation.

Limitations of the assessment

The assessment encountered the following three limitations:

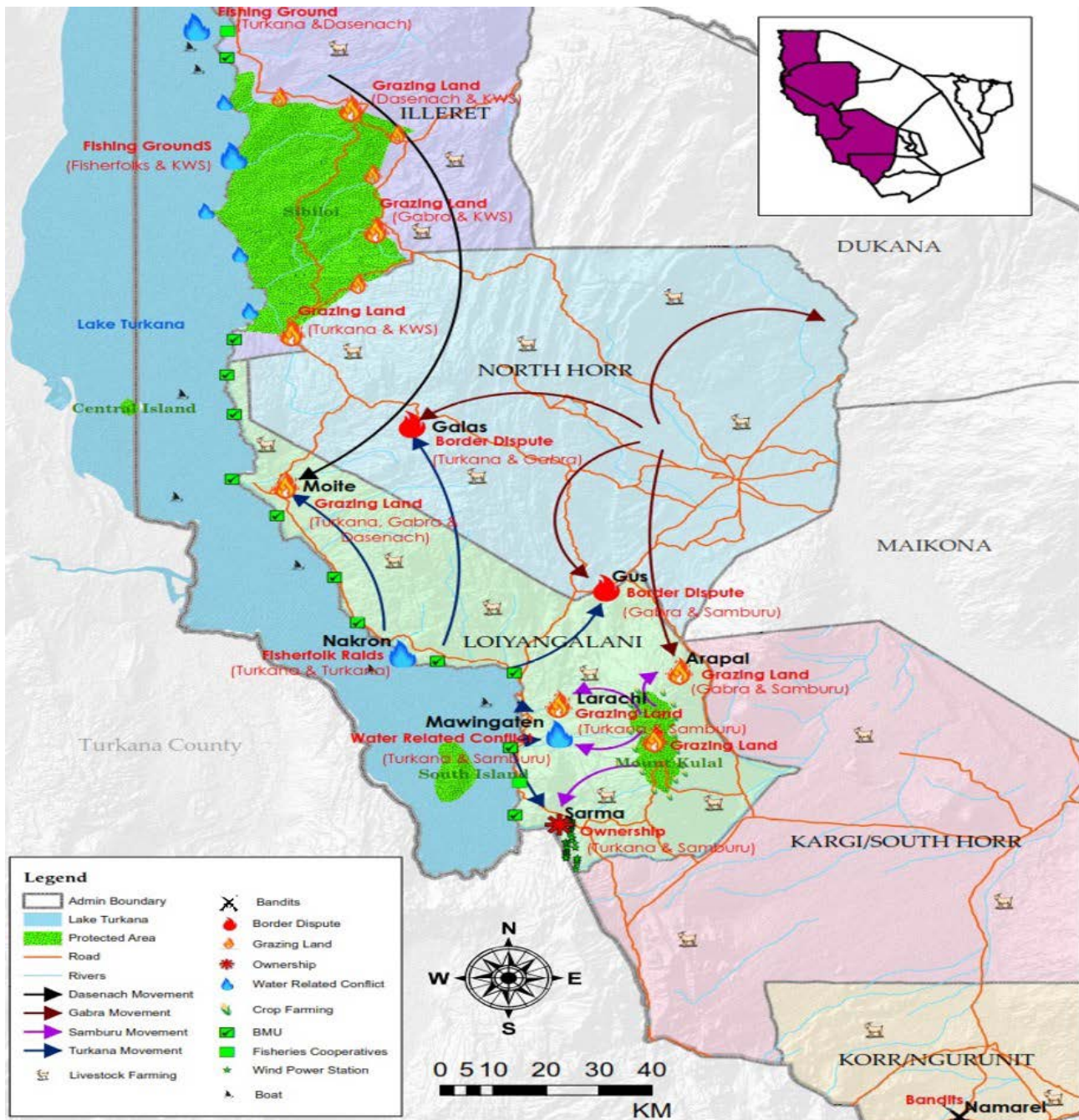
- Stakeholder engagement was incomplete because of issues with telephone networks, making it difficult to reach some key stakeholders, especially those from Illeret and North Horr wards. Some stakeholders could not attend the discussions due to conflicting commitments.
- No site visits were conducted to Illeret and North Horr wards. The assessment relied on limited information gathered from literature review and a multi-stakeholders' feedback workshop.
- Information on the new project presented in Section 4 primarily relied on a World Food Programme (WFP) project document. The absence of information on the livestock production project limited understanding of how this aspect would be executed and its potential impact on the context.

2. Conflict context analysis

The findings in this section present the conflict contexts in Marsabit county, with a specific focus on Lake Turkana East. The analysis covered various aspects, including mapping conflict hotspots, analysing conflict actors, identifying types of conflicts and associated drivers.

2.1. Conflict hotspots

Figure 1. Conflict hotspots in Lake Turkana East



Source: K. Nyagah and K. Masese, Conflict Hotspots Map in Lake Turkana East, Nairobi, Kenya, 12 February 2014 (unpublished)

The conflict in Marsabit county, including Lake Turkana East, is predominantly associated with access to and use of grazing areas and water resources on land and in Lake Turkana.⁵ The participants identified over 20 conflict hotspots in Lake Turkana East (see Figure 1). Most of the conflict hotspots were found on rangeland across the three wards than in the lake. Participants indicated that the frequency and intensity of the conflict in those conflict hotspots on the rangelands depended on the seasons. The incidents were more intense during dry season, typically between June and September, or drought periods than during wet seasons. During these periods, the herders migrate in search of pasture and water, leading to clashes with herders from different ethnic groups.

On rangeland and in the lake, participants reported that the conflict hotspots largely remained the same over the last five years. However, the frequency and intensity changed due to causes associated with the types of conflicts in those hotspots. As shown in Figure 1, access to grazing areas on the rangeland and to fishing grounds in the lake were identified as the main causes of conflict in most of the hotspots. This finding indicates that most of the conflicts were embedded in fisheries and livestock keeping, the two main sources of livelihood in the area.

2.2. Types and causes of conflicts

Three broad types of conflicts and associated causes were identified in this assessment as having occurred not only in Lake Turkana East but also across Marsabit county, namely, resource-based, ethno-political and culturally driven conflicts. In addition, based on the FGDs with fisherfolks and members of BMU and fisheries cooperatives, a fourth type, institution-based conflict, was identified as prominent in the fisheries sector. The causes of these four types of conflicts are discussed below.

Natural resource-based conflicts: In all FGDs and interviews, competition for grazing areas and water resources was consistently identified as the key source of conflict not only in Lake Turkana East but across the entire county. Further analysis revealed three distinct patterns of the causes of natural resource conflicts.

First, conflicts often revolved around conflicting claims of ownership of grazing areas and water resources. Access by one ethnic group to pasture and water points in areas claimed by another group led to violent confrontations, contributing to numerous conflict hotspots in Lake Turkana East (see Figure 1). For example, conflicts between Turkana and Samburu herders escalated during the dry season when Turkana herders forcibly attempted to access pasture in Mt. Kulal, claimed by the Samburu as their territory.

Second, disputes arose from administrative boundaries, a finding applicable county-wide that remains a contentious issue. Over 80% of the population in Marsabit county engages in livestock keeping,⁶ and ethnically based boundaries established during the colonial regime persisted, including recent creations like Turbi and Dukana sub-counties. Traditionally, there were no boundaries, but continuous government demarcation of land resulted in ethnicised grazing areas.⁷

In Lake Turkana county, a similar conflict situation was reported by fisherfolks during FGDs. Tensions arose between fisherfolks from Turkana and Marsabit counties. Fisherfolks from Marsabit county felt their counterparts from the Turkana side should remain on their own side of the lake. They were accused of raiding fisherfolks from Marsabit county at Nakron, leading to fish theft and, in some instances, fatalities. The sentiments of fisherfolks were supported by the Member of County Assembly (MCA) for Loiyangalani, who suggested the need to regulate the movement of fisherfolks across the two counties to reduce tensions and generate revenue for Marsabit county.

Thirdly, resource-based conflicts were observed around protected areas. On the rangeland, conflicts occurred between the Gabra and Dasenach with the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) when trying to access pasture in Sibiloi National Park, especially during dry seasons. In the lake, conflicts over access to fishing grounds within the protected areas, including Sibiloi National Park, North, Southern and Central Highlands, were reported by fisherfolks during the FGDs. The conflicts involved fisherfolks from Marsabit and Turkana counties and KWS, often arising when fisherfolks entered the shores of these protected areas.

The ethno-political conflicts: These conflicts occur when political and governance discourse is framed along ethnic lines in the county.⁸ They become more pronounced during the electoral period, around election time, and return to a latent state in the rest of the years. The political elite leverage historical differences and competition over resources to manipulate emotions, instil fear and sow mistrust among ethnic groups.

