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THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL SECURITY

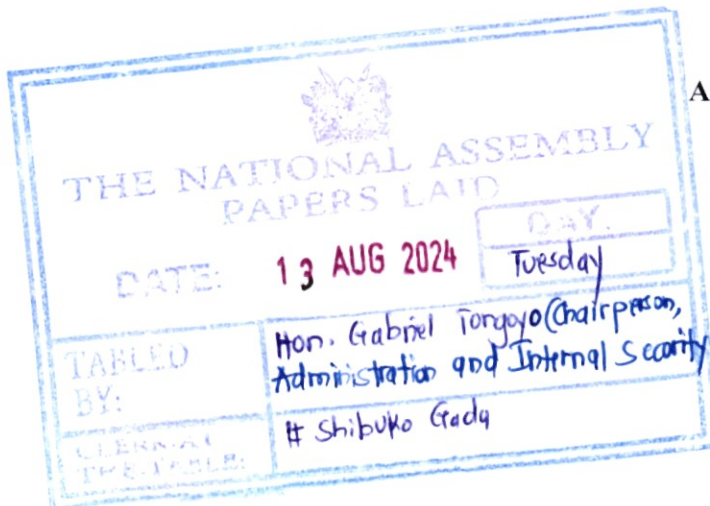
REPORT ON: -

THE INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF SECURITY IN THE SIX COUNTIES OF
NORTH RIFT OF BARINGO, ELGEYO MARAKWET, TURKANA, WEST POKOT,
SAMBURU, AND LAIKIPIA DECLARED AS DISTURBED



Directorate of Departmental Committees
National Assembly
Parliament Buildings
NAIROBI

August, 2024



Committee

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CHAIRPERSON'S FOREWORD

This report presents the findings of a comprehensive inquiry into the security situation in six counties of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Laikipia, conducted by the Departmental Committee on Administration and National Security. The inquiry was carried out over a period of nine months, from August 2023 to April 2024 under the following terms of references: -

- (a) To assess the state security situation in the affected counties;
- (b) To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis;
- (c) To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas;
- (d) To identify challenges faced in stabilization of the situation; and
- (e) To formulate recommendations to address the security challenges in the region.

The Committee commenced its inquiry by meeting with the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner and the Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and Administration for an overview of the security situation. Subsequently, the Committee conducted fact-finding visits to the six counties. During the visits, the Committee engaged with the respective county security committees, security forces, elected leaders, and the affected communities to gather essential information.

The Committee noted that the insecurity situation in six counties of the North Rift region of Kenya, namely Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, and Laikipia, has been a pressing concern for many years. The situation is characterized by criminal activities in the form of banditry, cattle rustling and inter-communal conflicts. Banditry and cattle rustling in the North Rift has resulted in loss of lives, destruction of property, economic losses, displacement of populations and economic instability.

In February 2023, the Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration declared the prevailing security situation in parts of six counties in the North Rift as a national emergency. Accordingly, the Cabinet Secretary, through a Kenya Gazette Notice dated 23rd February 2023, declared certain specified areas in Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Laikipia counties as “disturbed” and “dangerous”. To further enhance the security situation, the Government launched *Operation Maliza Uhalifu in the North Rift* designed to restore law and order, safeguard communities from organized banditry and deter territorial expansion in the six counties.

The Committee noted that despite the efforts, the Government has not achieved significant success as certain areas within these counties have continued to experience recurrent and sporadic attacks leading to destruction of property and loss of lives. The Committee further noted that the Government's success faces multiple obstacles, including limited resources, proliferation of arms, commercialization of banditry, vast and rugged terrain, and proliferation of arms. Additionally, the underlying socio-economic factors, including poverty, unemployment, and limited access to essential services, further contribute to the state of lawlessness in the region.

In addressing the issues under determination from the findings and observation, the Committee made the recommendations to effectively secure the six counties of the North Rift region, noting

the need to adopt a comprehensive, multi-pronged approaches and solutions that address the root causes of the conflict which include strengthening the capacity of security forces, enhancing community-level interventions, and fostering sustainable peace initiatives and development.

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Members of the Committee for undertaking the inquiry. The Committee also expresses gratitude to the Speaker of the National Assembly and to the Office of the Clerk for facilitating and providing technical support, which enabled the Committee to discharge its mandate.

On behalf of the Members of the Committee, I wish to present the Committee's Report on the Inquiry into the State of Security in the Six Counties of North Rift of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, and Laikipia Declared as Disturbed pursuant to the provisions of Standing Order 199 (6).

**HON. GABRIEL KOSHAL TONGOYO, MP,
CHAIRPERSON**

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION & INTERNAL SECURITY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report presents the findings of an inquiry by the Departmental Committee on Administration and National Security into the security situation in six counties of the North Rift region. In Laikipia County, conflicts arise from escalating competition for land, pasture, water, and other natural resources, as herders forcibly encroach on private lands. This encroachment, coupled with the proliferation of illegal firearms, has heightened tensions, leading to fatalities, community displacement, and livestock theft.

The Committee noted that Baringo County is the most affected by insecurity among the six counties declared as disturbed. The county faces rampant livestock theft, recurrent banditry, boundary disputes, cultural practices, political manipulation, and the commercialization of criminal activities. Baringo North and Baringo South sub-counties are particularly affected by violent armed conflicts, resulting in widespread displacement, school closures, and loss of lives and livelihoods. Internal incursions by bandits from Tiaty East and Tiaty West sub-counties, aimed at displacing communities to expand territorial control, persist despite appeals from local leaders and visits by the Cabinet Secretary for Interior.

In Samburu County, the Committee observed that Tiaty is the epicentre of insecurity, with disputes over land, water, and boundaries leading to violence, displacement, and livestock raids. Although government efforts, including confiscation of illegal firearms, deployment of NPRs, and security operations, have shown some effectiveness, bandits continue to terrorise residents.

Turkana County faces significant security threats from both internal and external sources. Boundary disputes with South Sudan and incursions from communities in Ethiopia and Uganda contribute to the insecurity.

West Pokot County also experiences conflict, including deaths, injuries, and livestock theft, due to scarce resources, the commercialization of cattle rustling, and boundary disputes. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, insecurity is concentrated in the Kerio Valley, where the Marakwet and Pokot communities clash over natural resources. The insecurity is exacerbated by high levels of illiteracy, poverty, marginalization, climate change, illegal firearms, and inadequate enforcement by security officers.

The Committee made the following key recommendations to restore peace in the six North Rift counties declared disturbed: -

1. The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should: -

- a) Initiate a systematic intelligence-led operation and disarmament exercise, and adopt modern security surveillance systems in the North Rift;
- b) Establish strong National Government Administrative structures in underserved areas where criminal activities thrive due to the absence of government officers;
- c) Follow internationally recognized human rights standards when evicting residents from disturbed areas in future;
- d) Offer humanitarian aid to internally displaced residents and establish a compensation exercise to support the affected families;

- e) Facilitate safe return and resettlement of the displaced communities in the six counties to their homes.
- 1) The Cabinet to establish an Inter-Ministerial agency led by the Ministry of Interior and National Administration to implement a comprehensive development plan for the remote areas of the North, including the construction of new schools, healthcare facilities, water infrastructure, security roads, and diversification of livelihood among pastoral communities.
- 2) The National Government in collaboration with the county governments should clearly delineate the county boundaries through collaborative and comprehensive approach for effective border management and revitalize traditional governance structures within pastoral communities.
- 3) The Ministry of Education to prioritize the reconstruction and reopening of all educational institutions that have been closed due to insecurity, and ensure compulsory primary and secondary education in the six affected counties.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 PREFACE

1.1 Establishment of the Committee

1. The Departmental Committee on Administration and Internal Affairs of the National Assembly is established under Standing Order 216 whose functions pursuant to the Standing Order 216 (5) are as follows: -
 - (a) *investigate, inquire into, and report on all matters relating to the mandate, management, activities, administration, operations and estimates of the assigned Ministries and departments;*
 - (b) *study the programme and policy objectives of Ministries and departments and the effectiveness of the implementation;*
 - (c) *on a quarterly basis, monitor and report on the implementation of the national budget in respect of its mandate*
 - (d) *study and review all legislation referred to it;*
 - (e) *study, assess and analyse the relative success of the Ministries and departments as measured by the results obtained as compared with their stated objectives;*
 - (f) *investigate and inquire into all matters relating to the assigned Ministries and departments as they may deem necessary, and as may be referred to them by the House;*
 - (g) *vet and report on all appointments where the Constitution or any law requires the National Assembly to approve, except those under Standing Order 204 (Committee on Appointments);*
 - (h) *examine treaties, agreements and conventions;*
 - (i) *make reports and recommendations to the House as often as possible, including recommendation of proposed legislation;*
 - (j) *consider reports of Commissions and Independent Offices submitted to the House pursuant to the provisions of Article 254 of the Constitution; and*
 - (k) *examine any questions raised by Members on a matter within its mandate.*

1.2 Mandate of the Committee

2. In accordance with the Second Schedule of the Standing Orders, the Committee is mandated to consider home affairs and internal security, including police services and coast guard services, public administration, immigration, and citizenship.
3. In executing its mandate, the Committee oversees the Executive Office of the President, Office of the Deputy President, Office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary, the Ministry of Interior and National Administration, the National Police Service, the National Police Service Commission and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority.

1.3 Committee Membership

4. The Departmental Committee on Administration and Internal Affairs was constituted by the House on Thursday 28th October, 2022 and comprises of the following Members: -

Hon. Gabriel Koshal Tongoyo, MP - Chairperson
Narok West Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Col (Rtd) Dido Rasso, MBS, MP - Vice Chairperson
Saku Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Kaluma George Peter, MP
Homa Bay Town Constituency
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Protus Ewesit Akujah, MP
Loima Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Aduma Owuor, MP
Nyakach Constituency
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Rozaah Akinyi Buyu, MP
Kisumu West Constituency
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Fred C. Kapondi, MP
Mt. Elgon Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Caroline Jeptoo Ng'elechei, MP
Elgeyo-Marakwet County
Independent Member

Hon. Liza Chepkorir Chelule, MP
Nakuru County
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Fatuma Abdi Jehow, MP
Wajir County
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Sarah Paulata Korere, MP
Laikipia North Constituency
Jubilee Party

Hon. Francis Kipyegon Sigei, EBS, MP
Sotik Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

Hon. Oku Kaunya, MP
Teso North Constituency
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Hussein Weytan Mohammed, MP
Mandera East Constituency
Orange Democratic Movement Party

Hon. Mburu Kahangara
Lari Constituency
United Democratic Alliance Party

1.4 Committee Secretariat

5. The Committee secretariat consists of the following:

John Mugoma
Clerk Assistant I/Lead Clerk

Ms. Grace Wahu
Clerk Assistant II

Mr. Edison Odhiambo
Fiscal Analyst I

Mr. Gideon Kipkosgei
Clerk Assistant III

Ms. Delvin Onyancha
Research Officer III

Ms. Clarah Kimeli
Principal Legal Counsel II

Ms. Ivy Maritim
Media Relations Officer

Ms. Judith Kanyoko
Legal Counsel II

Mr. Rodgers Kilungya
Audio Officer

Mr. Benson Kimanzi
Sergeant-At-Arms

6. The Committee received technical support from Mr. George Gazemba, Principal Clerk Assistant 1, Mr. Philip Lekarkar, Clerk Assistant 1 and Mr. Daniel Ominde, Research Officer III.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 BACKGROUND ON THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE SIX COUNTIES OF NORTH RIFT REGION

7. The North Rift region, comprising the counties of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, and Laikipia, is predominantly inhabited by pastoralist communities. The landscape is characterised by harsh terrain and a variable climate, presenting unique challenges that largely dictate the region's economic activities. Pastoralism remains the primary livelihood due to the difficulty of cultivating the arid and semi-arid lands that comprise much of the area. However, in regions where conditions are conducive, communities engage in agricultural activities in the arable highland zones.
8. The six counties are among the least developed in Kenya, having faced marginalisation during both the colonial and independent eras. Historical, socio-economic, and political factors have contributed to the escalation of violence. Marginalisation during these periods has left the region vulnerable, lacking economic development and governance structures, particularly in very remote areas. The limited economic opportunities and governance challenges have created an environment conducive to insecurity. Further, the absence of adequate state policing has further exposed communities to various forms of insecurity, including cattle rustling, banditry, and inter-communal conflicts.
9. The increase in incidents over the past two years involving banditry, cattle rustling, territorial expansion, and inter-communal conflicts has inflicted significant harm on local populations. Banditry and cattle rustling arise from multiple factors, including the commercialisation of stock theft, the sentimental value attached to livestock, entrenched traditional practices, the use of cattle for dowry, and the need for restocking after prolonged drought seasons, among other factors. Scarce and shrinking resources such as water and pastureland, the expansion of grazing lands, the shift towards commercialising pastoralism, and political interests have resulted in territorial expansion.
10. Banditry and cattle rustling have emerged as clear and present dangers to the stability and prosperity of the nation. The persistent and devastating nature of these attacks has evolved into a matter of grave national concern, with far-reaching implications for the country's security, economic development, and social cohesion. These attacks have taken a heavy toll, resulting in massive livestock theft, loss of life, destruction of property, economic decline, the collapse of education systems and infrastructure, and the displacement of entire communities. The disruption of livelihoods has led to widespread poverty, hindering economic investment and development programmes, and widening the divide between pastoral groups and the rest of the country. Bridging this divide is essential for fostering inclusive growth and sustainable progress across the region.
11. The conflicts are exacerbated by the proliferation of arms, particularly automatic weapons, leading to high casualties, especially among vulnerable populations such as women and children. The cycle of attacks and counter-attacks intensifies, heightening the demand for firearms and further escalating the situation. Small arms have empowered bandits, transforming traditional raids into organised and deadly operations. Porous borders and

ungoverned spaces provide safe havens for criminals, hindering the efforts of security forces. Moreover, political actors are alleged to provide support, including weapons and resources, to groups involved in cattle rustling and banditry to gain influence or control over certain regions. This weaponisation of violence has escalated conflicts, making them more lethal.

12. Culturally, the possession of firearms among the youth incentivises participation in cattle raids, driven by the desire to reclaim cattle exchanged for weapons. This cycle perpetuates further attacks and glorifies the raiders, who receive cultural recognition for their violent actions. Such a system of praise fosters a perilous environment wherein young individuals are motivated to engage in conflicts to gain social status.
13. Additionally, there is a troubling trend wherein cattle raids have increasingly become commercialised. Stolen cattle are now being sold for monetary gain rather than for traditional restocking purposes. This shift from cultural replenishment to financial profit has exacerbated the negative consequences of these raids, amplifying their adverse impact on the community.
14. The Government has undertaken measures to address security and banditry issues in the North Rift region. These initiatives include deploying additional security personnel, mobilising National Police Reservists, instituting amnesty programmes to encourage the surrender of illegal arms, and conducting occasional security operations. For example, “*Operation Maliza Uhalifu*” aimed to dismantle criminal networks and enhance the overall safety and well-being of the affected communities.
15. Despite concerted efforts, substantial work remains to fortify the region and ensure its long-term safety and security. Addressing underlying socioeconomic factors, enhancing community engagement, and implementing sustainable development programmes are crucial to creating a resilient and secure environment in the North Rift. Fostering collaboration between governmental agencies, local authorities, and community stakeholders is essential for advancing towards the shared goal of a safer and more prosperous region for all its inhabitants.
16. Addressing the root causes of conflict, enhancing security capacity, implementing community-level interventions, and promoting sustainable development are crucial steps to foster peace and stability in the region. A comprehensive and long-term strategy that integrates security measures with community-based solutions is essential to effectively tackle the entrenched insecurity in the North Rift region of Kenya.
17. The Government’s credibility is severely compromised by the deeply entrenched conflict and insecurity in the North Rift region. This lack of trust hampers efforts to disarm communities and results in resistance to surrendering illegally acquired arms for destruction.
18. For years, the North Rift has been a hotspot of insecurity. In February 2023, the Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration declared the prevailing security situation in parts of six counties in the North Rift as a national emergency. This declaration followed an analysis revealing that, within six months, over 100 civilians and 16 police officers had been brutally murdered in sporadic incidents across the six counties. The alarming rise in banditry incidents prompted the Ministry to take decisive measures to address the situation.

19. In response to the escalating crisis, the Cabinet Secretary, via a Kenya Gazette Notice dated 23rd February 2023, declared specific areas within Turkana, West Pokot, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, Laikipia, and Samburu counties as 'disturbed' and 'dangerous'. This designation aims to facilitate the implementation of targeted security and emergency measures within these regions.
20. To further enhance the security situation, a police-led multi-agency security operation was initiated in February 2023 across the six counties, pursuant to Article 241(3)(b) of the Constitution of Kenya. This deployment, encompassing both military and police personnel, was initially scheduled for six months, with the provision for an extension if necessary. Despite the government's concerted efforts to address the situation, criminal activities persist unabated.
21. Against this background, the Committee, pursuant to National Assembly Standing Order No. 216(I), resolved to undertake an inquiry into the state and causes of the security situation in the six counties of the North Rift Valley region. The inquiry focused on the government's response, the impacts of the national emergency declaration, and the outcomes of the security operation. Additionally, the Committee will provide recommendations for addressing banditry and improving the overall security situation in the region.
22. The terms of reference of the inquiry were: -
 - (a) To assess the state security situation in the affected counties;
 - (b) To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis;
 - (c) To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas;
 - (d) To identify challenges faced in stabilization of the situation; and
 - (e) Formulate recommendations to address the security challenges in the region.
23. The inquiry was conducted between August 2023 and April 2024.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 SUBMISSIONS BY STAKEHOLDERS AND WITNESSES

24. The inquiry commenced with a briefing by the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner and the Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and Administration, who provided an overview of the security situation in the six counties. Subsequently, the Committee conducted fact-finding visits to all affected counties to gather information on the security situation.
25. During the visits, the Committee met with various security and peace stakeholders, including the respective county security committees, elected county leaders, security forces on the ground, and the affected communities, who provided both oral and written submissions.
26. The Committee further enhanced its engagement by convening meetings with Members of Parliament representing the affected constituencies to broaden consultations. Additionally, discussions were held with the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights to gain insights into the impact of human rights abuses reported during the crisis.
27. The programme of activities of the Committee was as follows: -

No.	Stakeholders	Date	Venue
1.	Rift Valley Regional Commissioner Dr. Abdi Hassan and Regional Security Committee	3 rd August 2023	Parliament Buildings
2.	Laikipia County Security Committee and area Member of Parliament, community leaders	4 th – 5 th August 2023	Nanyuki, Laikipia North Sub-county
3.	Baringo County Security Committee and area Member of Parliament, Senator community leaders,	4 th – 5 th August 2023	Baringo North, Baringo South and Tiaty constituencies
4.	Cabinet Secretary for Interior and National Government Administration	24 th August 2023	Parliament Buildings
5.	Samburu County Security Committee, County Governor, Senator and area Member of Parliament, community leaders	17 th -18 th November 2023	Samburu West Constituency
6.	Turkana County Security Committee, County Governor, Senator and area Members of Parliament, community leaders	17 th -18 th November 2023	Turkana Central, Turkana East and Turkana West Constituencies
7.	Members of Parliament from Samburu County	30 th November 2023 and 14 th March 2024	Parliament Buildings
8.	Members of Parliament from Turkana County	30 th November 2023	Parliament Buildings

9.	West Pokot County Security Committee, County Governor, Senator and area Members of Parliament, community leaders	6 th December 2023	West Pokot County
10.	Elgeyo Marakwet County Security Committee, County Governor, Senator and area Members of Parliament, community leaders	7 th December 2023	Elgeyo Marakwet County
11.	Members of Parliament from Elgeyo Marakwet County	14 th March 2024	Parliament Buildings
12.	Members of Parliament of Parliament from Baringo County	15 th February 2024 and 14 th March 2024	Parliament Buildings
13.	Meeting with Members of Parliament West Pokot County	14 th March 2024	Parliament Buildings
14.	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights	9 th March 2024	Naivasha

3.1 Dr. Abdi Hassan, the Regional Security Committee

28. Dr. Abdi Hassan, the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner, together with Mr. Jeremy Laibutah, the Rift Valley Regional Intelligence Coordinator, briefed the Committee on the security situation in the Rift Valley region, outlining the following:
29. The Rift Valley, the country's largest region, encompasses 14 counties, 82 constituencies, 90 sub-counties, 246 divisions, 1,159 locations, and 2,735 sub-locations. The region exhibits diversity, with its northern and southern parts characterised by arid conditions, supporting mainly pastoralist communities. In contrast, the central section experiences sufficient rainfall and is predominantly agrarian.
30. The North Rift region, which includes the counties of Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, and Laikipia, spans a total land area of 122,232 square kilometers, constituting nearly 62% of the Rift Valley region's total land mass.
31. The population is diverse, encompassing various communities including Turkana, Pokot, Marakwet, Tugen, Ilchamus, Samburu, Maasai, and Kikuyu. These communities are predominantly engaged in pastoralism and animal husbandry. Other economic activities in the region include honey production, mining, manufacturing, selling ornaments, and basketry.
32. The North Rift region has faced persistent insecurity stemming from long-standing cattle rustling and banditry issues. The bandits have increasingly intensified their attacks, targeting residents, security personnel, government facilities, and motorists on highways, causing significant displacement and economic disruption. These frequent assaults have resulted in property damage, vandalism of schools, and reduced economic activity, posing a serious security challenge.

33. In 2023, the South Rift areas enjoyed relative peace and security, except for sporadic crimes and occasional intercommunal conflicts. In contrast, the North Rift, encompassing Turkana, West Pokot, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, Laikipia, and Samburu counties, encountered notable challenges characterised by turbulence and insecurity.

The State of Security in Rift Valley Counties: January - August 2023

34. Since January 2023, the security situation in the North Rift counties has undergone significant changes. The operations initiated in February 2023 led to a relative calm, with decreased and isolated incidents of banditry and cattle rustling. However, peace remains fragile, and its endurance is essential for the region's rehabilitation. Between February and August 2023, a total of 491 security incidents were reported across the six counties. Turkana County experienced the highest rate of incidents, while Elgeyo Marakwet County had the lowest.

Causes of conflict and criminal activities

35. Overall, the primary causes of conflict and criminal activity, such as banditry, theft, and violence, remain rooted in resource disputes, political instigations, cultural significance, and inter-communal conflicts.

Short-term measures put in place by the government to restore peace and security

36. The government's short-term measures to restore peace and security in the region include promoting peaceful coexistence and organising cross-border meetings among communities, mopping up illegal firearms, recruiting and deploying National Police Reservists, and deploying specialised police units to support the regular police.
37. Additionally, a dusk-to-dawn curfew was ordered, range management committees were activated to enhance resource sharing, and regular patrols and surveillance were increased. Other measures include conducting security *barazas*, apprehending and charging perpetrators, enhancing the recovery of stolen livestock, and collaborating with all security stakeholders and communities to restore peace.

Long-term measures put in place to restore peace and normalcy

38. The government is implementing long-term measures to ensure lasting peace in the region. These measures include opening and rehabilitating road networks to improve accessibility for security agencies, constructing and renovating schools, initiating various development projects, and providing specialised equipment and tools to security officers.
39. Additionally, the government is enhancing telecommunication network coverage, ensuring reliable water sources through the construction of boreholes, dams, and water pans, and deploying special security units. Other initiatives involve compulsory basic education, resolving boundary disputes, increasing government presence in affected areas by establishing more police stations and administrative units, and improving overall infrastructure.

Effectiveness of the ongoing multi-security operation

40. The ongoing multi-security operation has contributed to regional stability by facilitating the movement of people and goods, restoring normalcy in some areas, and reducing counterattacks between communities. These measures have achieved some success, including

the arrest and charging of suspects, the peaceful resolution of disputes, and the recovery of some stolen livestock.

41. The operation has led to the return of certain communities to their ancestral homes, improved security, and the resumption of economic activities in affected counties, such as maize farming by pastoral communities in the Perkerra Irrigation Scheme. Additionally, low-cost schools have been constructed, previously closed schools have reopened, and community groups have received support to ensure long-term development and prosperity.

Challenges faced in stabilisation efforts

42. The challenges faced in stabilising the situation include vast and rugged terrain that hinders mobility, lack of aerial support for rapid response to track bandits, poor communication networks, and the easy availability of illegal firearms and ammunition. Additional challenges include high levels of illiteracy in bandit-prone areas, insufficient numbers of security personnel, and inadequate resources for security agencies, including equipment, fuel, food rations, and allowances.
43. There is also a shortage of vehicles for the police, with 43 police stations in the affected area lacking vehicles. Other issues include local political dynamics, poor road networks, water scarcity, harsh climatic conditions, a limited number of administrative units and police stations, and the frequent breakdown of Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs). Currently, 18 APCs require urgent repair.

Social amenities and interventions to affected communities

44. The government has distributed relief food to affected communities and undertaken the reconstruction of schools and the provision of security for educational institutions. Additionally, livelihood support programmes have been initiated by religious institutions.

Recommendations

45. To resolve the insecurity challenges, the Regional Commissioner recommended that:
 - (a) Provision of adequate resources including equipment, fuel, repairs, food ratios and allowances to sustain the operations.
 - (b) More low-cost boarding schools should be constructed.
 - (c) Continuous voluntary/forceful disarmament program.
 - (d) Opening and maintenance of security roads.
 - (e) Provision of additional security establishment to enhance government presence.
 - (f) Provision of airpower capability to the police.
 - (g) Assistant County Commissioners and Officers Commanding Police Station in the affected divisions be provided with transport.

3.2 Hon. Kithure Kindiki, EGH Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration

46. The Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior, Hon. Kithure Kindiki, appeared before the Committee on 24th August 2023 and submitted as follows regarding the security situation in the North Rift: -

Security Situation Update

47. The Rift Valley region comprises 14 counties spanning 182,956 square kilometres, with a total population of 12.725 million people. Within the six counties of Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, West Pokot, Laikipia, and Samburu, not all areas were declared disturbed or dangerous according to the Gazette Notice of February 2023. Specific locations such as gorges, mountains, and valleys, used as hideouts by criminals, were gazetted by the ministry and remain under surveillance.
48. Over the past five months, a sense of relative calm and normalcy has prevailed, with sporadic incidents of banditry reported since the launch of *Operation Maliza Uhalifu*, a collaborative effort involving security agencies such as the KDF, GSU, ASTU, regular police, and NPRs. The operation's success is attributed to effective collaboration among stakeholders, including security organs, the ministry, local leadership, religious groups, and elders.
49. Displaced communities have returned to their ancestral homes, with significant recoveries of stolen livestock, the confiscation of 646 illegal firearms, and 285 rounds of ammunition. Economic activities such as farming, transportation, and trade have resumed in the region. Additionally, several security camps have been established to protect vulnerable communities.

Considerations for Security Camps Siting

50. The Ministry carefully considers several factors when selecting sites for security operation camps. These factors include the level of security threat in the area, accessibility via road and communication networks, availability of essential amenities such as markets, healthcare, and water facilities, geographical features, frequency of attacks, presence of existing security camps, community willingness to provide land, and identification of internal and external border aggression hotspots. Additionally, the government is considering increasing police presence in volatile regions by establishing security training camps in these areas.

Recruitment of National Police Reservists

51. National Police Reservists are recruited and assigned to specific areas based on identified needs. They undergo training and deployment to support police operations and ensure swift responses during emergencies.

Eviction Procedure in Disturbed Areas

52. The government adheres to internationally recognised human rights standards when evicting residents from disturbed areas. Provisions are made to relocate innocent individuals to safer locations and to supply them with essential humanitarian needs.

Future Plans and Commitments

53. The government is committed to delivering immediate humanitarian aid to displaced communities. Efforts will be undertaken to refurbish vandalised public schools and to establish new educational institutions in affected areas.

Police Patrol Vehicle Design and Fuel Allocation

54. The Cabinet Secretary acknowledged concerns regarding the current design of police vehicles in operational areas and pledged to consider redesigning them to enhance safety and expedite officer disembarkation during attacks. Additionally, new policies on fuel allocation for National Government Administrative Officers are being developed, and a new fleet of vehicles is scheduled for distribution soon.

Dilapidated Police Stations

55. Plans are underway to improve the dilapidated wooden colonial housing structures, including the Doldol Police Station in Laikipia North Sub-County.

3.3 Laikipia County

56. The Committee undertook a fact-finding visit to Laikipia County on 4th and 5th August 2023. During this visit, the Committee held meetings with the County Commissioner and the County Security Committee in Nanyuki. Subsequently, the Committee visited Laikipia North Sub-County, where it held discussions with the Deputy County Commissioner and the Sub-County Security Committee in Doldol. The Committee also visited Bokish, Arjiju, Lokusero, and Nadunguro in Laikipia North Sub-County, where residents presented their submissions.