While the current county administration has made efforts to promote inclusivity and equitable representation within county governance structures, as observed from interviews with informants at the county headquarters, political positions and appointments are often influenced by ethnic affiliations. This sometimes results in perceptions of marginalisation among certain communities, further fuelling tensions and grievances. Interestingly, unlike the previous county government regime that was marred by conflicts, sometimes escalating into violence in Marsabit town, a common view among county officials during the interviews was that representation in the current county administration has led to calmness at the headquarters.

In Lake Turkana East, participants did not report any political tension. However, concerning governance, some ethnic groups felt that they were not adequately represented and were unfairly treated due to a lack of inclusion in county governance. For example, local leaders, especially those from Turkana and El-Molo, reported a perception of favouritism towards the Samburu and Gabra by the county administration. The MCA for Loiyangalani (from the Turkana community) also expressed concerns about a lack of representation in local administration, leading to the Turkana community experiencing cattle raids without intervention from both the county and national governments.

Culturally driven conflicts: Cattle rustling remains deeply entrenched in the cultural practices of pastoral communities in Marsabit county, including Lake Turkana East. The persistence of this phenomenon is attributed to its perception as a display of bravery, where warriors conduct raids on neighbouring communities, returning with stolen livestock and earning praise for defending their people. This cultural tradition is particularly prevalent among ethnic groups in Marsabit county and other counties in the northern region of Kenya.⁹

The primary manifestation of violent incidents in Lake Turkana East was cattle raids and banditry, leading to significant loss of lives. Participants reported frequent confrontations between Turkana and Samburu communities, often linked to traditional practices. However, instances of theft were also reported, revealing a more nuanced landscape of incidents.

In addition, the cultural practice of cattle raids associated with restocking was identified, typically occurring during the wet seasons between October and December, as well as January to May. The participants in the livestock keepers FGD stated that this period aligns with an increase in livestock multiplication when herders have returned from searching for pasture and water, making it an opportune time for restocking. Those who faced livestock losses during the dry season or drought find these wet seasons conducive for raids. Economic motivation was also noted, with stolen goats reportedly being sold at favourable prices, indicating a complex interplay of cultural, seasonal and economic factors influencing cattle rustling in the region.

Institutional-based conflicts: Tensions were reported around fishing activities caused by different factors. First, local traders and fisherfolks expressed concerns that the fisheries cooperatives were exploiting them by charging for storage without providing meaningful services in return. One of the participants in the fisherfolks FGD expressed frustrations, stating:

“They are busy collecting their commission, these cooperatives are part of the failure, they do not market the fish or transport them to the market; instead all they do is collect commissions from the fishermen.”

The dissatisfaction among fisherfolks and fish traders with the cooperatives’ functioning was evident in the behaviour of the local traders. Frustrated by these issues, many fish traders opted to purchase fish and, using motorcycles, transport the fish to their households for drying and packaging. This practice denied the cooperatives revenue for storage.

Second, conflict issues were reported between local traders in Lake Turkana East, specifically in Loiyangalani, and traders from Kisumu and Busia towns particularly in price negotiations. During the FGD with fish traders who are members of the fisheries cooperative, exploitation by traders from Kisumu and Busia towns was highlighted. The local traders felt powerless in determining fair prices, with traders in Busia and Kisumu towns dictating prices, leaving local traders with narrow profit margins. One participant emphasised the disconnect between traders in Kisumu and Busia towns and local traders, noting that they lack knowledge of the criteria used to grade the fish by traders in those towns.

The third conflict issue identified pertains to systemic weaknesses in both BMU and the cooperatives, in two aspects. First, BMUs lacked regulations to ensure the fair distribution of fishing equipment provided by the county government and development organisations. Although numerous fishing boats and nets were supplied through BMUs to support fishing activities at the lake, the absence of sharing modalities often led to tensions among the members. Second, there were complaints that the leadership was not representative of all the ethnic groups in the fisheries sector.

Overall, the findings reveal that natural resources, ethno-political and culturally driven conflicts occurred not only in Lake Turkana East but also across Marsabit county, as reported by county officials. They emphasised that Marsabit is a conflict-prone county, making it imperative for any interventions to consider this situation. Further analysis of the resource-based, ethno-political and culturally driven conflicts and their causes revealed two distinct patterns. First, they have lasted for decades with no prospect of resolution. This could be attributed to the conflicts revolving largely around access to the natural resources that support livestock keeping, the main economic and livelihood activity for the people in Marsabit county, and ineffective peacebuilding responses. Second, a cycle of retaliation attacks was a common occurrence resulting from cattle raids and banditry attacks. Regardless of the initial cause, the affected communities organised themselves to conduct counterraid.

Thirdly, in most cases, the conflicts spilled over into urban areas. During FGDs with livestock keepers and traders, it was found that several incidents occurred where attacks initially took place outside Loiyangalani ward, in conflict hotspots, leading to retaliatory actions within the urban centre of Loiyangalani by rival members of ethnic groups. Notably, these patterns were associated with raids that occurred in the rangeland rather than in the lake. These findings underscore the complex dynamics of conflict in Lake Turkana East and other parts of Marsabit county, characterised by retaliatory cycles and the extension of hostilities into urban spaces. Understanding these patterns is crucial for developing effective conflict-resolution strategies in Lake Turkana East.

2.3. Conflict actors

The assessment identified various conflict actors (see Box 2). Based on the analysis concerning their role and influence on the conflict context in Lake Turkana East, two categories were established.

Box 2. Level of influence of the conflict actors

High influence	Low influence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KWS • Herders • Fisherfolks • Elders from the ethnic groups • County Department of Fisheries and Livestock • National government administration • Security officials (Kenya and Ethiopia) • Politicians • Officials of BMUs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace and development organisations (Caritas and Mercy Corps, etc.) • BMUs • Livestock keepers/pastoralists • Fish traders • Fisheries cooperatives • Local peace committees • Peace directorate • Lake Turkana Power Project • Local leaders (religious leaders, women and youth)

Actors with high influence: These actors were further categorised into formal and informal groups. The formal conflict actors included county and national government departments and agencies. Their contribution to the conflict context depended on how they carried out their functions. For example, an analysis of projects¹⁰ implemented in Marsabit county over the last five years revealed a concerning trend, with few projects executed in Lake Turkana East, indicating systemic marginalisation. During the FGDs with BMU members, complaints of harassment by fisheries department officials were raised. BMU members also expressed the view that the county government should not own and manage the fishing boats, as it currently does. Instead, they felt the county government should play a facilitating role in the management of fishing activities at the lake.

The KWS significantly controls access to the protected areas. Both in the lake and on the rangeland, Sibilio National Park had the most conflict hotspots than other areas (see Figure 1). Frequent confrontations were reported by fisherfolks and KWS in the water¹¹, and between Gabra, Turkana and Dasenach herders and KWS on the rangelands¹².

The participants also expressed their concerns about the national government administration, particularly the Deputy County Commissioner's (DCC) office and security officials, seeming unwilling to address insecurity in Lake Turkana East. Some participants in the FGDs with representatives from different ethnic groups accused security agencies of taking sides when responding to cattle raids. Specifically, Turkana participants complained that security officials were siding with Gabra and Samburu communities.

For the informal conflict actors, the findings show that fisherfolks, herders and elders influenced the conflict dynamics in the area. Fisherfolks and herders from different ethnic groups were identified as perpetrators of violent conflicts on the rangeland and in the lake, respectively. Surprisingly, these actors were least involved in investments in fisheries, livestock keeping and peacebuilding work in the areas, as expressed by many participants in fisherfolks' and livestock keepers' FGDs.

In the case of culturally driven conflicts, there were different opinions on the role of elders. Some participants mentioned that elders encouraged herders (turned bandits) to steal livestock for traditional rituals, while others, such as fisherfolks and livestock keepers, explained that elders had played a mediation role in many past inter-communal conflicts in Lake Turkana East.

Actors with low influence: The most striking finding from this category is that most of the actors perceived to have low influence were also the positive contributors. They had a common interest in ensuring that the livelihoods of the local communities are improved and not disrupted. As shown in Box 2, they included peace and development organisations, BMUs, livestock keepers and fish traders, among others. However, they had less power to change the current conflict situation. Some, like BMUs and fisheries cooperatives, had institutional weaknesses that needed attention for any meaningful engagement. They did not have operational plans and their capacity as corporate entities in the fisheries sector were also not exploited adequately.

Similarly, although the local peace committees and peace directorate were appreciated by the participants for having mediated past local conflicts. They were found to be weak in holding sustained dialogue due to dependence on development organisations to support their work.

While the findings on the relationship dynamics among the conflict actors show a tendency to sustain conflicts in Lake Turkana East, there were times when some worked together to resolve conflicts. For example, local leaders reported during interviews that, in the past, the DCC, chiefs, elders and development organisations such as Shalom came together and held peace meetings after incidents of conflicts in the area. This indicates that there are unexploited opportunities for conflict actors to harness their influence towards addressing current conflict situations and building sustainable peace.