3.3.1 Laikipia County Commissioner and Laikipia County Security Committee

57. The Committee paid a courtesy visit to Laikipia County Commissioner, Mr Joseph Kanyiri, and the County Security Committee at the County Commissioner's office in Nanyuki. The County Commissioner highlighted the following: -
58. In Laikipia County, there are six administrative sub-counties: Laikipia East, Laikipia North, Laikipia West, Laikipia Central, Nyahururu, and Kirima. The county is divided into three constituencies: Laikipia East, Laikipia West, and Laikipia North. As of the 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census, the county's population was recorded at 518,560. Laikipia County shares borders with Baringo, Samburu, and Isiolo counties, where the presence of illegal firearms is reportedly high. These illegal firearms in the hands of criminals have exacerbated pastoral conflicts, leading to fatalities, displacement of communities, and destruction of property.
59. The persistent insecurity in the county was attributed to armed land invasions by herders from Samburu, Isiolo, and Baringo counties. These conflicts involve various groups with differing economic interests, including agriculturalists, pastoralists, and wildlife conservationists. The increasing competition for land, pasture, water, and other natural resources exacerbates these conflicts, particularly in Kirima Sub-County, which borders Tiaty East Sub-County in Baringo County, and in Laikipia North Sub-County, which borders Samburu and Isiolo counties.
60. In Kirima Sub-County, the conflict primarily involves farmers and herders, with herders forcibly entering private farms and the expansive Laikipia Nature Conservancy in search of pasture, leading to crop and property destruction and resulting in armed conflicts. Livestock theft is also prevalent, with stolen animals often driven towards Tiaty.

61. Laikipia North Sub-County hosts large privately-owned ranches, community conservancies, and the Mukogodo Forest Reserve. These private ranches have faced cattle theft, property destruction, and invasions by armed herders from Samburu and Isiolo counties seeking pasture. The invading herders migrate with large herds of cattle from the drier lowlands of Samburu East and Isiolo counties, where pasture is severely degraded during the dry seasons. They forcibly drive their livestock into the Mukogodo Forest and community-owned farms, blatantly disregarding ownership rights.
62. Heavily armed herders have settled with their families in the gorges within the dense Mukogodo Forest, launching vicious attacks on the Mukogodo community living nearby and causing significant forest destruction. The presence of these armed invaders has created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity for the local Mukogodo population. The government has initiated several efforts to confiscate illegal arms and has currently deployed a security operation in parts of the county.

3.3.2 Submission by Laikipia North Deputy County Commissioner

63. The Deputy County Commissioner for Laikipia North subcounty submitted as follows:
64. The security situation in Laikipia North Sub-County is predominantly peaceful, although there are pressing issues stemming from the porous border with Samburu and Isiolo counties. Armed pastoralists from these areas frequently migrate with their livestock to Mukogodo forest in search of pasture, often without the consent of local communities. This has resulted in increased insecurity, incidents of livestock theft, and human-wildlife conflicts.

Reported Security Incidents

65. The bandits have shown audacity by targeting private ranches, as well as police and national government administrative officers. There have been numerous reports of fatalities, community displacement, and livestock theft attributed to criminal activities linked to individuals from Isiolo and Samburu counties. Some of the stolen livestock has been traced and recovered within these counties.
 - (a) In December 2022, the Chief of Il Motiok location in the Laikipia North constituency Mr. Jacob Leyiangere was brutally killed in his home by suspected bandits.
 - (b) On 17th March, 2023, four armed bandits stole 42 goats from Lekwale Lempaso.
 - (c) On 20th March, 2023, Shalimo Lolopet was fatally wounded during an attack while transporting Miraa to Kirimom Centre.
 - (d) On 30th March, 2023, ten cows belonging to Lempaso Lekwale were stolen.
 - (e) On 30th March, 2023, eleven cows belonging to Jackson Matane were stolen but later recovered in Isiolo county.
 - (f) In April 2023, armed criminals stole fifteen camels from Hon. Kaparo's homestead; eleven camels were recovered.
 - (g) On 8th May, 2023, forty cows were stolen from the home of the Member of County Assembly for Mukogodo West. Twenty-eight cows were recovered and compensation for the remaining twelve was done
 - (h) On 14th May, 2023, stock theft occurred in Enasoit ranch, resulting in the death of 3 bandits and recovery of an AK-47 rifle.

- (i) On 8th June, 2023, Francis Kabiru, a businessman who has been operating in Laikipia North sub-county for over two decades, was **killed** by unknown assailants.
- (j) On 13th June 13th, 2023, Kurikuri primary school's store was broken into by unknown bandits.
- (k) On 16th June, 2023, six cows were stolen in Lariak Orok area.
- (l) On 22nd June, 2023, armed bandits stole five cows from the Lekwale family.

Government Response

66. The government has deployed the General Service Unit, the Rapid Deployment Unit, and National Police Reservists to enhance the efforts of security personnel in tackling security challenges. A collaborative operation in Mukogodo forest is currently underway, involving multiple agencies.

Law Enforcement Response

67. Law enforcement agencies, alongside NPRs and community elders, have been actively engaged in pursuing and recovering operations to manage criminal activities and conflicts.

Causes of Insecurity

68. Insecurity in Laikipia North is driven by various factors such as competition for pastures and water, the proliferation of illegal firearms, unauthorized settlements in Mukogodo forest, conflicts between humans and wildlife, and territorial encroachment by communities from Samburu and Isiolo.

Short and Long-Term Measures to address the situation

69. Immediate measures implemented by the government to restore stability in the affected regions include peace dialogues between communities, a coordinated multi-agency response to incidents, implementation of curfews, nighttime patrols, and security operations in Mukogodo forest.
70. Long-term strategies involve disarmament initiatives, recruitment and training of NPRs, bolstering surveillance and intelligence capabilities, community-based conflict resolution mechanisms, and strengthening the Kenya Forest Service's capacity to manage Mukogodo forest.

Effectiveness of the ongoing Operation

71. The current operation conducted by the multi-agency team has led to a decrease in livestock theft incidents, the retrieval of illegal firearms, and the recovery of stolen livestock. As of August 2023, this operation had successfully recovered four illegal firearms and a significant number of stolen livestock.

Challenges and Social Interventions

72. Difficulties encountered in stabilising the region include rugged terrain and the challenges of accessing the vast Mukogodo forest to apprehend bandits. Government-led social intervention efforts to aid displaced communities have included the distribution of relief food and non-food items facilitated by the Red Cross Society.

Affected Locations

73. Ongoing insecurity has significantly affected four specific sub-locations in Laikipia North Sub-County, which Isiolo and Samburu counties. These are Bokish in Mukogodo, Arjiju in Makurian, Sang'a in Il Ngwesi, and Sieku in Sieku. As of August 2023, the continuous multi-agency operation in Mukogodo forest resulted in the displacement of 4,306 households from Bokish, Kurikuri, Arjiju, Sieku, and Sang'a sub-locations. This displacement was necessary to facilitate the planned multi-agency operation, which had reportedly not yet begun by August 2023.
74. Additionally, due to security concerns, four schools located near the Mukogodo forest area have been closed: Sieku Primary School, Lokusero Primary School, Ol-Arjiju Primary School, and Bokish Primary School. Lariak Orok Primary School has been completely destroyed by bandits.

Recommendations to address the security situation

75. To improve security situation in Laikipai North, the Sub-County Security Committee recommended that: -
 - (a) Additional community NPRs be recruited, trained and deployed to Sieku, Il Ngwesi, Olborsoit and Ilmotiok areas which have severely affected.
 - (b) Establishment of permanent formed-up units at Bokish, Sieku, and Kimanjo.
 - (c) Operationalization of Posta police station in Laikipia North Operationalize the Posta police station in Laikipia North by posting an Officer Commanding Station to oversee operations and providing a motor vehicle to enhance the station's mobility and responsiveness.
 - (d) The Kenya Forest Service should take full control of the Mukogodo Forest, including establishing a forest station to oversee operations and deploying armed forest guards to patrol and protect the forest
 - (e) Deploying a serviceable Anti-Personnel Carrier (APC) to Laikipia North Sub-county to enable rapid deployment and response when the need arises.
 - (f) Formation and activation of inter-communities' peace committees to facilitate dialogue, build trust, and resolve conflicts between the affected communities.
 - (g) Formulating a robust system to ensure stolen livestock are promptly recovered in order to discourage and deter further livestock theft.

3.3.2 Residents of Bokish Sub-Location, Mukogodo Location

76. A community leader emphasised that the residents of Bokish belong to the Yaaku community, a traditionally hunter-gatherer minority residing in Mukogodo forest, Laikipia North, one of Kenya's last remaining dry forests. Mukogodo forest reserve, covering an area of 30,189 hectares, was officially gazetted under Gazette Notice LN. 174 of 1964. The forest is bordered by four community lands: Il Ngwesi (8,675.6 ha) to the southeast, Makurian (6,464 ha) to the southwest, Shulmai (6,230 ha) to the northwest, and Lekurruki (6,847.5 ha). It also borders the Borana Wildlife Conservancy.
77. Since the 14th century, the surrounding communities have safeguarded the forest's sanctity. During the colonial era, the boundaries of Mukogodo forest were established, and specific

settlement areas were designated, including Nadung'oro, Lokusero A and B, Murua, Arjijo, Emulango, Sepeyo, Kurikuri, Bokish, Maraibenek, Loirepirepi, Toirai, Lalaa, Piisho, and Lariah Orok. Presently, the community lands of Il Ngwesi, Makurian, Shulmai, and Lekurruki have formally registered their lands and received titles. Various resources have been established within the designated settlement zones, including Lokusero Primary School, Lokusero Secondary School, Sieku Primary School, Lokusero Dispensary, churches, police posts, dams, Namayiana Cultural Hall, and the main supply water tank.

78. An alliance of four neighbouring locations—Il Ngwesi, Makurian, Mukogodo, and Sieku—formed the Mukogodo Forest Association (ILMAMUSI). This association, registered under the Societies Act, is legally responsible for protecting, conserving, and managing Mukogodo forest, as outlined in the Community Forest Management Agreement. ILMAMUSI has successfully united individuals from various regional sub-cultures to collaborate on conserving Mukogodo forest while also advocating for the continuity of Yaaku culture. The communities' deep attachment to the forest is sacred, forming the core of their traditional values and practices. This bond has evolved into a distinctive governance structure for managing and regulating forest resources.
79. The insecurity situation around Mukogodo dates back to 2013, with incidents of banditry and livestock theft attributed to the interests of neighbouring communities in Isiolo and Samburu counties, as well as other personal interests within the forest. Although Mukogodo forest has long been associated with insecurity and referred to as a hideout, no stolen livestock have been recovered from settlements within the forest. Instead, recoveries have been made in the neighbouring areas of Isiolo and Samburu counties.
80. **Legal Notice No. 10 in the Kenya Gazette dated 13th February 2023** identified areas within Mukogodo Division as dangerous zones, mandating the surrender of arms. An amendment to the notice specified locations such as Lekurruki Hills, Losos, and Kiape caves in Mukogodo forest as hideouts for armed criminals, leading to an eviction order within 24 hours to enhance security measures.
81. Between 12th and 14th July 2023, communities were evicted from Lokusero, Sieku, and Mukogodo locations following an indefinite order from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, due to the escalating security situation in Mukogodo forest. This was to be followed by a security operation to remove bandits from the forest. Residents of Il Ngwesi, Makurian, Mukogodo, and Sieku locations were given a 48-hour ultimatum to vacate their homes to facilitate this security operation.
82. Consequently, over 5,000 families vacated their homes, with up to 3,000 community members camping under trees in Ol Tepes village near Borana Conservancy. These evictions from Ngare Ndare, Sieku, Nadung'oro, Lokusero A and B, Loiragai, Murua, Arjiju, Suree, Emurua Kingara, Sepeo, Orkarkar, Kurikuri, Toirai, Piisho, Lalaa, Maraibenek, and Bokish villages have raised serious concerns about human rights violations. A total of 803 households have been displaced from ILMAMUSI communities across the villages mentioned below.

Number of persons displaced per village

Location	Number of people displaced
Nadung'oro	1400
Iitirim Lelesakui	250
Iitirim Lenaimaralal	498
Lokusero A	540
Lokusero B	810
Loiragai	408
Murua	750
Bokish	480
Kurikuri	120
Toirai	60
Maraibenek	240
Piisho & Lalaa	96
Loirepirepi	132
Arjju	345
Suree	212
Sepeo	195
Orkarkar	87
Emurua Kingara	78

83. Primary schools in these villages have been closed, leaving up to 1,000 students out of school. Standard Eight students, facing imminent final examinations, have been particularly affected by this significant disruption, which collectively threatens their constitutional right to education.
84. The implementation of an indefinite order on 12th July 2023, mandating the eviction of the ILMAMUSI community within 48 hours, not only constituted a gross violation of fundamental human rights but also undermined the security of these now internally displaced residents. These arbitrary eviction orders contravened fundamental rights established by the UDHR, other international instruments, and Article 28 of the Constitution, which mandates respect for and protection of human dignity.