2.4. Impact of external factors on conflict context

Four external factors were identified as having affected the conflict context in Lake Turkana East. Depending on the conflict situation as described below, the following factors escalated or de-escalated current conflicts.

Climate variability: Participants expressed concerns over the prolonged drought that had devastating effects on fisheries and livestock production. It increased competition as grazing areas and water diminished, escalating violent conflicts. The prolonged drought also had other effects, including the death of livestock. During FGDs with livestock traders, there was a general feeling that the drought had made them poorer, as expressed by one of the livestock traders:

“From three thousand, another two thousand. At the moment, the person with the most left may be forty, and it can drop to thirty-five, fifteen, twenty, even ten, even five; we even have someone with two left.”

Surprisingly, as noted in the report for a study conducted in Marsabit county in 2023 by Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC)¹³ and often repeated by some county officials during interviews, the prolonged drought also became a peacebuilding factor. The pastoralists lost their livestock and left most of them with no stock, as one of the county officials said:

“The communities are at their low moment, there is nothing to fight for. Now they have to figure out ways of restocking.”

The loss of livestock also made livestock keepers migrate into fishing as a coping strategy, as witnessed by the BMU Chair in Loiyangalani during the interview:

“Livestock keepers, they came to the lake in numbers. Even controlling them using BMU regulations could not because they did not have an idea of such existing and needed to fish to survive.”

This was corroborated by the manager of the Loiyangalani fisheries cooperative, who said, as he showed the membership data and fish outputs between 2022 and 2023:

“Our members increased drastically due to prolonged drought, and we feel the number will stay high because they are now used to fishing.”

The influx of livestock keepers into the lake caused tensions within the BMU because they did not adhere to regulations for fishing in the lake. Unexpectedly, the migration encouraged women to engage in fish trading as a coping strategy, supported by development organisations such as Mercy Corps.

Large-scale investments: Two investments were identified that had an impact on the conflict context in Lake Turkana East, namely the designation of grazing areas turned into protected areas (Sibilo National Park and Mt. Kulal water towers) and the Turkana Wind Power Plant in Loiyangalani.¹⁴ The direct effect of these investments was the reduction of grazing areas for the communities. For example, the creation of Sibilo National Park resulted in reduced grazing areas for the Gabra and Dasenach communities without prior consultation. Since the establishment of the park, the Gabra and Dasenach herders had violent confrontations with KWS. Similarly in the lake, the establishment of Southern, Central and Northern islands as protected areas reduced fishing grounds for the fisherfolks. Since their creation, there has been protracted conflict between fisherfolks and KWS.

Regarding the Lake Turkana Wind Power Project (LTWP), the Turkana community found themselves fenced inside the wind power compound, preventing them from keeping a significant number of livestock and limiting their movement outside the station. Some Turkana individuals had to relocate with their livestock, thereby exposing them to cattle raids. Allegations also surfaced during FGD with livestock keepers and representatives from some respondents that the plant employed Samburu and individuals from other counties while excluding the Turkana whose land the power plant was on. The Turkana community also claimed that they were not adequately compensated for their 400 acres of land and many promises made remain unfulfilled.

Surprisingly, despite the grievances expressed by the Turkana community, the LTWP has had some positive impacts, by reducing incidents of cattle raids in Lake Turkana East. According to the DCC, Sarma was the route used by bandits who came to raid Turkana and Gabra in Loiyangalani and North Horr ward, respectively. It was also a conflict hotspot for herders from different ethnic groups. The presence of security personnel at the LTWP station made it difficult for raiders to pass and herders to access the area, resulting in a reduction in attacks on the Gabra and Turkana communities, as witnessed by many participants.

Cross-border activities: The findings reveal two categories of cross-border activities. First, there were activities involving Marsabit, Samburu and Turkana counties. Some participants, especially from Turkana, expressed concerns that cattle raiders came from Samburu and Baringo counties. These raiders allegedly committed cattle raids in Loiyangalani and North Horr wards, although this was not substantiated during the assessment. Such incidents contributed to a cycle of retaliation attacks between Turkana and Samburu communities. Fisherfolks from Marsabit county, as discussed in Section 2.2, felt that fisherfolks from Turkana county did not adhere to fishing procedures, such as rotation fishing and the use of the correct size of nets. This led to tensions between the fisherfolks from the two counties, with accusations of violent attacks and fish theft at Nakron.

The transportation of fish and livestock across the three counties had an impact on conflicts in Lake Turkana East. For instance, a significant number of fish, especially fresh fish, were transported to Kalokol town, Turkana county, where the fish industry and marketing are more organised. In addition, exploitation of traders from Marsabit county was reported by the MCA for Loiyangalani ward, who expressed a keen interest in enacting legislation to address this issue. A similar pattern was observed in the livestock sector, with traders from neighbouring counties coming to Loiyangalani to buy livestock at low prices, leading to local traders feeling exploited. Sometimes, cattle raids were also committed along the roads as fish and livestock were transported across Samburu counties, resulting in tensions between Turkana and Samburu living in Loiyangalani.

The second category of cross-border activities was reported in Illeret ward, where the following two observations were made. First, traders from Ethiopia were reported to exploit Dasenach fish traders, taking advantage of the low exchange rate between the Ethiopian Birr and Kenyan Shillings. Second, it was alleged that security officers from Ethiopia have arrested Turkana fisherfolks and demanded payment using fish. This tension has never been addressed.

Small arms and light weapons: Some of the livestock keepers in the FGD reported that there was movement of small arms from Ethiopia into Kenya through the porous borders in Illeret ward. Cattle raiders and bandits use these weapons to steal livestock and kill herders. The small arms also were used for revenge attacks by other ethnic groups, especially in urban areas, amplifying the scale and intensity of the violent conflict.

3. Investments in fisheries and livestock production

The assessment further examined the investments¹⁵ in the fisheries and livestock production in Lake Turkana East with a focus on establishing interaction between these investments and the conflict context. The food value chain analysis framework¹⁶ was used. The existing policies on fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding work were also reviewed.

3.1. Types of livelihoods

The findings show that Lake Turkana East has three distinct livelihoods. The primary one is pastoral, characterised by vast expanses of rangeland spanning across three wards. With the exception of the El-Molo, the six other ethnic groups practise livestock keeping. The second prominent livelihood revolves around fishing, predominantly occurring in Lake Turkana situated in Marsabit county. From the discussions with fisherfolks and members of fisheries cooperatives, the Turkana and El-Molo communities are the primary ethnic groups reliant on fishing. Other ethnic groups like the Samburu and Rendille engage in various activities such as trading along the lakeshore. The third livelihood is agro-pastoral practices on Mount Kulal, which is inhabited by the Samburu community, who practise both crop farming and livestock keeping.

The value chain analysis was carried out for fisheries and livestock production. Despite being the two major livelihoods in Lake Turkana East, they will be affected by earmarked fisheries and livestock projects. The observations from the analysis are set out in Box 3.

Box 3. Observations on fisheries and livestock production value chains

	Fisheries	Livestock keeping
Producers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Turkana and El-Molo youth predominantly engaged in fishing Samburu, Dasenach, Rendille and Gabra own boats and equipment, employing or renting fisherfolks Fishing and drying takes place at the shore No women involved in fishing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little effort required for livestock production when pasture and water are available All ethnic groups, except El-Molo, keep livestock Herders move with livestock as they search for pasture and water
Aggregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sorting, packaging, storing and loading fish onto lorries Fish packaged into makeshift bales (1200 dry fish each according to fish traders) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livestock keepers took the livestock to the market for sale Some livestock traders, mostly men, bought livestock from livestock keepers
Marketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dry fish transported to Kisumu and Busia and Ethiopia for Illeret ward Low consumption of dry and fresh fish in Marsabit county More women fish traders than men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Absence of a sustainable livestock market in Lake Turkana East Merille and Moyale are the only two active livestock markets in the county

3.2. Projects implemented in fisheries and livestock production

The county government, working closely with development organisations, had invested in fisheries and livestock production, as established in this assessment. The findings show that fisheries received more support than livestock production, primarily due to the involvement of many development organisations in the fisheries sector. The organisations mentioned during the FGDs and interviews included Mercy Corps (funded by United States Agency for International Development (USAID)), county government funded by European Commission (EC), World Vision and Caritas, among others.

The findings show that there was direct and indirect support for the fisheries sector. Direct support was provided to fishing activities in the form of fishing equipment (boats, gears and nets), cold stores and deep freezers. The investments were made by organisations such as the EC through the county government and Mercy Corps through the Livestock Market System (LMS). Direct support was carried out with BMUs and fisheries cooperatives. Indirect support was carried out with community members. The cash transfer, capacity building on fresh fish value chain and providing of seed capital to start marketing fresh fish were key activities carried out with different community groups. This support was provided by World Vision and Mercy Corps (funded by USAID). It was observed that the support was not specifically targeted at improving the fisheries or livestock sector but rather for the provision of basic needs, especially food. Some of the women who benefitted from cash transfer used some of the money to start fish trading as one of the participants confirmed during the women's FGD, stating:

“Most of the assistance from projects and specifically the cash transfer was primarily used for purposes such as paying school fees for children and portions of the funds allocated towards purchasing sacks of fish, which typically range in cost from one hundred to two hundred shillings, to initiate fish trading ventures.”