85. The forced eviction of residents in Mukogodo severely offended their human dignity, leaving them internally displaced and in abject poverty, having lost their homes and been exposed to multiple vulnerabilities, including lack of food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, and education. By enforcing this order, the state, through the Ministry of Interior and National Coordination, violates Article 28 and Article 21(1) of the Constitution, which stipulate that it is the fundamental duty of the State and all its organs to observe, respect, protect, promote, and fulfil the rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Bill of Rights.
86. The ILMAMUSI communities assert that their forcible eviction, without being provided alternative shelter or accommodation, and leaving them exposed to the elements, violates their fundamental rights to accessible and adequate housing, reasonable standards of sanitation, healthcare services, freedom from hunger, and the right to clean and safe water in adequate quantities. These rights are guaranteed by Article 43(1) in conjunction with Articles 20(5) and 21(1), (2), and (3) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.
87. A community women's representative submitted that the eviction of communities around Mukogodo Forest has deprived women and children of their rights to housing, food, water, sanitation, health, and education. The displacement has also caused significant emotional and mental distress, particularly for children, women, and the elderly. She urged that the situation be treated as an emergency, requiring urgent government intervention to provide shelter, blankets, food items, and the re-opening of schools. She requested that the Yaaku community, whose livelihood depends on the forest, be allowed to return to their homes and advocated for the forest to be degazetted as a disturbed area. Additionally, she called for the recruitment of more NPRs to provide adequate security and respond promptly to distress calls.
88. A Yaaku community elder emphasized the community's profound spiritual, emotional, and economic attachment to their ancestral land and the Mukogodo forest. The forest has long provided them with food, shelter, and a sense of identity. This traditional knowledge and way of life should be respected, preserved, and promoted. The Yaaku's connection to the land and forest is central to their cultural identity and livelihoods, making it crucial to protect forest resources and uphold the community's rights to access them.
89. The community's historical ties to Mukogodo forest were severed when the colonial government converted it into a forest reserve in 1931, leading to their displacement. Subsequently, the Yaaku integrated with the Maasai and Samburu pastoralist communities, engaging in livestock rearing and farming activities. The Forest Act of 2005 granted the Yaaku community rights to sustainably utilize forest resources and benefit from royalties. Currently, the Yaaku and Il Ngwesi communities, in collaboration with the Kenya Forest Service, are actively conserving and protecting the forest in accordance with their traditions and national laws.
90. In 2019, herders from Samburu and Isiolo counties began encroaching upon the forest to graze their livestock. Over time, an increasing number of herders moved in, establishing settlements with their families and livestock. This encroachment, ongoing since 2019, has resulted in significant forest degradation and restricted access to resources for legally authorised communities. Since their settlement in the forest, the herders have perpetrated armed and violent attacks against the Yaaku and Il Ng'wesi communities in the areas surrounding the forest, including Kiwanja, Bokish, Arjiju, Lariak-Orok, Nadung'oro, Lukosero, and Sieku,

among others. These communities have endured loss of life, livestock theft, school closures, and restricted access to essential forest resources, which they have traditionally relied upon to sustain their families.

91. On 12th July 2023, the government announced a multi-agency operation to expel the bandits from the forest. A 48-hour notice was issued to residents living around Mukogodo Forest in Il Ngwesi, Makurian, Mukogodo, and Sieku, instructing them to vacate their homes for safety to facilitate the security operation within Mukogodo Forest. Consequently, the residents fled their homes and settled in makeshift camps away from the forest border. This displacement disrupted the community's livelihoods, access to education for school-going children, and access to healthcare, housing, security, and social services. Despite the order, the bandits remained in their hideouts deep within the forest, along with their families and livestock.
92. A youth member presented a report to the Committee, highlighting the historical significance of the Mukogodo Forest to the surrounding communities and the efforts undertaken by the ILMAMUSI alliance to protect and manage the forest through a legally binding agreement. The deep-rooted cultural and spiritual connection of these communities to the forest underscores the need for sustainable management practices that respect traditional values.
93. He submitted that the Yaaku community entirely depended on the forest for sustenance before they were evicted when the colonial government seized the forest and converted it into a forest reserve in 1931. In the years that followed, the community became assimilated by the pastoralist Maasai and Samburu communities and transitioned to livestock rearing and small-scale farming.
94. The Forest Act of 2005 granted the Yaaku rights to sustainably utilise forest resources and benefit from royalties and other rights derived from the flora and fauna within the forest. Currently, the Yaaku and Il Ngwesi communities, in collaboration with the Kenya Forest Service, have conserved and protected the forest in accordance with their traditions and national laws.
95. Persistent insecurity in the Mukogodo Forest dates back to 2013, exacerbated by incidents of banditry and livestock theft linked to external interests. Despite the area being labeled a bandits' corridor, the forest has not been the primary location for the recovery of stolen livestock. A significant number of stolen livestock have been recovered in the neighbouring regions of Samburu East and Isiolo, indicating that the forest may not be the sole hub of criminal activities.
96. Against this backdrop, ILMAMUSI reaffirms that while Mukogodo serves as a corridor for bandits in Isiolo and Samburu counties, it is not a hideout for bandits as infamously publicised. The recent government legal notice issued in February 2023, declaring certain areas within the forest as dangerous zones and ordering evacuations, has worsened the challenges faced by residents.
97. The resident requested the Committee that: -
 - (a) That they be facilitated for a safe return to their homes bordering to the forest outline to allow them resume their socio-economic activities and livelihoods which is tied to the Mukogodo forest.

- (b) the establishment of a security patrol base in the Bokish area, and the recruitment of additional National Police Reservists reflect the urgent need for enhanced security measures.
- (c) Official recognition of the Yaaku tribe by the State as a distinct tribe. This would help them in preserving and promoting the identities and rights of indigenous communities and protect their cultural heritage and traditional way of life, which is strongly linked to Mukogodo forest.
- (d) That a security patrol base be established in the Bokish area to enhance the presence and responsiveness of law enforcement in the region.
- (e) That educational institutions in the area be reopened to allow school children to resume their learning and continue their studies.
- (f) Additionally, the residents requested that more National Police Reservists be recruited from the local community to supplement the National Police Service officers in the area. This would help to increase the security presence and involve the community in protecting their own interests.

3.3.3 Submission by Residents of Arjiju Sub-location, Makurian Location

98. A community elder reported that the residents of Arjiju live on the outskirts of the Mukogodo Forest. The village residents and their livestock heavily depend on the forest for sustenance and survival. The forest provides the community with essential resources such as food, water, and grazing land, which are vital to their livelihoods and wellbeing. The elder emphasised the deep-rooted, symbiotic relationship between the Arjiju community and the Mukogodo Forest, which has sustained them for generations.
99. The tranquility of the village was shattered after the 2013 general elections when politically fueled conflicts erupted. These conflicts involved livestock raids, violent assaults on residents, destruction of homes, and unauthorized grazing in the forest. The frequency and intensity of these attacks have escalated over the years, leaving residents feeling powerless in their homeland. The current state of insecurity is directly linked to the political machinations that began in 2013, driven by politicians seeking to expand their influence through tactics such as inciting ethnic tensions and exploiting community vulnerabilities.
100. The continued political manipulation of communities during election periods, leading them to believe they have claims to parts of the Mukogodo, has allowed the conflicts to persist and escalate over the past eleven years. This has resulted in chronic instability, banditry, and livestock theft that now plague the entire Mukogodo Forest region.
101. To address the root causes of the conflict and restore peace and stability to the affected communities, a comprehensive, depoliticized approach is required. In response to the government's directive to vacate the Mukogodo Forest on **12th July 2023**, the residents complied, abandoning their farms and homes to facilitate the security operation. However, security agencies have done little to prevent further crises. Instead, the vacuum created by the evacuation has been exploited by bandits who have seized the deserted properties.
102. The elder critiqued the government's eviction strategy, arguing that it should have been a more consultative process involving the *nyumba kumi* elders. Such an approach could have potentially mitigated the negative impact on the community and fostered a more collaborative

solution to the security challenges in the region. He emphasized that the government's eviction strategy lacked proper consultation and should have included the *nyumba kumi* elders for a more inclusive process. He called for the construction of security roads to enhance safety and facilitate the movement of security personnel. Additionally, he proposed establishing security camps in Ildorot and Olosos, along with recruiting more NPRs.

103. Another resident highlighted the dual hardships faced by the Arjiju community, having been displaced from their forest homes and enduring frequent raids by suspected bandits from Isiolo and Samburu counties. Vulnerable groups, particularly women and children, have borne the brunt of this internal displacement. He expressed the community's persistent fear of bandit attacks in the neighbouring forest and acknowledged their support for the ongoing security operation. However, he stressed that the forced eviction had inflicted unnecessary suffering on the residents. He appealed for their return to their homes and urged the security forces to focus their efforts on areas where bandits were believed to be hiding.
104. To enhance security in the sub-county, he called for the division of Laikipia North into two divisions in consultation with the sub-county security committee. Additionally, he proposed establishing a GSU camp at Ildorot and advocated for peace dialogues with Samburu elders to foster harmony in the region. Finally, he urged the government to allow the residents to return to their homes to alleviate their suffering and recommended bolstering security through the recruitment of additional NPRs.

3.3.4 Submission by residents of Lokusero, Loiragai and Ol Tepes

105. The Committee's visit to the residents of Lokusero and Loiragai, who were encamped at Ol Tepes following their forced eviction, highlighted the dire living conditions they were enduring. The residents expressed the following grievances: -
106. In July 2023, despite holding title deed to community land and being recognized through the Community Forest Agreement, residents faced government eviction orders which threatened to burn down their homes if they did not comply. These orders, issued without offering alternative settlement areas or specifying a timeframe, were considered a serious breach of human rights, particularly the right to adequate housing. The forced evictions disproportionately affected the poorest and most vulnerable members of society.
107. The lack of sufficient notice, failure to engage with the community, and absence of efforts to provide alternatives worsened the situation. Before carrying out evictions, especially those affecting large groups, the State should explore all feasible alternatives in consultation with those affected. Evictions should not leave individuals homeless, vulnerable, or unable to support themselves.
108. The children of the ILMAMUSI communities suffered a violation of their right to education when an eviction notice was issued unexpectedly during the school year. This disrupted their attendance and hindered their access to education, which goes against Article 43 of the Constitution. The closure of schools following the eviction order caused hundreds of students from Lokusero Primary School, Lokusero Secondary School, Sieku Primary School, Bokish Primary School, and Maraibenek to discontinue their education. There remains uncertainty about when they can return to school, continuing to deny these children their constitutional rights.

109. The eviction order also affected the ILMAMUSI residents' access to healthcare. They were displaced from their homes, which previously had dispensaries and clinics within reach. This displacement exposed the community to various vulnerabilities, including increased risks of waterborne diseases. Furthermore, residents of OI Tepes location had to travel long distances to find water, highlighting the challenges they faced after being displaced from areas where boreholes and dams were easily accessible. These circumstances have left them enduring poor living conditions and multiple vulnerabilities.

110. In light of these issues, the residents made the following requests:

- (a) The immediate recall and cancellation of the eviction order affecting the people of ILMAMUSI.
- (b) Limiting ongoing security operations to only the areas designated in Legal Notice 10 of February 13, 2023, and revised on March 12, 2023.
- (c) Declaration of the rights and fundamental freedoms of the people of ILMAMUSI.
- (d) Free and full reinstatement of all displaced residents to their homes, coupled with adequate compensation.
- (e) De-gazettement of all settlement areas within the Mukogodo forest. This would secure the land rights of the indigenous communities and facilitate the proper conservation and management of the Mukogodo forest ecosystem.
- (f) Increase the number of community National Police Reservists in these communities to bolster security monitoring.
- (g) Establishment of ASTU and RDU camps in strategic locations such as Ildorot, Lariokorok, Arjiju, and Sior areas.

3.3.5 Submission by the residents of Nadung'oro

111. The community representative on behalf of the residents submitted as follows:

112. Residents of Nadung'oro have long endured the impact of armed bandits who allow their cattle to graze in Mukogodo forest and on private farms. Herders from neighbouring counties of Isiolo and Samburu have invaded the eastern side of Mukogodo forest and community-owned conservancies, undermining local conservation efforts. Since 2013, criminals have occupied Mukogodo forest, causing degradation that threatens the livelihoods of Nadung'oro and Lokusero residents who depend on the forest for survival.

113. The insecurity has severely affected the tourism industry, with Tassia Lodge already closed due to invasions. Lekurruki Lodge experienced cancellations as guests expressed security concerns, resulting in substantial potential income loss. The recurring violent invasions are reportedly influenced by politicians courting votes from specific ethnic groups, possibly inciting herders against locals.

114. Due to insecurity and government eviction orders, many Nadung'oro residents have evacuated their homes. School enrolment has plummeted as children moved with their families to safer areas. Residents fear retaliation from bandits if security operations fail to achieve their objectives, especially around Mukogodo forest.

3.4 Baringo County

115. The Committee undertook a fact-finding mission to Baringo County on **4th and 5th August 2023**. During the visit, meetings were conducted with Mr. Sankolo Kutwa, the County Commissioner, and the County Security Committee. Additionally, visits were made to Baringo North Sub-County, Baringo South, and Tiaty Sub-County, where meetings were held with Deputy County Commissioners and Sub-County Security Committees. Local residents utilized these opportunities to express their security concerns to the Committee.

3.4.1 Baringo County Commissioner, Mr. Sankolo Kutwa

116. The County Commissioner on behalf of the Baringo County Security Committee submitted to the Committee as follows: -

117. Baringo County shares borders with eight neighbouring counties: to the North, Turkana and Samburu; to the East, Laikipia; and to the Southwest, Nakuru and Kericho. It also borders Elgeyo-Marakwet and West Pokot to the West. The county comprises eight sub-counties: Baringo Central, Baringo North, Marigat, Mogotio, Kiobatek, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West, encompassing a total of 28 divisions, 124 locations, and 286 sub-locations. The county is served by 28 police stations, 16 police posts, 7 General Service Unit camps, 6 Rapid Deployment Unit bases, 3 Anti-Stock Theft Unit bases, and 2 Kenya Defence Forces camps.

118. While most parts of Baringo County are generally peaceful, incidents of stock theft, attempted thefts, and banditry have been recurring, particularly in Baringo North, Baringo South, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties. The incidence of banditry has decreased since the launch of **Operation Maliza Uhalifu**, although the operation has not completely eradicated criminal activities. Sporadic cases of cattle theft and killings continue to be reported in the county.

On State of Security Situation Since January 2023 to August 2023

119. Efforts to enhance security have focused on increased policing and the active engagement of politicians and local leaders. Joint peace meetings involving elders, facilitated by the Cabinet Secretary for Interior during visits to affected areas, have played a crucial role in addressing security challenges. Additionally, faith-based diplomacy championed by the First Lady has been a significant factor in promoting peace and security. These efforts have led to noticeable advancements in the recovery of stolen livestock and the apprehension of criminals.

On Security Incidents Reported from January 2023 to August 2023

120. In Tiaty West the incidences reported were as follows: -

- (a) On 23rd January 2023, bandits from Marakwet attacked Kolowa, looting livestock that was later traced to Tot Division, Marakwet East sub-county.
- (b) On 10th January 2023 theft of 22 cows from Kositei location and transported to Bartabwa division in Baringo North sub-county.
- (c) On 16th February 2023, 25 goats were stolen from Kakir in Baringo North sub-county but later recovered at Lochomi.

- (d) Suspected Marakwet bandits stole 5 cows from Topew Limoru of Ngoron sub-location, and headed towards Talai location, Tot division.
- (e) On 8th March 2023, 130 goats were stolen from Chepkui Lorekow in Kulol Sub-Location, Akoret Location, and driven towards Lokori, Turkana East Sub-County.
- (f) On 17th April 2023, 14 cows were stolen from Kipnai location and driven towards Kapachetuma sub-location in Marakwet West sub-county.
- (g) On 20th May, 2023, 25 goats stolen by Tugen bandits and were recovered with the assistance of NPRs and ASTU Kesumet, and returned to the owner, Mr. Ruto Lotepa.
- (h) On 19th June 2023 animals were stolen at Akoret Division, resulting in an injured boy. Nineteen animals were recovered between Lomelo and Kagume in Turkana East and returned to the owner.
- (i) On 11th June 2023, over 250 goats stolen by suspected Turkana bandits but were fully recovered by security teams at Kapedo and returned to their rightful owners.