The same scenario played out with support from other development organisations where some of the funds were used to buy fish, hence promoting fish trading. The assessment found that many women had started selling fresh fish in Loiyangalani and beyond (Marsabit and Meru).

In terms of livestock production, the county government invested in the treatment of livestock diseases and introduced Galla goats to the area. No other support was identified from discussions with livestock keepers.

3.3. Community capacities for peace

The assessment revealed several key initiatives and mechanisms vital for promoting peace and cohesion in Lake Turkana East, including the existence of local peacebuilding committees and inter-ethnic community groups that lead peacebuilding processes. Participants highlighted that local peace meetings, primarily organised by DCCs through chief offices, were common activities. However, these meetings were reactive measures in response to reported violent incidents in hotspot areas. They involved representatives from various ethnic groups in mediation sessions, such as the one held in Galas between the Turkana and Gabra communities following livestock theft. In addition, participants mentioned inter-ethnic community peace meetings supported by development organisations, often facilitated by community groups such as youth and women. In Loiyangalani, an umbrella group representing the five ethnic groups had organised several local peace meetings across ethnic lines.

Several local peace committees were also identified during the assessment, including Shalom peace committees, LTWP committees, Nyumba Kumi and local administration peace and security committee led by chiefs. These committees had members drawn from various community groups and leadership, and were supported by development organisations such as Shalom to facilitate peace activities in the areas. They were used as platforms for disseminating peace messaging and education among the ethnic groups in the area.

From the FGDs, it was found that there were inter-ethnic community groups engaged in fisheries and livestock keeping. For livestock keeping and trading, there are groups specifically for livestock keepers and traders. In the fisheries sector, apart from the formal structures such as BMUs and cooperatives, where different ethnic groups were members, there were also youth and women groups engaged in fishing and supporting each other. Although limited information on the number and their work was collected, these inter-ethnic groups offer an opportunity for strengthening relationships, pre-empting perceptions, and promoting positive inter-ethnic interaction and engagement.

Despite the efforts by the national and county governments and development organisations to support peace work in Lake Turkana East, respondents considered it negative peace. The MCA during a stakeholders' feedback workshop emphasised that some communities felt unrepresented in governance matters. He stated:

"I say that because some ethnic groups don't feel to be included in the governance of the area, in Loiyangalani itself before you can see there was a problem between Gabra and Turkana, yearly fighting year in, year out, but that problem was solved when Moite had their chief, their elders, that was solved. Larachi the same. Now the problem in Dakaye, where the recent attack occurred, is that there is no local chief who understands the people and terrain. We have Samburu who do not know the Turkana residents. The raiders get there, and they organise and attack, and the chiefs are not accountable."

What stands out from these findings is that the local capacities for peace have not translated into sustainable peace as expected. Participants associated their ineffectiveness to not addressing the causes of the conflicts such as access to and control of grazing areas, existing inter-ethnic grievances and land ownership, as explained in Section 2.2. These conflict issues can be tackled effectively through the implementation of inclusive rangeland management and grazing frameworks, along with the social inclusion of all ethnic groups in policy and development processes.

3.4. Policy frameworks in fisheries and livestock production

The policy framework is critical in fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding work in Lake Turkana East. From the review of the policies provided during the assessment and interviews with county officials, it was observed that Marsabit county is in the process of strengthening its policy framework and institutions related to fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding in the county.

Based on the policies provided, four policies were enacted, and six were at the draft stage. Those enacted policies included Marsabit Livestock Policy (2021), Marsabit County Climate Change Fund Act (2020), Marsabit County Climate Change Framework (2023–2025) and the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) (2023–2027)¹⁷. Those in draft bills included Rangeland Management, Livestock and Market, Grazing Patterns Management, Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolutions, Natural Resources Management, and Disaster Risk Reduction. When all these policies are enacted, fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding will be adequately addressed.

The following observations were made on policy development and institutional arrangements based on the provisions of these policies:

- Most of the policies concerning managing fisheries and livestock production and peacebuilding were in draft form, indicating an inadequate policy framework supporting fisheries, livestock keeping and peacebuilding in the county. This underscores the need for speedy enactment to support these sectors.
- All the policies had provisions for the formation of structures at the county through to ward levels presenting a possibility of duplication and tensions during implementation of the policies. This indicates the need for effective coordination to ensure that these structures work sustainably.
- There were many departments supporting fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding. They include Agricultural, Livestock and Fisheries, Water, Environment, Natural Resources, and Peace Directorate. This calls for effective coordination and communication to manage any tensions that may arise when discharging their mandate.

From the county interviews, it was also established that there was political will by county officials to support initiatives directed towards livestock and fisheries as the main sectors that support the livelihoods of many county officials. As one county official said:

“The county has really been brought down by the prolonged drought. People have been left poorer than before. Any help to uplift their livelihoods is critical and important and we appreciate it. However, the project must have a component of peacebuilding due to the multi-ethnic nature of the county. Many projects come and do not benefit the people here [meaning the county] because they leave the people more divided than before they came.”

The findings also show that existing community-based structures were operational and valid in the local contexts, including traditional rangeland management and local mediation largely managed by the elders. Although they were reported to be relatively weaker than in the past, county policies recognised them as effective for the management of natural resources and fostering peace among the ethnic groups.

3.5. Implication of the investments on the context

The investments in fisheries and livestock production have had an impact on the conflict context. The positive and negative impacts observed are presented in Box 4.

Box 4. Positive and negative impacts of the investments on the context

Positive	Negative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthened fresh fish value, opening a new market in Marsabit county • Increased women participation in fishing by owning and renting out boats and capital for fish trading • Improved fishing infrastructure for a short period by use of cold stores and fishing equipment provided • Diversification of the livelihoods for households by starting fish trading in addition to livestock keeping • Reduced cattle raids especially in North Horr and Loiyangalani wards • Peaceful interaction in Loiyangalani due to peacebuilding activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interference of fishing by county government through ownership and managing boats • Increased tensions among the members of the BMU and fisheries cooperatives • Projects being managed at Marsabit town with no community office presence • Tensions as result of fishing equipment reported among BMU members due to lack of regulations on how to share and use the equipment • Minimal involvement of the local communities in decision making resulting in stalled fishing boats and cold stores • Some ethnic groups felt excluded from the projects, for example El-Molo

4. Potential implications of the new fisheries and livestock projects

The assessment also aimed to establish the potential impact of the fisheries and livestock projects on the context. While details of the project supporting fisheries (see Annex 3) were provided, information on the livestock project was not available during the assessment. However, based on the findings regarding investments implemented in the two sectors and interactions with the local context, an analysis of the potential impact of the new projects on the conflict context was carried out.

Four key observations emerged from the findings on the interaction between investments and the context in Lake Turkana East. First, if the two sectors remain the primary sources of livelihood for residents, conflicts in Lake Turkana East will persist in various forms. Participants in this assessment strongly suggested that, for any effective investment to take place, peacebuilding should take precedence. Second, despite peacebuilding interventions, the investments reinforced resource-based and culturally driven conflicts, and led to new institutional tensions in the fisheries sector. Third, due to climate change, ethnic groups such as the Dasenach, Gabra and Samburu, who were initially less interested in fishing, turned to it as a coping strategy. Lastly, there were historical grievances that remained unresolved. These emerging trends underscore the need for conflict-sensitive investment in the two sectors.

Further analysis of the potential interactions (negative and positive) between the delivery of the fisheries and livestock projects and conflict context was carried out and findings are presented in Box 5.

Box 5. Implications of fisheries and livestock projects to context

	Positive interactions	Negative interactions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multi-stakeholders' collaboration at county and local levels Strengthen consultations and consensus building Strong community-led natural resources management and peacebuilding mechanisms Creating avenues for open communication among the conflict actors Attract financial institutions and other private sector actors Conducive political environment and sufficient policy framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reinforcing social exclusion Increase inter-ethnic grievances Tensions between fisheries stakeholders and county government Poorly managed and exclusionary participation process Discriminatory contractual obligations Political interference and resistance Insecurity risks in the project target areas Increase claim of ownership of project infrastructures such as water points

Sections 4.1 and 4.2 describe the implications of the projects.

4.1. Positive interaction between new projects and the context

The anticipated projects will have the following opportunities to build social cohesion in Lake Turkana East.

Multi-stakeholders' collaboration at county, local and cross-county levels: The emphasis on multi-stakeholders' collaboration in projects recognises the interdependence necessary for achieving shared objectives. By bringing together representatives from national and county government agencies, involving Marsabit and Turkana counties, local communities, local leadership and development organisations will result in mutual understanding, shared responsibility and trust building. Collaboration will also serve as a bridge, connecting stakeholders with varying interests and priorities. In addition, it will facilitate the inclusion of perspectives of all community members in decision-making processes. This inclusivity is essential for creating a socially cohesive environment that values diversity and addresses the unique needs of different groups within the community.

Strengthen consultations and consensus building: The evidence-based sustained consultations proposed by these projects will serve as a safe space to identify and articulate the root causes of conflicts, explore potential solutions and collectively work towards resolutions that accommodate the concerns of all ethnic groups. The sustained dialogue will also challenge preconceived perceptions and encourage genuine discussions, thereby dispelling mistrust that was observed to exist among the ethnic groups in this assessment. This will shift attitudes, contributing to a more harmonious coexistence, promoting unity and collaboration among the diverse ethnic groups.

Strengthen community-led natural resources management and conflict-resolution mechanisms and integration with other structures: The project will invest in developing and implementing community-led natural resources management plans including grazing land management and water resources. This process will empower local communities through decision-making processes related to the access, utilisation, conservation and management of natural resources. This assessment established that access to and use of natural resources were the main conflict drivers. The mechanisms will encourage inter-ethnic dialogue for communities to express their concerns, aspirations and perspectives regarding shared resources.

Create opportunities and avenues for open communication among the conflict actors: The projects need to invest in knowledge management and communication. This information will be ploughed back into informing adaptation of strategies progressively. Sharing information will promote transparency and inclusivity, which will open channels of communication and strengthen the relationships among various community groups. The communication will also ensure any grievances that arise are addressed in time through accessible information on any issues.

Attracting financial institutions and private sector actors: The project activities are expected to attract financial institutions, thereby creating increased job opportunities for local unemployed youth and expanding the market for fresh fish. This may reduce the incidents of cattle raids and banditry due to engagement of youth meaningfully in fisheries and livestock production.

Conducive political environment and policy framework: This assessment found that there was political will from county officials to continue developing policies that support the fisheries, livestock production and peacebuilding. The enactment and implementation of the policies will accelerate project implementation, resulting in improvement of livelihoods and social cohesion in Lake Turkana East.

4.2. Negative interaction between new projects and the context

The following potential negative interactions could occur in relation to the fisheries and livestock projects and the context in Lake Turkana East.

Reinforcing perceptions of social exclusion: The strategies employed by the project may further exclude some local stakeholders in four areas. One, the herders and fisherfolks routinely migrate from one place to another. These individuals might unintentionally be omitted from project assessment, targeting and implementation if their movement is not taken into consideration. Two, in the past the members of the BMUs and fisheries cooperatives were overlooked in the decision-making process. Their further exclusion could potentially take place. Three, conventional training methods may inadvertently exclude individuals with limited literacy skills in capacity building. Finally, in relation to target areas, if not taken into consideration, active conflict within certain conflict hotspots may result in the exclusion of those communities living in conflict hotspots or displaced persons. This omission would not only perpetuate existing challenges but also hinder progress in conflict resolution.

Increase inter-ethnic grievances: Findings from this assessment indicated that there were grievances that remained unaddressed among ethnic groups. The El-Molo fisherfolks raised concerns over unfair distribution and use of fishing equipment by BMUs. Complaints were also reported by the Turkana community regarding discrimination in employment in LTWP Station and unmet compensation and promises by the government. Gabra and Dasenach communities also had historical grievances against the government for taking away their grazing areas to accommodate the Sibiloi National Park without consulting them. This remains an issue causing violent confrontations around the park. The new projects should proactively prioritise facilitating the settlement of these grievances and seek ways to avoid creating new ones.

Mistrust between fisheries local stakeholders and county government: Tensions between local stakeholders and county government were reported due to county government officials hindering their activities, as the officials owned and rented out fishing boats to them. The stakeholders felt that the county government should not engage in this role, indicating a lack of trust between the two entities. This perceived sabotage not only strained their relationship but also raised questions about the government's role in fostering a conducive environment in the fisheries sector. If the project does not address the lack of trust between local stakeholders and the county government, this will impede the effective implementation of the new projects and perpetuate their uneasy relationships.

Poorly managed participation process: The management of local stakeholder participation was identified as a conflict issue in the investments. Past experiences indicate a lack of effective management in incorporating the voices and interests of local stakeholders in the projects' implementation. Resistance to new project initiatives aimed at strengthening BMUs and cooperatives may also emerge due to power imbalances that contradict the preferences of current officials. The distribution of power within these entities plays a pivotal role in shaping community dynamics, and any attempt to alter this balance may be met with resistance.

Discriminatory contractual obligations to local fish stakeholders: Violence confrontation between traders from Busia and Kisumu towns and local fish traders was reported by members of BMU and fisheries cooperatives due to unfair prices offered by those traders. With the prospect of engaging private investors in fisheries, there is an inherent tension between the business interests of various private investors and the concerns of local traders, creating a challenging dynamic. If not handled in a conflict-sensitive manner, the contractual process may give the private sector an advantage over fish and livestock local traders due to unequal terms and conditions, inadvertently leading to unequal access to opportunities and preferential treatment that favour larger investors. As a result, local traders, who are essential contributors to fisheries, may experience frustration, a sense of injustice and heightened tensions in their interactions with investors.

Political interference and resistance: The local elites, benefiting from the existing status quo within Lake Turkana East, may resist project interventions in fisheries and livestock projects that may alter the political economy. The large-scale investments may also lead the county officials to seek influence over arrangements involving private investors in the fisheries as reported by fisherfolks and members of the BMU on how they interfered with the tendering process in the investments by allegedly allocating to individuals who had insufficient understanding of the fisheries sector.

Mistrust between the local communities and governments: Local communities harbour negative perceptions towards external investments due to unfulfilled county and national government promises regarding protected areas (Lake Turkana National Parks) and the LTWP. It remains a conflict issue that poses a potential threat to the proposed fisheries and livestock projects.

Insecurity risks: The escalation of cattle raids and violent conflicts poses a security risk that may impede project implementation or disrupt the timely transportation of fresh fish from Loiyangalani and Illeret wards to Marsabit town and beyond. Additionally, poor road infrastructure exposes fish and livestock transporters to banditry attacks. An incident was reported during one of the FGDs where bandits attacked a transporter from Loiyangalani that ended up in Marsabit town. If security is not factored into the projects, this may even bring the project to a halt.

Increased claim of ownership of project infrastructures: The project infrastructures, such as water points in areas inhabited by specific ethnic groups, may encounter challenges. Access to these infrastructures may be hindered due to perceived fears or existing tensions among ethnic groups, despite the findings indicating local ownership of areas within Lake Turkana East.

5. Conclusion

Conflict dynamics in Marsabit county stem from historical intercommunal tensions, particularly driven by competition over grazing areas and water resources, producing resource-based and culturally driven conflicts in Lake Turkana East. These conflicts are intertwined, reinforcing each other and underscoring the necessity for an in-depth analysis of the conflict drivers before designing and implementing interventions. The county and national governments, specifically, the departments of Fisheries, KWS and Security, are the key players across all the conflict hotspots. They have significant power and opportunities to de-escalate current conflicts. This is possible by facilitating inclusive peace processes with other conflict actors.

External factors, including the impact of climate change, cross-border activities, large-scale investments, access to small arms and investment, have exacerbated the conflicts. Surprisingly, prolonged droughts not only made livestock keepers engage in fishing as a coping strategy but also contributed to peace through the loss of livestock, thereby reducing movement. The presence of security personnel at Turkana Wind Power Plant also was reported to have reduced cattle raids, but sparked grievances among residents who felt uncompensated for their land.

The anticipated fisheries and livestock projects pose conflict-sensitive risks. The identified risks included reinforced social exclusion, increased inter-ethnic grievances, tensions from county government interference, the exploitation of local traders and private investors, political interference by local and county-based political elites, mistrust of local communities and governments on large-scale investments, insecurity, and claims of ownership of rangeland where project infrastructures may negatively affect the projects' work if these risks are not addressed early enough and factored into the projects' implementation.

On a positive note, the new projects have the potential to contribute to social cohesion through multi-stakeholders' collaboration, consensus building, strengthening of community-led natural resources management mechanisms, open communication, resolution of grievances and strengthening of the policy framework. These factors would accelerate the achievement of project outcomes and contribute to social cohesion.

A comprehensive understanding of the conflict dynamics in Lake Turkana East is crucial for designing interventions that address both the root causes and external influences. A balanced approach that considers the potential positive contributions of development projects while mitigating conflict-sensitive risks is essential for sustainable peace and community wellbeing.

6. Key recommendations

Based on the key findings from this assessment, the following recommendations were made, comprising those that needed urgent attention (referred to as critical) and must be implemented by the new project and essential recommendations that could be implemented alongside the work of other stakeholders in fisheries and livestock production.