121. In Tiaty East sub-county, there have been multiple incidents. On 22nd July 2023, a confrontation occurred between Pokot and Samburu herders in the Amaya area, resulting in the loss of life of a Pokot elder.

122. In Baringo South the incidences reported were:

- (a) On 4th January 2023, fourteen Pokot herders, eleven of them armed stormed Arabal Primary School searching for their cattle that had strayed near the camp.
- (b) On 25th February 2023 Pokot bandits raided Kiserian village and made away with 47 goats.
- (c) On 5th March 2023 in Kasiela village in Chebinyiny, 45 cattle were stolen by Pokot and one NPR injured.
- (d) On 10th March 2023 at Chemong'ion village in Arabal Location seventeen goats were stolen by Pokot bandits but later recovered.
- (e) On 20th March 2023 in Rugus Location, five people were attacked in a fishing boat, one was injured.
- (f) On 24th March 2023 in Rugus Location, 45 goats were stolen by Pokot raiders, NPRs responded and recovered all of them.
- (g) On 12th April 2023, Pokot bandits from Tiaty East raided Nenteiyo village in Kiserian stole a total of 77 cows, killed one of the owners and injured three NPRs.
- (h) On 23rd July 2023, Pokot bandits attempted to steal livestock at Kiserian but were repulsed promptly by NPRs and GSU.

123. In Baringo North the cases reported were:

- (a) On 29th March 2023 unknown number of Pokot bandits raided Yatya and stole unknown number of goats and fatally shot one person.
- (b) On 21st April 2023, armed Pokot bandits raided Ngaratuko and made away with 145 goats belonging to the Tugen that were later recovered.

- (c) On 3rd May 2023, Pokot bandits raided Chemoe and made away with unknown number of goats, which were later recovered.
- (d) On 17th May 2023, Pokot bandits raided Loruk and made away with 95 cows, out of which, 57 have been recovered.
- (e) On 23rd May 2023, Pokot bandits raided Loruk and took away 100 goats.

Causes of insecurity

- 124. Insecurity in the region primarily stems from livestock raids driven by commercial motives, restocking after prolonged droughts, and for dowry payments. Boundary and territorial disputes, particularly where the Pokot community has encroached upon parts of Baringo South and Baringo North, exacerbate the situation. Outdated cultural practices among encroaching communities, such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors, further escalate tensions.
- 125. Moreover, political incitement and support for banditry by leaders seeking office, alongside the commercialisation of banditry through unregulated markets and livestock trade, have worsened security challenges. Communities often cite the need for firearms to protect their livestock, yet misuse of these weapons has led to significant loss of life and property.

Effects of insecurity

- 126. Banditry has had devastating effects, resulting in loss of life, destruction of homes and schools, displacement of communities, closure of schools disrupting learning, and widespread disruption of livelihoods.

Short-term measures to address insecurity

- 127. To tackle these issues, several short-term measures have been implemented. These include deploying specialised units to volatile regions, recruiting and deploying NPRs, convening peace meetings with various stakeholders, and conducting ongoing security operations aimed at eliminating bandits and stabilising the region.
- 128. The impact of these efforts has been a reduction in banditry incidents, the return of displaced populations to their homes in certain areas, the reopening of schools, and the resumption of economic activities in affected areas. Despite these successes, several challenges persist. These include insufficient security personnel, a lack of essential equipment such as MRAPs, APCs, and helicopters, and the proliferation of illegal firearms among communities.

Recommendations on addressing the insecurity

- 129. In response to insecurity within the County, the County Commissioner proposed a series of measures. These include improving security infrastructure, providing resettlement assistance for IDPs, recruiting additional NPRs, reopening schools that were closed due to insecurity, enhancing communication networks, upgrading education and vocational training facilities, promoting livestock development, and improving food security through irrigation projects.
- 130. Furthermore, initiatives such as land adjudication, involvement of the county government in various social amenities, regulation of informal livestock trade, and expedited disbursement

of resources to schools have been recommended to promote lasting peace and development in the region.

3.4.2 Baringo South Sub-County

3.4.2.1 Submission by Kasiela RDU Camp Commander, Superintendent of Police Zephaniah Lashighoni

131. During its visit, the Committee inspected Arabal Primary School, Kapindasum Primary School, and the Kasiela RDU Camp. Police Superintendent Zephaniah Lashighoni of the Kasiela RDU Camp provided the following submission to the Committee: -
132. The Kasiela RDU Camp was established in 2016 and currently accommodates 40 officers, with additional RDU units situated in Mukutani and Chepkalacha. A multi-agency approach to address insecurity in these areas was implemented in early 2023, yielding several successes. Displaced residents have returned home, businesses have reopened, and schools have resumed activities. This gradual return to normalcy has improved relations between local communities and law enforcement personnel.
133. However, challenges persist, particularly due to poor road networks that hinder the movement of security forces in the rugged terrain. The lack of adequate road infrastructure limits security mobility and operational effectiveness. The use of drones for aerial support is considered crucial, especially as the region relies on a single helicopter owned by the KDF, which may not always be available due to prior commitments.
134. The launch of *Operation Maliza Uhalifu* has resulted in a notable decrease in banditry activities, although sporadic incidents of cattle theft and violence continue to occur. These incidents highlight the ongoing security challenges faced by the county.

3.4.2.2 Submission by MCA Mochongoi Ward Hon. Kipruto Kimosop

135. Hon. Kipruto Kimosop, the Mochongoi Ward MCA, commended the unwavering efforts of NPRs and the entire security team for restoring normalcy in Kasiela and Chebinybiny. However, he expressed concern about residents who remain reluctant to return to their homes following previous displacements. He emphasized the urgent need for compensation for lives lost and support for widows through programmes like Inua Jamii.
136. The suggestion was made to provide employment opportunities, particularly in teaching roles, to local residents who possess a deep understanding of the area.

3.4.2.3 Submission by Mr. Julius Yegon, Youth Representative

137. Mr. Julius Yegon, a youth representative, acknowledged the strides made in restoring normalcy. He underscored the significance of integrating additional NPRs into the system, citing their invaluable knowledge of the local area. Support is needed for returning residents to aid their resettlement, including the provision of construction materials for housing.
138. Moreover, Mr. Yegon stressed the importance of supporting local youths in securing employment opportunities, particularly in teaching and the police service, to deter them from turning to criminal activities.

3.4.2.4 Submission by the Head Teacher of Arabal Primary School

139. The Head Teacher of Arabal Primary School submitted that the school was founded in 1968, and that learning in the school is frequently disrupted by intermittent attacks. Some parents have fled the area due to these attacks, leaving their children in the care of teachers. Consequently, students have had to use classrooms as dormitories due to a lack of adequate boarding facilities. Moreover, the school lacks a perimeter fence, exposing both students and teachers to the threat of bandits.
140. A shortage of teachers was identified as a significant challenge. The Head Teacher recommended that local residents be considered for teaching positions in the area, as they are familiar with the county's insecurity issues. He also advocated for the promotion of teachers who endure harsh conditions to boost their morale.

3.4.2.5 Submission by the Head Teacher of Kapindasum Primary School

141. The Head Teacher of Kapindasum Primary School briefed the Committee on the school's history, noting its establishment in 1984 as an ECDE centre. Over the years, the school has evolved into one of the top-performing primary schools in the region. He recounted the detrimental impact of banditry since 2005, which resulted in the closure of seven schools and severe damage to their infrastructure, further noting that schools like Ngelecha, Laramoru, and Ramacha were also affected.
142. The head teacher proposed several recommendations including reconstructing and equipping damaged schools, providing digital kits for pupils, implementing feeding programmes, and establishing affordable boarding facilities – to address these challenges.
143. Highlighting the strain on facilities across the 27 schools within the Baringo security operation area, the head teacher emphasised that insecurity has tragically claimed the lives and livelihoods of parents, forcing many children to drop out of school. To mitigate these impacts, he suggested that the government introduce supplementary feeding programmes for boarding schools, implement affirmative action initiatives to support school dropouts, and provide welfare support for NPRs responsible for school security.

3.4.2.6 Submission by the Head Teacher of Kagir Primary School Mr. Kibet Nyabong

144. Mr. Kibet Nyabong submitted that he has served as the head teacher of Kagir Primary School in Baringo North since 2015, dedicating his life to the education of children in the area. He recounted an experience from his childhood in 1978, when at the age of nine, he survived an attack by cattle rustlers that left him completely blind.
145. He further submitted that herders from Tiaty frequently drive their livestock into the Tugen side in search of pastures, leading to increased hostility and aggression towards the local Tugen community. The recurring conflict forces residents to abandon their homes and lands out of fear of further attacks.
146. Mr. Kibet appealed to Tiaty community leaders to initiate dialogue with those responsible for the attacks. He stressed the importance of addressing grievances and urged leaders to discourage unauthorised grazing on host community farms. He also called for food donations to prevent students from experiencing hunger, advocated for the reconstruction of vandalized school buildings, and proposed installing a perimeter wall for enhanced security. He further

recommended establishing a boarding facility to safeguard students and improve overall safety measures.

3.4.2.7 Submission by Arabal GSU Commander, Chief Inspector Richard Oduor

147. The Chief Inspector reported that the Arabal GSU camp was established in 2013, marking a significant turning point for the region. Prior to its establishment, Arabal faced severe security challenges that frequently displaced locals due to ongoing attacks. However, in recent times, there has been a gradual return of residents to their homes, indicating a positive shift in the security situation.

148. The Chief Inspector stressed the critical need for essential facilities such as drones, especially given the rugged terrain of the area. The limited availability of just one armoured vehicle for continuous school protection presents operational challenges when deployment is required. Furthermore, there is an urgent requirement for the formal allocation of land for the GSU Camp. This allocation would enable the construction of permanent structures, including an armoury to strengthen security operations and a dispensary within the camp premises to provide medical services locally, reducing the need for residents to travel to Kinamba or Marigat.

3.4.2.7 Submission by Hon. Paul Lolgisoi, Mukutani Ward Member of County Assembly and other residents

149. Hon. Paul Lolgisoi reported that the Ilchamus Community, a minority Maa-speaking group in Baringo County, has endured attacks by bandits from Tiaty for seventeen years. These banditries have recently intensified, driven by the bandits' primary objective of territorial expansion and exclusive land control. As a result, the community has been displaced from their ancestral lands in Arabal, Mukutani, Mochongoi, and Kiserian.

150. The attacks have had devastating consequences, including significant loss of life and livestock, as well as the closure of several schools. The banditry has instilled extreme fear and distress within the community, which urgently needs support to restore security and rebuild their lives.

151. To address the security issues in Baringo County, Hon. Lolgisoi recommended that the National Government, in collaboration with the County Government, should demarcate land and provide individual land ownership. He argued that the communal land ownership system has contributed to the banditry attacks. Additionally, he urged the government to compensate and resettle the victims of banditry and advocated for a comprehensive disarmament exercise in insecurity-prone areas, to be carried out by the Multi-Agency Team.

152. The Head Teacher of Chemorongion Primary School, established in 1998, highlighted the school's intermittent operation due to ongoing security concerns. The school has often served as a refuge for students from neighbouring schools during turbulent times, underscoring the urgent need for additional classrooms, toilets, boarding facilities, and a water tank.

153. Nasari Kirambo Kiserian, Chairlady of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, described the community's current living conditions as deplorable. She noted that since their displacement in 2005, residents have been living in small *manyattas*. Although the return of NPRs has

brought a semblance of peace, challenges persist, including disruptions to livelihoods and limited educational opportunities for girls.

154. A former Principal of Kiserian Boys High School reflected on the conflicts that began in 2005, which resulted in significant casualties and injuries. He made urgent calls for enhanced security measures and fair compensation for victims to address the conflicts' aftermath.
155. The Ilchamus Community recounted seventeen years of unrest due to attacks by the Pokot from Tiaty, resulting in widespread displacement, destruction of homes, and loss of lives, livestock, and livelihoods. The community identified several root causes of the conflict, including political incitement, land disputes, and the proliferation of illegal firearms, highlighting the need for proactive governmental interventions.
156. Their recommendations included assisting locals in resettlement, renovating vandalized public institutions, deploying NPRs for enhanced security, and creating additional administrative units. Long-term plans encompassed land demarcation, revitalising irrigation schemes, developing infrastructure, and compensating affected individuals and communities.

3.4.2.8 Submission by Member of Parliament for Baringo South Hon. Charles Kamuren

157. The Member of Parliament for Baringo South appeared before the Committee on **24th March 2024** in Parliament Buildings and submitted as follows:
158. Banditry attacks in Baringo South Constituency escalated in 2005, severely compromising the safety and security of residents in Marigat Sub County, which borders Tiaty Constituency. These attacks have resulted in the deaths of over 300 people, including security personnel, and the displacement of more than 36,000 individuals. Over nearly two decades, Mukutani Ward has experienced severe human rights violations, marked by waves of forced displacement. What was once a cultural practice of cattle rustling has evolved into an organized crime enterprise, driven by crime syndicates, facilitated by the proliferation of weapons, and supported by intricate networks that span communal and international borders.
159. The impact of banditry on education in Mukutani Ward is profound, with teachers forced to withdraw from conflict-stricken areas and communities relocating out of fear of invasion. This disruption has long-term and short-term consequences for children's and youth's education. Schools such as Rugus Primary, Ngelecha, Laramoru, Murat, Partalo, and Ramacha Primary Schools, as well as Embossos and Mukutani Mixed Secondary Schools, have been closed. Additionally, learning has been intermittently disrupted at Arabal Primary, Kapindasum Primary, Chemorongion Primary, Kiserian Primary, Noosukuro Primary, and Mukutani Primary School. In Mochongoi Ward, schools continuously disturbed include Tuiyotich, Karne, Kapkechir, Sosionte, Sinoni, Kasiela, and Chebinyiny Primary Schools, along with Tuiyotich, Sinoni, Karne, and Kapkechir Secondary Schools.
160. The displacement of people, including school-going children, has strained neighbouring schools. Sustained banditry attacks have also affected irrigation schemes in the area, such as Embossos, Mukutane, Seretion, Ngowonin, Chemorongion, Laramoru, and Noosukuro, and have led to significant livestock losses, devastating pastoralists' primary source of livelihood.
161. In the wake of such turmoil, the educational landscape has suffered greatly. Teachers are compelled to flee conflict zones, and communities are uprooted out of fear, depriving children

and youth of their right to education. Schools once bustling with life now stand shuttered, with institutions like Rugus Primary and Mukutani Mixed Secondary bearing the scars of sustained instability. In neighboring Mochongoi Ward, schools like Tuiyotich and Sinoni endure incessant disruptions. Beyond education, banditry's impact extends to vital lifelines such as irrigation schemes and livestock, devastating resources essential for pastoralists' sustenance.