Critical recommendations

Recommendations	Justification/Actions
Strengthen community-based peace dialogue processes	Utilising the local peace structures, such as the traditional elder system, local peace committees and inter-ethnic community groups, sustained inter-ethnic dialogues should be held supported by development organisations. These sustained dialogues must be grounded in the local context and include all stakeholders, helping build trust, promote understanding and pave the way for longstanding solutions to local conflicts.
Form and strengthen the Grievance Management Committee	There are many unresolved grievances in the area stemming from inequalities across ethnic groups, exclusion from decision-making and unfulfilled promises by the government. The Grievance Management Committee should have representatives from various communities, local leaders and government representatives. This committee would provide a platform for grievances to be heard, understood and resolved through dialogue and mediation, contributing to reconciliation and preventing further escalation of tensions.
Institutional strengthening of BMU and fisheries cooperatives	Both BMUs and fisheries cooperatives were found to be institutionally weak to serve their members adequately. The emphasis on strengthening should be on ensuring representation in leadership, developing regulations on management and operations, and providing resources where necessary. In addition, creating a network or mechanisms for connecting BMUs and cooperatives in Loiyangalani and Illeret ward is essential.
Community participation in decision-making and peace and development work	Throughout planning, implementation and continuous tracking, the project can proactively identify and address potential conflict factors that might arise once projects start. Conflict-sensitivity indicators must guide decision-making, ensuring that activities and interventions do not inadvertently exacerbate existing tensions but contribute positively to peace and development.
Ensure social inclusion in all interventions	Considering the diverse ethnic groups and local diversities as paramount, these interventions should not only involve representation from all communities but also actively engage with and address the unique needs and perspectives of each group.
Development and enactment of draft bills and policies	Leveraging the county's political goodwill, the projects need to support policy framework development. The policy provisions should promote inclusive governance and equitable resource allocation, and community participation in decision-making processes is fundamental. Creating an enabling environment through supportive policies encourages local ownership of peacebuilding initiatives and fosters a sense of partnership between local communities and government institutions.

Recommendations	Justification/Actions
Implement locally acceptable rangeland management system	Currently, there is no rangeland management mechanism in place, and the rangeland management and grazing planning policy is still in the draft stage. This mechanism should take into account the conflict profile. The focus should be on resolving longstanding historical disputes over land and resource ownership through dialogue and inclusive approaches.

Essential recommendations

Recommendations	Justification/Actions
Support implementation of county projects	The CIDP (2023–2027) ¹⁸ includes key projects to be implemented in this area, including the construction of a fish factory in Loiyangalani. The project should allocate budget to support these county projects so long as they facilitate achievement of the project objectives.
Power supply to Loiyangalani and Illeret ward	For the operation of the deep freezers and cold stores, electricity is needed. The government should work with LTWP to supply electricity in the two locations. The local stakeholders should also engage in advocacy on equitable access to electricity by local communities or alternative green energy sources to support the fish value chain.
Harmonise functions of the local structures proposed by the different policies	To avoid duplication of the functions around rangeland management and grazing and peacebuilding, there is a need to harmonise the operations of different local structures around Lake Turkana East.
Support climate-smart initiatives	Due to climate change, any investment must cater for climate change mitigation measures. Using the current Marsabit County Climate Change Action Plan (2023–2027), ¹⁹ identify specific areas of investment to build resilience to climate change in the area.
Policy strengthening across all the sectors	Leverage supportive policy framework to encourage inclusive governance and community participation in decision-making processes.

Annex

Annex 1A. Focus group discussion guide

Part 1: Introduction

- Introduction of participants, project team and consultant.
- Explain the objective of the exercise.
- Seek consent for taking photographs and recording.
- Agree on the time and some basic ground rules.
- Remember to thank the participants after the discussion.

Part 2: Discussion

NB: Start by drawing a conflict map for the fisheries and livestock projects target areas, then proceed to ask the following questions for purposes of digital mapping.

Focus area	Specific questions
1	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What are the causes of conflicts in the target areas?2. Who are the actors involved in the conflicts and why? – Seek information on the position, interest and how they influence conflict.3. Historical timelines of natural resources-related conflicts.4. Who controls (informally or formally) access to water, pasture and the lake for different uses by different community groups (women, men, youth, elders, herders, vendors, etc.)?5. Are there emerging trends in causes, issues or tensions that impact on natural resources and conflict?6. How do external factors influence natural resources conflicts? Probe on climate change, external investments, etc.
2	<ol style="list-style-type: none">7. Which peacebuilding activities have been/are CSOs, national and county government institutions undertaking and in which target areas to address current conflict dynamics?8. Do they feel the peacebuilding activities address the real issues in the target area?9. What are some of the existing county and local peace structures/committees and how do they respond to conflict context?10. How inclusive and effective are they? Check how women and youth, fisherfolks, herders, businesspeople, etc. are involved in developing the peace interventions including resolving previous and current conflicts. Who are left out in the peacebuilding processes?

Focus area	Specific questions
3 & 4	<p>11. What are some of the projects that have been implemented within the Lake Turkana region particularly on livestock and fisheries?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Was everyone in the target area involved? If not, why? What can be done or worked well for those projects? <p>12. Check on distribution of activities/benefits among the identity groups. Probe any incidents of exclusion and why they happened.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> How did the project implementation play out with local conflict dynamics? How did the local context slow or enhance project implementation? <p>13. In relation to the anticipated fisheries and livestock projects, what are some of the ways it can support the project in minimising the conflicts that could potentially happen?</p>
Other questions	<p>1. Briefly enquire about the livestock and fisheries value chains' structure:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> How is the livestock and fish production carried out in this area? How do farmers access markets? Which markets/buyer at local, county, regional and national? Who are the actors at production, aggregation and marketing levels for livestock and fish production?

Annex 1b. Key informant interview

Part 1: Discussion

NB: Ask relevant questions to specific key informants. The semi-structured interviews are targeting relevant stakeholders such as Deputy/Assistant County Commissioner (D/ACC), Fisheries Officer, Beach Management Unit (BMU) Chair, Ward Administrator, Livestock Extension Officer, Peace Director, Fisheries Director, Loiyangalani Member of County Assembly (MCA), Livestock Sector Committee and representatives from organisations (NGOs) dealing with livestock issues.

Instructions: Begin by introducing yourself, create free space and explain the purpose of the exercise. Seek consent before you start the interviews. Write down their names (optional), department/designation & date.

Part 2: Interview

Focus 1: Assessment of the conflict context to identify existing and potential conflict in Marsabit county and, specifically, in the locations where the fisheries and livestock projects are to be implemented. This includes identifying causes and dynamics as well as key actors involved (positively and negatively) in the said conflicts.

Target: All key informants

1. From your point of view, how would you describe the current conflict dynamics in Marsabit county/in the target area (for local leaders)? Probe on:
 - a) What are the current forms of conflict and issues that are fuelling them from your point of view?
 - b) Where was/is each form of the conflict happening? Name the specific areas (current and potential hotspots) and when the conflict was [before and 2022 general elections].
 - c) Check whether the conflict issues are around access, management, boundary disputes (territorial), ownership or beliefs (formed by perceptions, attitudes, norms, etc.) on claims and counterclaims on the natural resources.
2. Who are involved and how are they involved/affected by the conflict? (Women, youth, herders, businesspeople, children, fisherfolks, farmers, etc.?) Find out who are vulnerable and who are benefiting from the conflicts.
3. Seek information on key actors' position/power, interests and needs (PIN) in influencing conflicts and cohesion in the Marsabit county/target area.
4. Find any emerging political, economic and social trends/scenario causing/with potential to cause conflicts or facilitate cohesion.
5. How have external factors played out in the conflict's dynamics in Marsabit county/target area?
 - a) Climate variability/change and coping mechanisms.
 - b) External large investments from national government and development partners, including LAPPSET and Lake Turkana Wind Power Project (LTWP).
 - c) Political instability/transitions, especially around elections and especially 2022.

Focus 2: Outline the existing community capacities for preventing conflict and building peace.

Target: All key informants

1. Which peacebuilding activities have been/are CSOs, national and county government institutions undertaking in which target areas to address current conflict dynamics?
 - a) Which actors and how were they involved in different interventions?
 - b) How effective do you think these activities were/are in managing reducing/escalating conflict in the target areas?
2. What challenges were/have been faced in implementing the peacebuilding interventions? What are the solutions to these challenges?
3. What are some of the existing county and local peace structures/committees and how do they respond to conflict context?
4. How inclusive and effective are they? Check how women and youth, fisherfolks, herders, businesspeople, etc. are involved in developing the peace interventions, including resolving previous and current conflicts. Who are left out in the peacebuilding processes?
5. What are the coping strategies of the community during different conflict scenarios?