162. The Hon. Member proposed several recommendations to address the challenges posed by insecurity, restore normalcy, and foster sustainable development in the affected regions of Baringo South.

- (a) Provision of the necessary infrastructure support and staffing to the six primary schools and three secondary schools in Mukutane Ward, as well as to the seven affected primary schools and five secondary schools in Mochongoi Ward.
- (b) Assigning NPRs to chiefs, designated schools, and ECDE centers, focusing on strategic locations identified as escape routes used by bandits.
- (c) Establishing additional police posts in critical areas such as Ngelecha, Mukutani, Arabal, Kimoriot, Rugus, Ramacha, Nyimbei, Loitip, Mosuro, Sanadai, and Laramoru to bolster security measures.
- (d) Establishment of sub-locations and assistant chief offices in Rugus, Arabal, Laramoru, Ramacha, Mukutani, Mbechot, Kapkechir, and Ngelecha to enhance administrative efficiency and coordination.
- (e) Introducing a school feeding programme in the forty-eight schools affected by insecurity to ensure the nutritional well-being of students and encourage attendance.
- (f) Provision of support to returning individuals totaling 7,932, including basic needs such as building materials, food, and medical care to facilitate their reintegration into the community.
- (g) Initiating Irrigation Schemes in Pekerra and Sandai to enhance agricultural productivity and economic stability in the region.
- (h) Relocation of RDU Ngaratuko from Chelelio in Loruk to Ngaratuko, the relocation of ASTU from Loruk to Temo area, and the relocation of ASTU Kesumet to Kabirwok.
- (i) The strengthening of Loruk Police Station, the opening of security roads such as the connection between Karanga Joto and Ngaratuko, and the provision of a vehicle to Loruk Police Station have been implemented. However, several measures remain pending. These include managing NPRs by providing meals, supplying MRAP vehicles and APCs to units, providing protective gear to security personnel, offering drones for aerial surveillance, facilitating additional fuel, and considering motivational incentives for security officers involved in operations.

3.4.3 Baringo North

3.4.3.1 Submission by Deputy County Commissioner for Baringo North sub-county

163. The Deputy County Commissioner for Baringo North sub-county informed the Committee as follows: -
164. The sub-county maintains a security presence with five established units: RDU Ngaratuko based in Chelelio, RDU Kagir in Kagir, ASTU Chemoe in Tuluk, ASTU Loruk in Loruk, ASTU Kesumet in Kesumet, Loruk Police Station, and local NPRs.
165. In December 2023, persistent attacks in Ngaratuko, Kosile, and Kagir grazing fields led the Cabinet Secretary for Interior to visit Ngaratuko to assess the situation. During this visit, several resolutions were made to bolster security, including the relocation of RDU Ngaratuko from Chelelio, moving ASTU units from Loruk to Temo and from Kesumet to Kabirwok, and strengthening Loruk Police Station. Security roads, such as Kindiki connecting Karanga Joto to Ngaratuko, were opened and graded. Plans were initiated to provide vehicles, meals, and protective gear for security personnel, deploy Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected vehicles, Armoured Personnel Carriers, and drones for aerial surveillance, increase fuel allocation, and consider motivation for officers involved in operations, though some measures remain pending.
166. Several security incidents have been reported in the region. In January and February 2024, NPR officers, a head teacher, civilians, and families suffered injuries or deaths from suspected Pokot bandits in areas such as Kagir, Namba, Kosile, Ngaratuko, and Chemoe. In late January, a Pokot herder was killed by suspected Tugen bandits in Kabirwok, leading to retaliatory attacks in which Tugens were fatally injured along the Chemor-Yatya road. No livestock was stolen in these incidents. The security units have adopted a strategy of daily briefings, deploying to dominate key hills, and flushing out illegal Pokot herders from the Ngaratuko grazing field, destabilising the bandits' ability to access pasture, water, and steal livestock freely.
167. In early 2024, a string of brutal attacks by suspected Pokot bandits left several people from the Tugen community dead, including two fatalities in January and the tragic shooting of the visually impaired head teacher of Kagir Primary School in February. These incidents occurred despite ongoing security operations by joint forces aiming to flush out illegal herders and contain the situation. The multi-agency team has faced challenges, including inadequate transport, acute fuel shortages, lack of vital equipment such as armoured carriers and drones, and issues of command, control, and teamwork among the units. The presence of security forces has not stemmed the tide of attacks, deaths, loss of livelihoods, animal theft, displacement, and disruption of education for the Tugen community.
168. To address these challenges, both immediate and long-term measures have been proposed. Short-term steps include providing armoured vehicles and aircraft for aerial surveillance, establishing more security roads and camps, conducting serious disarmament drives, ensuring proper command of reservist forces, increasing operational fuel allocation, and motivating deployed officers. Long-term strategies involve economic empowerment through development projects like dams, boreholes, schools, and churches to tackle the root causes of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of inter-community cohesion. Legal reforms to legislate harsher

punishment for banditry as a capital crime, investigating arms trafficking, holding accountable leaders benefiting from illegal activities, and implementing livestock branding for easier tracking of stolen animals are also recommended. A multi-pronged approach combining robust security operations, socio-economic development, legal reforms, and promoting peaceful co-existence between communities is imperative to comprehensively resolve the vicious cycle of insecurity gripping the region.

3.4.3.2 Submission by residents of Saimo Soi Division, Baringo North Sub-County

169. The residents Saimo Soi Division in Baringo North Sub-County submitted to the Committee as follows: -

170. The economic activities in the Saimo Soi community include livestock keeping, fishing, beekeeping, subsistence farming, and small-scale businesses. Insecurity in the community dates back to the late 1970s, with continuous attacks by the Pokot community from neighbouring sub-counties. The most affected sub-locations include Loruk, Barketiew, and Akorian. Reported causes of insecurity in the division include scarce resources such as pasture and water for livestock, territorial disputes, poor land tenure, retrogressive cultural practices, banditry driven by the livestock trade, cartels in the livestock business, and low literacy levels. Additionally, political incitement has exacerbated the insecurity situation.

171. The division has suffered significant adverse effects, including loss of lives and property, destruction of houses, beehives, grazing fields, water projects, crops, hospitals, and schools. Displacements, family break-ups, teenage pregnancies, food insecurity, disease outbreaks, and the loss of land to bandits have also been reported. Transport and communication networks have been disrupted.

172. To mitigate the effects of insecurity in the region, the community has made several recommendations. These include the forceful disarmament of civilians, the arrest and prosecution of bandits, the recovery of stolen livestock, the empowerment of NPRs, and the resettlement of displaced persons. Additionally, they proposed constructing security roads to open up remote areas, deploying police officers, and establishing police posts in strategic locations.

173. The community highlighted several points of contention regarding the administrative boundary units between Baringo North, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties. These include Loruk sub-location in Baringo North and Loruk Kongasis sub-location in Tiaty, Tuluk sub-location in Baringo North, Barketiew sub-location in Baringo North, Kesumet/Kapturo sub-location in Baringo North, and Akorian sub-location in Baringo North Sub-County.

3.4.3.3 Submission by residents of Loruk Sub-Location Residents, Baringo North Sub-County

174. The residents through a community representative submitted to the Committee as follows: -

175. Loruk Sub-Location, an administrative unit in Saimo Soi Ward within Baringo North Sub-County, borders Loyamorok Ward in Tiaty Constituency. The Tugen residents of Loruk Sub-Location have been terrorized by bandits from the Pokot community. The community attributes the insecurity to the Pokot's agenda of territorial expansion, which has resulted in the displacement of the Tugen people from their lands. The Pokot have occupied these lands

and taken control of Loruk Health Center, originally built by the Baringo North Constituency Development Fund, forcing the Tugen to seek medical services in Marigat due to discrimination.

176. The overlapping administrative units have exacerbated tensions in the region. The office of the Loruk Location Chief in Tiaty is situated within Baringo North's Sibilo Location. Additionally, the Tiaty sub-county administration has reportedly sent officers illegally into Baringo North to serve the Pokot community. The administrative overlap extends to Loruk Kongasis Sub-Location, part of Tiaty sub-county, with Tiaty officers also sent to Baringo North to resolve disputes and provide relief food to the Pokot community.
177. Despite knowing the identities of the bandits and their accomplices, there have been no arrests or prosecutions. The community has reported these individuals to the relevant authorities but has received no response or action. The proliferation of illegal firearms and the lack of individual land ownership in the region further contribute to the banditry attacks, making it easy for bandits and their sympathisers to acquire land. The community also highlights the challenges posed by the large size of Loruk Sub-Location and Loruk North Location, which hinder effective coverage by chiefs and assistant chiefs.
178. They further recommended:
 - (a) Resolution of boundary dispute of Loruk Location and Loruk Kongasis sub-location to revert to the original boundary.
 - (b) Relocation of the office of the Chief Loruk Location that is currently located in Baringo North territory of Tiaty Sub Counties.
 - (c) Operationalization of Loruk North Location and Ng'aratuko sub-location in Baringo North.
 - (d) Reinstate Loruk Health Centre to its original administrative center located in Loruk sub-location.
 - (e) Upgrading Loruk centre to a township status, increasing social amenities, enabling town planning, and budget allocation to manage the town.
 - (f) Schools in Baringo North should be administered from Baringo North, and not Tiaty as it is currently the case.
 - (g) All members of the Pokot community residing in Baringo North to be served from Baringo North and members of the Tugen community residing in Tiaty be served from Tiaty.
 - (h) Punishment to Chiefs and public officers who cross boundaries to serve their own tribes and contravene administrative boundaries.
 - (i) Use of the original boundary maps and the 1979 declaration of Ng'aratuko Adjudication Section in determining boundaries in the region.

3.4.3.4 Submission by Member of Parliament Baringo North Hon. Joseph Maklap and Baringo County Women Representative Hon. Florence Jematia

179. On 14th March 2024, the Member of Parliament for Baringo North, Hon. Joseph Maklap, and the Member of Parliament for Baringo County, Hon. Florence Jematia, appeared before the Committee at the Parliament Buildings and made the following submissions: -

180. The security challenges in Saimo Soi and Bartabwa wards are attributed to armed herders from the neighbouring sub-counties of Tiaty East and Tiaty West. These herders strategically occupy vantage points to monitor security presence and facilitate attacks on Tugen communities. The prolonged conflict and criminal activities have resulted in severe consequences, including loss of life, injuries, displacement of Tugen families, disruptions in education, widespread fear, retaliatory actions, and various criminal acts such as robberies and vandalism.

Consequences of Conflict and Criminal Activities

181. The prolonged series of attacks in the region has led to numerous severe outcomes. Significant loss of life and injuries have occurred among Tugen herders, security personnel, NPRs, and the Tugen community, instilling fear and a sense of threat. Tugen families have been forced to abandon their farmlands, grazing fields, and homes, resulting in widespread displacement. The disruption of learning in schools and institutions has hindered educational opportunities for the youth, compounding the community's challenges. The cycle of revenge attacks has escalated tensions and deepened insecurity. Additionally, the prevalence of criminal activities such as robberies, property destruction, vandalism, and muggings has further disrupted peace and stability, affecting both individuals and businesses.

Response to the Security Challenges

182. The reported incidents underscore the gravity of the situation, with numerous individuals sustaining injuries and fatalities due to the ongoing conflict. Concerted efforts are necessary to address the root causes of the violence, protect the community, and restore peace and stability to the region.

183. In Baringo North Sub-County, various security units and establishments are operational, including the RDU Ngaratuko in Chelelio, RDU Kagir in Kagir, ASTU Chemoe in Tuluk, ASTU Loruk in Loruk, ASTU Kesumet in Kesumet, Loruk Police Station, and local NPRs. Despite their presence, persistent and increased attacks in December 2023 at Ngaratuko, Kosile, and Kagir grazing fields prompted the Cabinet Secretary for Interior to visit Ngaratuko to assess the situation and understand the reasons behind the continued violence.

184. Several incidents have been recorded, including injuries sustained by NPRs at Kagir, the fatal injury of a head teacher by Pokot assailants in Namba, and various shootings and injuries in different locations. Security units conduct daily briefings and deployments, focusing on dominating two hills to disrupt illegal Pokot grazing in the vast Ngaratuko grazing field, thereby restricting their access to pasture, water, and opportunities for livestock theft.

185. In response to these events, suspected Pokot bandits ambushed motorbikes at Namba in Kosile on 10 February 2024, resulting in the fatal injury of a visually impaired head teacher from Kagir. Subsequent attacks on 11th February 2024 along Kindiki Road led to a heavy exchange of gunfire with the CSIC, SCSIC, and formed-up unit convoy, resulting in injuries and vehicle damage during an ambush along the Karanga Joto-Kagir route.

Challenges faced in restoring peace

186. The efforts to restore peace and stability are hampered by several challenges, including inadequate transport facilitation, insufficient equipment, lack of motivation for officers, coordination issues among security teams, and instances of community incitement.

Social amenities and government interventions Recommendations

187. The legislators recommended establishing more schools, compensating victims, providing necessities for displaced families, constructing water facilities, and fostering cohesion.

Short and Long-Term Measures

188. To address the immediate security challenges in the disturbed areas, several short-term measures are necessary. These include equipping all formed units with MRAP vehicles and APCs, along with drones for aerial surveillance. Additionally, it is crucial to provide a vehicle to the Loruk Police Station and establish a GSU camp at Kobot to efficiently manage the security situation. A standby aircraft for aerial surveillance should be routed, and security roads expanded to improve connectivity and troop mobility.
189. NPRs should be grouped into various camps and provided with meals to ensure their efficiency and effectiveness. Adequate fuel for operations must be supplied to enable security forces to travel to different areas. Motivating and inspiring officers involved in security operations through incentives is essential. Creating several security camps, army camps, and schools for enforcement of proper behaviour and practical training will enhance officers' productivity.
190. To eradicate illiteracy and poverty in Tiaty East and West sub-counties, affirmative educational measures are required. Providing alternative livelihoods to mitigate poverty among local communities is also necessary. Enhancing security by improving accessibility in Tiaty East and West sub-counties, and constructing additional dams, water pans, and boreholes will promote farming and ensure an adequate water supply for both humans and animals.
191. Establishing places of worship, such as churches in Tiaty East and West, and organizing joint barazas and peace campaigns across borders to formally initiate a ceasefire agreement is important. Promoting brokerage by creating a border institution to foster peaceful coexistence between neighbouring communities and nations is also recommended. Supporting communities by establishing GSU camps at Kobot, Kinyack/Marakwet, and Kipnai communities is essential, as is ensuring that ammunition is not readily available to bandits.
192. A thorough investigation of the arms trade and operations to control criminal activities is required, alongside implementing legislation classifying banditry as a capital offence. Investigating political leadership in the region, Werkoiyon, chiefs, and security agencies with vested interests in facilitating criminal activities is imperative. Adopting a branding and microchipping system to promote accurate identification and tracking of livestock confiscation is also recommended.

Effectiveness of the Ongoing Security Operation in the Areas Gazetted as Disturbed

193. *Operation Maliza Uhalifu* employed a multi-agency approach by various security forces, combining both soft and hard tactics to eradicate illegal herding activities. Despite their efforts, the community continues to suffer from numerous issues. Persistent attacks have led to fatalities, loss of property and livelihoods, and displacement.
194. Additionally, disruptions to school programs and interruptions in education have further disadvantaged the community. Although the security agencies have acted with good intentions, the operation has not achieved the desired outcomes, indicating that further measures are needed to ensure the safety and security of the people.

Recommendations

195. To address the current challenges and enhance the overall security situation in the region, the following recommendations are made: -
- (a) Establishment of more schools and institutions to promote co-existence.
 - (b) Compensation for those who have lost loved ones and animals.
 - (c) Provision of support to displaced families in terms of food, shelter, medical facilities, and education.
 - (d) Construction of dams, water pans, and boreholes for irrigation farming.
 - (e) Fencing of border schools, police stations, and formed-up unit camps.
 - (f) Affirmative action to help affected communities, such as providing bursaries
 - (g) Fencing border police stations, police posts, and formed-up unit camps.
196. Resolving the long-standing conflicts and criminal activities in the region necessitates a comprehensive approach. Establishing a buffer zone of approximately 40 kilometers from Loruk to Kapturo is crucial. This area should be designated for grazing and paddocking to prevent encroachment and resource-based conflicts. Enhancing telecommunication infrastructure by installing Safaricom boosters in Saimo Soi, Bartabwa, and the Kerio Valley will improve communication and security monitoring.
197. The government should prioritize drilling boreholes in Tiaty, Baringo North, and Baringo South to provide access to water resources, a major source of contention. All professionals, including security personnel, community leaders, and stakeholders, must actively participate in peace-building efforts. Establishing boarding schools for all communities can foster intercultural understanding and promote peaceful coexistence from a young age. Incorporating religious teachings can help shift mindsets towards non-violence and conflict resolution.
198. Economic transformation through road construction and other infrastructure projects can create employment opportunities and stimulate regional development, thereby reducing incentives for criminal activities. Proper demarcation of jurisdictional boundaries and integrating schools across communities are essential steps toward promoting social cohesion. A thorough investigation should be conducted to identify individuals involved in banditry, enabling effective prosecution and accountability. Many young and aggressive bandits operate without proper identification, making it challenging to hold them accountable through

legal channels. The government should collaborate with community leaders to identify and apprehend known bandits and ensure they face justice through due legal processes.

199. A serious security operation should be conducted to enforce respect for grazing and water resources across different communities. This operation should prioritize the protection of lives, property, and the restoration of law and order in the region. Addressing this complex situation requires a multi-faceted approach involving security measures, economic development, educational initiatives, religious and cultural interventions, and robust legal and accountability mechanisms. Collaboration among all stakeholders, including the government, security forces, community leaders, and civil society organizations, is essential to achieve sustainable peace and stability in the region.
200. Relocating various units to strategic locations, strengthening the Loruk Police Station, and opening security roads to enhance accessibility and response capabilities are vital. However, providing additional resources such as vehicles, protective gear, drones for aerial surveillance, fuel, and motivation for security officers remains pending.

3.4.4 Tiaty West Sub-County

3.4.4.1 Submission by Tiaty Professionals Association (TPA)

201. Tiaty Professional Association representative submitted to the Committee as follows: -
202. Tiaty, also known as East Pokot, is located in Baringo County. It borders Turkana County to the north, Samburu to the east, Laikipia to the southeast, and Marakwet and West Pokot to the west. Within Baringo, it is adjacent to North Baringo and South Baringo sub-counties to the south. Covering an area of 4,663 square kilometres, Tiaty had a population of 153,353 according to the 2019 housing and population census. Tiaty is divided into two sub-counties, Tiaty East and Tiaty West, predominantly inhabited by members of the Pokot community.
203. Cattle rustling, which dates back to the 1970s, is the primary cause of insecurity in the region. Initially, it involved conflicts between the Turkana and Pokot, but it has since spread to include the Samburu, Marakwet, Tugen, and Ilchamus communities. Recently, Tiaty sub-county has become the epicentre of these conflicts within the North Rift sub-region. Unlike earlier times when large groups with community support conducted cattle rustling, it is now carried out by small, ragtag criminal groups, usually comprising boys aged 10-18, driven by personal interests.
204. Insecurity is prevalent along the borders between the Pokot and their neighbours. Aggression from the Pokot community towards the Tugen and Ilchamus causes insecurity between these groups. Similarly, conflicts along the borders between the Pokot and the Turkana, Samburu, and Marakwet arise from mutual aggressions. Due to this insecurity, along with lack of government services and adverse climatic conditions, many children in Tiaty do not attend school. Schools are sparse, and those that exist often lack teachers and adequate facilities. Recurrent droughts further exacerbate the situation, leading families to migrate in search of pasture and water, taking their children with them. These children often drop out of school and become cattle rustlers.
205. The education situation in Tiaty is dire, with an illiteracy rate exceeding 80%. The 2019 housing and population census also indicated that Tiaty has a high number of impoverished

residents in Baringo, primarily due to the ongoing cattle rustling, which has destroyed livelihoods. Climate change and the lack of landscape restoration measures to enable natural regeneration of rangelands have worsened the situation.

Factors encouraging cattle rustling and insecurity in Tiaty

(A) Illiteracy and ignorance

206. The illiteracy rate in Tiaty is very high, exceeding 80%. This issue is compounded by the scarcity of both primary and secondary schools, which are few and far between, poorly equipped, and understaffed. Contributing factors include high dropout rates due to a lack of school fees, entrenched cultural practices, the nomadic lifestyle of the population, and frequent school closures resulting from insecurity, droughts, and shortages of food and water.

(B) Absence of government in most parts of Tiaty

207. Key government services are limited in Tiaty, denying residents access to and the benefit of these services. Tiaty comprises 7 divisions, 27 locations, and 61 sub-locations, all of which are expansive and rugged with poor or no roads. Government policies are typically implemented only in urban areas, leaving remote regions completely out of reach. Regarding police presence, there are only three gazetted police stations to cover the vast, remote, and insecure area. Consequently, many incidents go unchecked or unreported.

(C) Wrong approach dealing with cattle rustling in the region.

208. The Pokot people believe that the government has consistently failed to effectively address the recurring issues of cattle rustling and insecurity in the North Rift, especially in Tiaty. There is a prevailing sentiment that the government unfairly sides with rival communities and unjustly targets the Pokot based on misperceptions and stereotypes perpetuated by their neighbours. Although the names of individuals involved in cattle rustling have been provided to the office of the Deputy County Commissioner in Tiaty, little action has been taken. Instead, the entire community is penalized for the actions of a few criminals.

(D) Climate change and human activities.

209. Pasture depletion caused by population growth, human settlement, overgrazing, charcoal burning, and farming on marginal lands has resulted in migrations into the territories of neighbouring communities, leading to resource-based conflicts. Typically, such migrations should be coordinated by the local administration, with permission sought from the host communities before migration. However, this process has not been followed, thereby causing conflicts.

(E) Poverty

210. Those who drop out of pastoralism and have no other alternative livelihoods resort to banditry and cattle rustling to economically support themselves.

(F) Consumption of alcohol

211. This is an emerging social and security challenge. Alcohol consumption, particularly in *chang'aa* dens, has become a significant issue, as these locations serve as meeting places where criminals plan their activities under the influence of alcohol. Potential criminals

consume alcohol on credit, intending to repay with the proceeds of their illicit activities. This practice has effectively turned criminal activity into a business, with goods taken on credit from brewers being repaid after successful criminal operations.

(G) Boundary politics

212. Nomadic pastoralists are generally indifferent to the concept of boundaries. Their primary concern is the search for pasture and water, and they move to areas with these resources without intending to encroach on others' land. Historically, communities in the region have coexisted and shared resources, resolving minor conflicts among themselves. However, these minor conflicts have been exacerbated by boundary politics, which are driven by community elites, including elected leaders and professionals. This boundary discourse has heightened tensions and widened the animosity gap between communities.

(H) Inconsistent approaches of peace actors.

213. Many actors in peace building have varied and inconsistent approaches that may sometimes work against each other, despite their low capacity to handle conflicts. There is a need to harmonize the approaches and synergy building.

(I) Widespread availability of illegal guns.

214. Many illegally acquired guns are in the hands of idle and indisciplined youth, and the guns are carelessly used or are seen as tools for use to acquire wealth.

(J) Lack of a pragmatic strategy to eliminate cattle rustling.

215. Most state and non-state actors in the conflict-prone region have not come up with an appropriate strategy to eliminate cattle raids and monitor the progress of recommendations coming out of peace-building meetings.

(K) Local leadership paralysis.

216. Power has shifted from provincial administrators to politicians, who often evade responsibility for combating banditry and cattle rustling due to fears of losing votes or exploiting the situation for political gain. This shift has led to a paralysis, providing fertile ground for criminal activity.
217. Communities are better equipped to address insecurity arising from banditry and cattle rustling, as they have an intimate knowledge of their terrain and people, including identifying criminals more effectively than the military or police, who struggle to access remote areas. Additionally, the long-standing intermarriage and interaction among warring communities position them well to achieve peace if properly engaged.
218. There have been no significant recent migratory patterns into the North Rift; the communities currently residing there have been neighbours for centuries. They coexisted peacefully and shared resources, not because they lacked conflicts, but because they had mechanisms to resolve their issues. Elders should convene to discuss and resolve any differences. Historically, these communities managed their problems internally without relying on external intervention.

3.4.4.2 Representative of the Clergy, Bishop Yusuf Losute

219. Bishop Yusuf Losute, a clergy representative, identified high illiteracy levels, inadequate infrastructure, and lack of government presence as key factors contributing to insecurity in Tiaty. To address these conflicts, he recommended the creation of new administrative units, the formation of joint peace committees, the implementation of compulsory basic education, affirmative action for communities in the North Rift, and the promotion of alternative income sources such as agriculture and tourism. He also emphasized the importance of forgiveness among communities to restore order in the region.

3.4.4.3 Ms. Alice Chelimo Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Chairlady, Tiaty

220. Ms. Alice Chelimo noted the government's role in empowering women through marketing their products, such as honey and beadwork, and promoting their cultural heritage. She stressed the significance of affirmative action in job recruitment, particularly for positions like teachers, doctors, police, and army personnel in areas affected by banditry. Furthermore, she called on the government to support the establishment of schools nearer to residential areas. The current long distances make it difficult for women to commute to and from schools, often resulting in them waiting at schools until classes end before returning home with their children.

3.4.4.4 Member of Parliament for Tiaty Constituency Hon. William Kamket

221. The Member of Parliament for Tiaty, Hon. William Kamket, appeared before the Committee on 14th March 2024 in Parliament Buildings and submitted as follows: -

222. Tiaty constituency spans 5,000 square kilometres, bordering Marakwet West and East, Sigor, Turkana East, Samburu West, Laikipia North, Laikipia West, Baringo South, and Baringo North. It is predominantly arid, receiving rainfall for about two weeks during the rainy season, except in the Churuo area bordering Laikipia County. Despite these challenging conditions, the Tiaty community strives to sustain itself.

223. Nomadic pastoralism is the primary economic activity, prompting people to move to neighbouring constituencies in search of water and pasture, often sparking conflicts. Many communities are armed privately and through NPRs, intensifying the struggle for survival.

224. There is relative peace between Marakwet East and Tiaty, while Tiaty residents have also found relative tranquillity in Laikipia and Baringo South. However, recent conflicts between Baringo North and Tiaty arose when Tiaty residents sought grass but faced resistance from their neighbours.

225. The conflict between Tiaty and Turkana extends beyond immediate resolution. Areas like Kapedo, Lomelo, and Lomwaking Hills remain ungoverned by either county or national administration. This situation is mirrored in Malasso, Samburu County, where Tiaty residents have settled. Some from Tiaty also migrated to Kacheliba Constituency and eventually to Uganda near Lake Choga.

226. Historically, Turkana, the first to acquire firearms, displaced many from Tiaty. However, as Pokot acquired guns, they reclaimed lost territory, shifting the balance of power from Turkana to Pokot.

3.5 Samburu County

227. The Committee undertook a fact-finding visit to Samburu County on 17th and 18th November 2023. During the visit, the Committee held discussions with key government officials, including the County Commissioner and the County Security Committee, as well as with the Governor, Senator of Samburu County, and the Member of Parliament for Samburu West constituency. Furthermore, the Committee conducted meetings with communities affected by insecurity in Longewan, Lolmolog, Lesidai, and Losuk within Samburu West sub-county.

3.5.1 County Commissioner and County Security Committee Security Situation in Samburu County

228. The Committee held a meeting with the Samburu County Commissioner and the County Security Committee in Maralal town on 17th November 2023. Mr. Titus Momanyi, representing the County Commissioner, submitted to the Committee as follows: -

229. Samburu County spans an area of 21,065.1 square kilometres, bordered by Baringo County to the west, Laikipia County to the south, Isiolo County to the east, Turkana County to the northwest, and Marsabit County to the north. The county's primary economic activities include tourism, nomadic pastoralism, and commercial enterprises. It is divided into three sub-counties: Samburu Central, Samburu North, and Samburu East, each facing conflicts with neighbouring counties.