Focus 3: Assessment of the potential impacts of the projects on the context/ conflicts, both positively and negatively; and **Focus 4:** Assessment of the potential impact of the context/conflicts on the project's delivery.

Target: All key informants

1. What are some of the projects that have been implemented within the Lake Turkana region particularly on livestock and fisheries?
 - a) Who were target population/beneficiaries? How were they involved?
 - b) In the implementation, how were decisions made in allocating resources and conducting the activities?
2. Check on distribution of activities/benefits among the identity groups. Probe any incidents of exclusion and why they happened.
 - a) How did the project implementation play out with local conflict dynamics?
 - b) How did the local context slow or enhance project implementation?
 - c) What can be done or worked well in those projects?
3. In relation to the anticipated fisheries and livestock projects, what are some of the ways they can support the project in minimising conflicts that could potentially happen?
 - a) What would be the role of Turkana and Marsabit counties?
 - b) What would be the likelihood of different groups working together?
 - c) Do you think or what way would this project address some of the conflict issues and structures?
 - d) From the leadership perspective, what are the scenarios, depending on how the project will be implemented?

Other general questions

Target: National and county officials

Annex 3. Project summary

Box 5. Unlocking the potential of the Lake Turkana Comprehensive Programme

This multi-year investment programme aims to improve food security and economic wellbeing in the Lake Turkana region, focusing on integrated food systems and sustainable fisheries, considering the challenges posed by climate change. It comprises four pillars with specific objectives, emphasising conflict-sensitive, climate-smart and inclusive programming. It will be implemented in Marsabit and Turkana counties, especially in areas around the Lake Turkana basin.

Pillar 1: Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) for Resilient Livelihoods

Activities under this pillar focus on sustainable water resource use, incorporating the Climate Risk Informed Decision Analysis (CRIDA) methodology, a Decisional Support System for IWRM and assessments of water resources in the Lake Turkana basin. The programme also sets out to reduce conflict risks around the Lake Turkana basin. For two broad intervention areas, WFP will partner with UNESCO, IHE-Delft and the WPS for water resources management and on peacebuilding with UNDP, WPS, GIZ, USAID, International Alert, TUPADO and Friends of Lake Turkana, among others. Special attention is given to conflict-sensitive and peacebuilding efforts through collaboration with GIZ, USAID, International Alert, TUPADO and Friends of Lake Turkana.

Pillar 2: Resilient Livelihoods and Market Opportunities along the Fish Value Chain

The second pillar aims to enhance livelihoods and market opportunities for fisherfolks, incorporating climate-resilient food systems and conflict-sensitive strategies. Proposed activities include climate-resilient livelihood models, water and fisheries governance enhancement, and fostering market linkages and value chain development. Key partnerships under this pillar include collaboration with government agencies, universities, research institutions, private sector players and NGOs.

Pillar 3: Promotion of Healthy Diets and Complementary Nutrition-Sensitive Activities

Addressing food and nutrition insecurity in ASALs, this pillar focuses on creating alternative livelihoods through the fish value chain. It aims to increase fish consumption through social and behaviour change communication, particularly in schools, and supports other nutrition value chains. Measures to reduce post-harvest loss and improve food safety are emphasised. Strong partnerships with health and agriculture authorities, schools and local communities are crucial.

The last Pillar (4) is on monitoring, evaluation, accountability and learning with the aim of generating evidence and knowledge management.

Source: WFP proposal, 2023

Pillar 1: Cross-cutting elements: Climate-smart, conflict-sensitive and inclusive programming

The proposed main activities under Pillar 1 – Integrated Water Resource Management for Resilient Livelihoods are aimed at enhancing the sustainable use of water resources in the Lake Turkana basin. These activities, subject to validation during the inception phase, include implementing the Climate Risk Informed Decision Analysis (CRIDA) Methodology for Water Resources Planning, developing a Decisional Support System for Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM), assessing water resources in the Turkana Lake basin, and establishing the UNESCO World Water Quality Portal for Lake Turkana.

The programme also focuses on in-depth knowledge of groundwater resources quality and vulnerability, assessing and monitoring household/individual water insecurity experiences, and developing a fish productivity model based on lake dynamics and environmental factors. The latter involves implementing fisheries assessment and limnological monitoring, utilising acoustic surveys for fish biomass and production estimation.

To reduce conflict and security risks and promote peaceful cohesion, the programme integrates expertise from UNESCO, IHE-Delft and WPS. Conflict sensitivity is a crucial factor, with activities aligned with ongoing efforts in the Lake Turkana basin.

Key partnerships include engagement with WFP, UNDP, WPS, GIZ, USAID, Alert, TUPADO and Friends of Lake Turkana, among others. The programme aims to contribute to peace, stability and inclusive development in the region through collaborative efforts with national and local governments, NGOs and community organisations.

Pillar 2: Resilient livelihoods and market opportunities along the fish value chain

This pillar focuses on enhancing access to resilient livelihoods and market opportunities for fisherfolks and stakeholders in the fish value chain while promoting healthy ecosystems. A conflict-sensitive approach is emphasised, contributing to reduced conflict and fostering peaceful cohesion. The pillar aims to strengthen community assets, enhance livelihoods and prevent conflict through a systems approach.

Proposed activities to promote climate-resilient livelihoods:

1. Implementation of WFP's climate-resilient food systems area-based approach, tailored to Lake Turkana's local communities.
2. Conducting community-based consultations to identify sustainable economic and market opportunities in the context of climate change.
3. Increasing water and fisheries governance to reduce conflict by designing activities based on evidence on conflict dynamics and participatory water-related conflict analyses.
4. Enhancing communities' capacities for sustainable natural resource management using an ecosystem approach.
5. Improving access to climate information and financial services to reduce communities' exposure to climate shocks.
6. Promoting sustainable access to livelihood assets, particularly in the fish value chain, through innovative asset financing models.
7. Developing business skills among fisherfolks and drop-out pastoral communities using innovative coaching and peer-learning models.

Market linkages and value chain development:

1. Consolidating data to understand the demand for fresh and dried fish, including local markets and cross-border markets.
2. Incentivising predictable demand to increase productivity and trade in the fish value chain.
3. Scaling up sustainable beach management service centres or similar fisherfolk cooperatives/organisations.
4. Providing business coaching to aggregation points/groups in the fish value chain.
5. Catalysing public and private sector financing at both upstream and downstream levels.
6. Fostering reliable continuous supply of quality fresh fish through effective logistics and cold storage solutions.
7. Enhancing utilisation of waste by linking to by-products industries.
8. Improving animal health protocols and capacity building for compliance with standards.
9. Focusing on enabling a policy and legislative environment that attracts investment in fisheries.

Targeted groups, with a focus on women and youth:

1. Capacity strengthening for all actors along the fish value chain, with a specific focus on women and youth.
2. Organising marginalised women and youth into units for economies of scale and increased benefits.
3. Shortening the link between women and youth at different ends of the value chain for increased incomes and profit margins.
4. Identifying needs, roles and responsibilities using a human-centred approach.
5. Leveraging WFP's decades of work in strengthening smallholder producers and promoting agro-input business models for youth.

Linkages with private sector:

1. Identifying private sector players and drawing value propositions for partnerships.
2. Involving private sector players in FSCs, especially those providing inputs, services and links to established markets.
3. Exploring opportunities with the decentralised innovation centres and leveraging WFP's work with the Mastercard Foundation.

Mobilisation of funding opportunities:

1. Leveraging Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) 2022²⁰ report results and strategic partnerships with national and county governments.
2. Exploring opportunities for collaboration with Equity Group Foundation for affordable and inclusive finance.
3. Collaborating with the Changing Lives Transformation Fund (CLTF) project for integration and resource mobilisation.

Digitalisation opportunities:

1. Supporting digitalisation along the fish value chain, including GIS tools for stakeholder mapping and knowledge sharing.
2. Promoting business-to-business linkages through digital tools and enhancing traceability from first to last mile.

Expected impacts:

1. Diversification of income sources and increased local and national investment in the fishery sector.
2. Sustainability through local solutions, technical assistance and capacity strengthening.
3. Building resilience through livelihoods diversification, disaster risk management and financial inclusion.
4. Empowering communities and reducing conflict through a humanitarian–development–peace nexus.
5. Supporting the development of a market agency.

Key partnerships: Partnerships include collaboration with government agencies, universities, research institutions, private sector players and NGOs. Special attention is given to conflict-sensitive and peacebuilding efforts through collaboration with GIZ, USAID, International Alert, TUPADO and Friends of Lake Turkana.

Pillar 3: Promotion of healthy diets and complementary nutrition-sensitive activities

This pillar aims to address food and nutrition insecurity in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) of Kenya, particularly in Marsabit and Turkana counties. The IPC findings indicate a significant increase in the number of people in food crisis or emergency situations. The impact of climate change, including land degradation, erratic rainfall, drought and floods, exacerbates the vulnerabilities of agro-pastoral and pastoral communities.

Benefits of investments in the fish value chain:

1. Creation of alternative livelihoods for former pastoralists affected by recurrent droughts.
2. Fish as an excellent source of protein, Omega-3 fatty acids, vitamins (D and B2), calcium, phosphorus, iron, zinc, iodine, magnesium and potassium.
3. Potential to improve food and nutrition security sustainably.

Challenges to fish consumption:

1. Cultural beliefs, especially among pastoral communities, prohibiting the consumption of fish.
2. Poor consumption of fish in Turkana and Marsabit counties.

Increasing demand for fish and nutritious foods:

1. Adoption of social and behaviour change communication (SBCC) strategies, including interpersonal, media and community mobilisation approaches.
2. Implementation of an 'eat more fish' campaign through radio messaging and targeted tools.
3. Focus on BMUs, community groups, nutrition outreach, health clinics and personnel.
4. Engagement with schools to boost fish consumption among school-aged children through collaboration with National Council for Nomadic Education in Kenya (NACONEK) and the National School Meals Programme.
5. Support for the scale-up of other nutrition value chains, such as orange-flashed sweet potatoes and groundnuts.

Measures to reduce post-harvest loss and improve food safety:

1. Promotion of appropriate hygiene, fish handling, processing and value addition practices.
2. Establishment of centres/mini labs in collaboration with the Ministry of Health for ensuring food safety and quality.
3. Scale-up of cold storage infrastructure and icing stations using green energy (solar, wind).
4. Enhancement of access to safe water sources for improved handling and storage.
5. Promotion of nutrition-sensitive processing techniques to preserve the nutritional value of fish and other nutrient-dense food items.

Early warning and anticipatory action mechanisms:

1. Strengthening of early warning and anticipatory actions in collaboration with county governments.
2. Formulation of anticipatory actions and implementation plans with at-risk local communities to prevent potential drought impacts.
3. Support for the creation and strengthening of elements to ensure actionable early warning information reaches the last mile.

Key target groups:

1. Food insecure local populations, including pastoral, agro-pastoral, riverine and fisheries communities.
2. Refugees and Kala camps/settlements to the extent possible.
3. Different audiences, including local eateries, traders, processors, school communities, parents, caregivers, teachers, nutritionists, public health officers and agriculture/fisheries extension officers.

Key partnerships:

1. Ministry of Health, Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock Development, State Department for ASALs and Regional Development, NDMA, Meteorological Department, county governments' Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) working groups.
2. NACONEK and other relevant stakeholders.
3. Development and dissemination of SBCC campaign tools in strong partnership with local communities and NGOs to ensure adequacy and appropriateness of the messages.

Annex 4. Projects implemented in Marsabit county between 2017 and 2023 summary matrix

Sources	Donor	Brief	Target area	Year
1. KCB Foundation Website ²¹	KCB Foundation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marsabit county livestock farmers set to benefit from Ksh 90 million in new partnership deal. Livestock farmers in Marsabit county are set to benefit from a Ksh 90 million livestock wealth-creation programme, following a new partnership deal with KCB Foundation. Livestock development programme Mifugo ni Mali are determined to change the narrative by making lending to livestock farmers a significant and integral part of the company's strategic agenda. 		
2. Kenya News Agency ²²	IFAD through GoK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sh9.5 billion agriculture transformation project aimed at tackling poverty and making the rural poor food secure. The Kenya Livestock Commercialization Project (KelCop) is a six-year venture funded by the government of Kenya and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Extension services to enhance capacity of the poor pastoralist households at the village level will be a key factor in the programme. Value addition and marketing structures would be developed in order to ensure that the venture was successful. 9,120 households are targeted with 41,039 expected to benefit from the programme in four wards across the county. Commercialise value chains for small stock where the target households are empowered to rear goats and sheep for meat and dairy goats, engage in indigenous poultry and beekeeping, economic activities not only profitable to the small-scale farmers but also friendly to the environment. Climate-smart production enables farmers at the village level to engage in profitable keeping of small stocks within the homestead environment as opposed to huge herds of livestock. 	Golbo ward (Moyale), Sagante/Jardesa ward (Saku), Kargi/South Horr ward (Laisamis) and Maikona ward (North Horr)	Started in 2022 for five years – in its third year
3. Star Newspaper, August 2023	County government with support from PACIDA, VSF Germany and Concern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offering the agricultural inputs. At least 880 community groups received grants amounting to about Sh310 million with focus to address climate adaptation and mitigation. The governor said, under the locust resilience programme to support livestock and crop value chain, Sh14 million was disbursed to community groups in the Sagante Jaldesa ward. Countywide vaccination treatment and deworming campaign targeting over 1 million livestock species. 	Sagante Jaldesa ward (Saku) + other four wards	2023, August
4. Nairobi University and others ²³		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> InfoRange project – to improve rangeland use and governance, increase resource use and production efficiency in rangeland-based livestock production through digital ICT applications. 	Ngurunit ward, Laisamis sub-county	2023, April
5. VSF ²⁴	VSF and county government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livestock marketing improvement in Mt. Kulal – Ol-Torut markets. It was built and given to the local people. 	Ol-Torut	2015–2017

Sources	Donor	Brief	Target area	Year
6. FAO ²⁵	FAO and UNICEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livestock for health – the project was implemented between August 2018 and September 2022 in Marsabit county, which is located in northern Kenya and consists of arid land, in Laisamis sub-county. The provision of livestock feed has proved to be a key intervention, leading not only to increased household milk production during the dry seasons, but also to fewer deaths of weak animals. Complementing livestock and nutrition counselling interventions with other multisectoral initiatives may present opportunities to amplify nutrition outcomes and offer additional livelihood options. Examples include: (i) social safety net programmes to facilitate the purchase of other diverse foods by vulnerable households; (ii) crop production activities; (iii) improved water and sanitation infrastructure, to reduce open defecation and enhance hygiene practices; and (iv) access to well-equipped health centres for pregnant and lactating women. 	Laisamis sub-county	2017–2022
7. Daily Nation/ USAID ²⁶	Feed the Future Livestock Market System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social behaviour change campaign called Ufugaji Bora, Maisha Bora. Herders are trained on modern pastoralism, immunisation, vaccination and highly qualified feeds and mineral salts. Marsabit livestock enterprise system development. 	Laisamis sub-county	
8. Nawiri Project ²⁷		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carried out livestock services delivery assessment which found among others: nomadic lifestyle makes it difficult to provide services such as veterinary services; somewhat discriminatory government policies that prioritise crop farming over livestock keeping; underinvestment in livestock keeping; and uncoordinated/scattered efforts by organisations. 		
9. WFP proposal	WFP with MasterCard Foundation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capacity building of BMU and fisheries cooperative through trainings. Provision of deep freezers for preservation of fresh fish outlets in the four sub-counties. 50 youths have been empowered on economic livelihoods, 32 groups supported in agri-business and given farm inputs (tractors, deep freezers for fish storage, beehives, shade nets and hydroponics). 	Four sub-counties	2022
10. Interviews		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GIZ gave the cooperatives fridges for storing fresh fish. 	Loiyangalani	2017
11. EU		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EU funded Instrument for Devolution Advice and support (IDEAS) project through county government provided cold chain facilities, procurement and distribution of fishing equipment and gears. 	Loiyangalani	2017

Endnotes

1. On the side of Kenya, Lake Turkana is surrounded by Turkana, Samburu and Marsabit counties.
2. The term 'Lake Turkana East' was suggested during the multi-stakeholders' feedback workshop to encompass the three wards – Loiyangalani (Laisamis sub-county), Illeret and North Horr wards (North Horr sub-county). The stakeholders proposed referring to this area as Lake Turkana East, rather than using the Turkana-specific name 'Loiyangalani', which might sound exclusionary.
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5. J. Padda, Briefing - Marsabit County conflict analysis Introduction Methodology, London: Saferworld, <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/3326879/briefing/4085368/>, accessed 1 March 2024
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7. B. Etzold and M. Müller-Koné, Boundary-making in a contested space. Food security and conflict dynamics in Marsabit, Kenya, Bonn: Bonn International Centre for Conflict Studies (BICC), 2023, <https://bicc.de/docs/BICC-FooCo-CLS-V1.pdf>; Interpeace and National Cohesion and Integrated Commission (NCIC), Marsabit County Rapid Conflict Assessment, 2022, <https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/Marsabit-Report.pdf>
8. Interpeace and NCIC, 2022, Op cit.
9. B. Straight, Land conflict, murder, and the rise of 'timeless culture' and girl blaming (Samburu, Kenya), *Ateliers d'anthropologie. Laboratoire d'ethnologie et de sociologie comparative*, 47, 2020, <https://journals.openedition.org/ateliers/12553>
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11. Water, Peace and Security, Water-related conflicts in Turkana County: Analysis of stakeholder interests and concerns, 2022, <https://www.international-alert.org/publications/water-related-conflicts-in-turkana-county/>
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