230. The county grapples with significant security challenges, notably conflicts between pastoralist communities involving cattle rustling and banditry. Particularly volatile are the western divisions of Lorroki, Kirisia, and Malasso in the Lorroki plateau, where cross-border banditry and cattle rustling from Baringo County frequently escalate tensions. In Samburu East, security issues centre on recurrent cross-border theft of livestock and an increase in highway banditry, targeting motorists travelling through the area.

231. In Samburu North, conflicts arise from competition over scarce natural resources, with clashes between the Samburu and Turkana communities over access to water and grazing land. These disputes often escalate into violent confrontations as both groups vie for control over limited resources. While Samburu North has seen relative calm recently, areas like Ang'ata Nanyukie ward continue to face security challenges from bandits displacing local residents from neighbouring Tiaty in Baringo County.

232. Samburu Central has witnessed a troubling pattern of cross-border raids and attacks, with Pokot incursions from Tiaty and Laikipia displacing Samburu communities along shared borders. These raids result in displacement, loss of life, and livestock theft, crucial for the pastoral Samburu community's livelihood.

233. The Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley, a vast and uninhabited expanse in western Samburu County bordering Turkana and Baringo, has been a focal point of intense conflict. Here, armed Pokot bandits exploit rugged terrain and harsh weather conditions to stage raids against the local Samburu, using the remote landscape to evade law enforcement and hide stolen livestock.

234. The border zone from Longewan to Morijo has become a hotspot for inter-communal conflicts, forcing communities to flee to safer areas. Originally occupied by the Turkana, tensions over pasture led to their expulsion by an alliance of Pokot, who now dominate the Suguta region across Samburu and Turkana counties, displacing the indigenous Samburu population.
235. The Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley's rugged and inaccessible terrain poses significant challenges for security forces, hindering effective patrolling and law enforcement efforts. Steep cliffs, deep ravines, and dense vegetation further complicate efforts to secure the region and apprehend bandits operating there.

Security incidences reported from January 2023 to November 2023

236. During the reported period, there were numerous incidents resulting in 36 confirmed deaths. However, the actual toll is likely higher due to unreported bodies, often targeted by bandits aiming to seize firearms from security personnel retrieving remains. Suspected criminals from the Pokot community in Tiaty were responsible for the theft of 3,765 heads of cattle, of which 1,790 were successfully recovered and returned to their owners.
237. Throughout this timeframe, nine security officers sustained injuries, five of whom tragically died: one GSU officer, one KDF officer, two NPRs, and one chief. Law enforcement efforts led to the arrest of 24 suspects who have been arraigned in court, while 13 bandits were neutralized.

Causes of conflict and criminal activities

238. The key drivers of insecurity in Samburu County stem from several interrelated factors which include: -
- (a) Intensified competition over natural resources and disputes over access to critical resources, such as water and grazing land, have fueled tensions and clashes between the different communities.
 - (b) The politicisation of community boundary issues has exacerbated long-standing inter-ethnic tensions and territorial conflicts.
 - (c) Cultural practices, such as moranism (the cultural rite of passage for young Samburu men), have been exploited to encourage cattle rustling.
 - (d) Involvement of political actors in manipulating communal conflicts for their own gain has further destabilized the region.
 - (e) The proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons within the region has significantly contributed to the escalation of violent conflicts.

Short-term measures put in place by the government to restore peace and security

239. The government has implemented a range of short-term measures to restore peace and security in the area, including:
- (a) Facilitating cross-border meetings and dialogue among communities to foster peace and collaboration.
 - (b) Intensifying efforts to identify and seize illegally held small arms and light weapons within the region.

- (c) Recruiting and deploying 552 National Police Reservists, with 206 specifically assigned to Samburu Central.
- (d) Complementing the regular police force with the deployment of specialized security units to enhance the operational capacity.
- (e) Establishing and empowering local committees to oversee the sustainable management of grazing lands and water resources and activating Range Management Committees.
- (f) Increasing the frequency and coverage of security patrols and surveillance operations across the affected areas.
- (g) Organizing community dialogues and forums to address security concerns and promote collaboration between the government and local residents.
- (h) Intensifying efforts to identify, arrest, and prosecute individuals involved in insecurity-related crimes.
- (i) Strengthening mechanisms for the recovery and repatriation of livestock that have been stolen during the conflicts.

Long-term measures put in place to restore peace and normalcy

240. The County Security Committee's recommended the following long-term solutions to address insecurity in the region

- (a) Mass disarmament exercise to be carried out in a phased and coordinated manner, with provisions for amnesty and incentives for voluntary surrender of illegal firearms to encourage compliance.
- (b) Provide extensive training and equipment for police, National Police Reservists, and other security personnel to enhance their skills in community policing, conflict resolution, and intelligence gathering.
- (c) Construction and improvement of road and communication networks, focusing on connecting remote and marginalised communities.
- (d) Implementation of a comprehensive livestock identification and tracking system, including the proposed chipping of livestock, to deter theft and facilitate the recovery of stolen animals.
- (e) Expediting the process of clear land demarcation and boundary identification to address long-standing land disputes and resource-based conflicts.
- (f) Empowering traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and integrate them with formal justice systems to ensure a holistic approach to conflict management.
- (g) Providing opportunities for morans to participate in community development and peace-building initiatives, leveraging their role as influential members of the society.
- (h) Ensure seamless coordination and collaboration among various government agencies, local authorities, community leaders, and civil society organizations to implement the proposed long-term solutions.

Effectiveness of the ongoing security operation

241. The multi-agency security presence, comprising the Kenya Defence Forces, police units (GSU and ASTU), and NPRs, has played a crucial role in restoring peace in several parts of the county and reducing retaliatory attacks. Ongoing security operations have led to the arrest and prosecution of 24 criminals and suspects, alongside the neutralization of 13 bandits. These efforts have also resulted in the recovery of 1,790 cattle out of the 3,765 reported stolen

livestock, as well as the seizure and surrender of 125 illegal firearms, including 98 surrendered and 27 seized.

Challenges faced in stabilization efforts

242. The efforts to stabilize the situation have faced several key challenges, including:

- (a) Limited access roads to the Suguta-Malasso valley, where bandits retreat with stolen livestock, making it difficult to pursue and apprehend them.
- (b) Lack of aerial support for rapid response and tracing of bandits, as well as poor communication networks in the affected areas.
- (c) Easy availability of illegal firearms and ammunition due to the proliferation of arms in the neighboring counties, fueling the cycle of violence.
- (d) High levels of illiteracy in the bandit-prone areas, which hinders community engagement and intelligence-gathering efforts.
- (e) Inadequate numbers of security personnel on the ground, limiting the reach and effectiveness of the stabilization operations.
- (f) Insufficient resources and logistical support for the security agencies, including equipment, fuel, food rations, and allowances.
- (g) Shortage of vehicles for the police and other security agencies, hampering their mobility and operational capabilities.
- (h) Complex local political dynamics that can sometimes undermine security efforts.
- (i) Poor road and communication infrastructure, which hinders rapid deployment and coordination of the security forces.
- (j) Rugged terrain that provides cover and advantages for the bandits, making it challenging for the security forces to effectively patrol and secure the area.
- (k) Fewer administrative units and police station establishments, limiting the presence and reach of law enforcement.
- (l) Few numbers of specialised vehicles, such as Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APC), which are crucial for operations in the region.
- (m) Lack of proper evacuation plans and procedures for injured security officers, compromising their timely medical care and support.
- (n) Insufficient cooperation and coordination with the Baringo County Security Committee, which is essential for a unified and effective response.

Social amenities and interventions to affected communities

243. KDF are currently involved in the renovation and expansion of Pura Primary School in Malasso location. This project aims to facilitate the integration of the Pokot and Samburu communities by providing a shared educational environment. The initiative seeks to promote greater understanding, cooperation, and coexistence between these two communities.

Recommendations

244. To address insecurity in the County, the County Security Committee recommended the following: -

- (a) Political representatives from Baringo and Samburu Counties engage the two communities in a concerted effort to establish a long-term cross-border peace mission, fostering dialogue and reconciliation to mitigate conflicts.
- (b) There is need for the establishment of clear land demarcation and boundary identification measures to prevent disputes and ensure territorial integrity, promoting stability and security in the region.
- (c) Compulsory basic education for all children should be enforced while recognizing education as a fundamental right and a pathway to empowerment and societal advancement.
- (d) A continuous voluntary or forceful disarmament program to rid the region of illegal firearms, reducing the capacity for violence and enhancing overall safety.
- (e) Efforts should be directed towards establishing, improving, and maintaining security roads to facilitate access for security personnel and emergency responders, strengthening security infrastructure across the area.
- (f) Additional security establishments and National Government Administrative Units should be deployed to enhance government presence and administrative capacity, ensuring effective governance and law enforcement.
- (g) Provision of airpower capability and evacuation mechanisms to security agencies is recommended to enhance their operational efficiency and response capabilities in remote or inaccessible areas.
- (h) Assistant County Commissioners and Officers Commanding Police Stations in affected divisions should be provided with adequate transport to enable them to carry out their duties effectively and efficiently.
- (i) Ensuring the availability of adequate resources, including equipment, fuel, repairs, food rations, and allowances, is crucial to sustain ongoing security operations and maintain the morale of security personnel.
- (j) A convenient and prudent fueling process for leased police vehicles should be designed to optimize resource utilization and minimize logistical challenges.
- (k) Chiefs and assistant chiefs should be armed and provided with motorbikes to enhance their ability to maintain law and order and respond swiftly to security threats in their respective jurisdictions.
- (l) Displaced individuals should be resettled back to their homes, ensuring their safety and facilitating their reintegration into their communities.
- (m) Development projects funded by Tiaty Constituency Development Fund in Nasur and Amaian areas of Suguta ward in Samburu West Constituency should be halted immediately to address concerns of resource misallocation and potential exacerbation of tensions.
- (n) Stringent measures should be implemented to apprehend and prosecute bandits from the Pokot community residing in the entire Malasso-Suguta Valley stretch, ensuring the recovery and return of stolen livestock to their rightful owners while upholding the rule of law.

3.5.2 H. E Lati Lelelit, Governor Samburu County

245. The County Governor appraised the Committee on the prevailing security situation in Samburu County. He submitted as follows: -

246. The conflict between the Samburu and Pokot communities has persisted due to frequent cattle raids and retaliatory violence. Bandits, often from the Tiaty region, exploit the rugged and unmanned terrain of Samburu County, particularly in Malasso and Amaiya, to conduct raids. Their targets include Amaiya, Nasur, Losuk, Porro, Morijo, and the vast Malasso valley, areas strategically controlled by armed groups launching attacks on unsuspecting civilians in Samburu County. These activities result in substantial losses of livestock, livelihoods, and lives, and significant displacement of Samburu communities.
247. Concerns have been raised regarding infrastructure development in Nasur village within Amaiya Location, funded by the County Government of Baringo and Tiaty Constituency CDF. Allegedly encroaching upon Longewan 'B' Group Ranch/Community Land adjudicated under the Suguta Marmar 'B' registration section, the boundary between the counties is demarcated by River Amaiya. The Governor emphasized the necessity for physical verification of county boundaries by a multi-sectorial team involving relevant agencies to clarify the village's exact location and potential encroachment. Given the complexity and jurisdictional challenges, comprehensive stakeholder involvement is essential.
248. In areas lacking distinct features, the Governor recommended installing beacons post-boundary establishment for clarity. Notably, no developmental activities in Nasur village have received authorization or approval from the County Government of Samburu, underscoring adherence to the rule of law. The Governor appealed for Government intervention to restore peace, emphasizing that development hinges on stability. Additionally, he requested facilitation of multi-agency teams in Pura with adequate fuel and equipment to combat criminal activities effectively.

3.5.3 Residents of Longewan, Samburu Central

249. The Committee held a meeting the residents on of Longewan on **17th November 2023** in Longewan Centre, Samburu County, where the residents submitted to the Committee as follows:
250. Longewan sub-location is one of three sub-locations within Amaiya location in Samburu County, alongside Amaiya and Nasur sub-locations. Amaiya location forms the boundary between Samburu County and neighbouring counties Laikipia, Baringo, and Turkana. The boundary with Tiaty Sub-County in Baringo County is clearly defined by the permanent Amaiya River, established during the colonial period and under the Districts and Provinces Act of 1992. There is no dispute over these borders between Samburu and Baringo.
251. The alleged boundary conflict between Samburu and Tiaty is a pretext for ongoing tensions, with the Pokot community seeking to expand their territory into Samburu County. The longstanding conflict along the Samburu-Tiaty border revolves around competition for land, water, and pasture, exacerbated by cattle rustling and banditry. Since escalating in 1994, the conflict has seen intermittent ceasefires but no lasting peace, leading to significant displacement of residents from Nasur and Amaiya sub-locations to safer areas like Longewan.
252. Between 1980 and 2005, Amaiya residents engaged in agriculture, using Amaiya River water for irrigation until violent conflict forced them to abandon their farms. This displacement into Longewan has impoverished the community, disrupted education at places like Amaiya Primary School, which remains closed and vandalised. Donors have withdrawn

from education programmes in the area. Over 3,000 displaced families now endure dire conditions in Longewan, lacking essentials like food, water, sanitation, and adequate shelter. Livelihoods have been devastated, with farms and economic activities abandoned, and shared market centres vacated, severely impacting community trade and sustainability.

253. Residents face numerous challenges, including restricted access to socio-economic activities, limited social amenities, loss of grazing fields, shattered livelihoods, and constant fear due to ongoing attacks by raiders from Tiaty, despite a visit by the Cabinet Secretary for Interior in April 2023. Urgent, sustained efforts are required to restore peace and stability to the region.

254. The following incidences have occurred between January and November, 2023 within Longewan area: -

- (a) Armed bandits raided Lamuriaki village in Longewan trading centre and stole an unknown number of shoats and killed an innocent woman
- (b) Bandits attacked Lentarakwai village and killed a youth who was grazing his herd of cattle and stole all his animals
- (c) Armed bandits stole goats and sheep in Laparacho area and killed a Ltungai conservancy ranger and made away with livestock.
- (d) Bandits shot an old woman family at a close range in her home.
- (e) Armed bandits attacked Ntim-Nariwuo village and killed six youths, forcefully grazed their cattle at farms in Lmisigiyo, Lamuriaki and Ntim-Nariwuo villages and destroyed homes.
- (f) Bandits destroyed ranger camps in Kao (Ndonyo Empuiya) villages and Leparacho camps, and completely destroyed fences and Ntim Nariwuo ECD centre. A total of 305 goats were stolen from and driven towards Tiaty. All the stolen livestock are believed to have been driven to Tiaty.

255. The state of insecurity has led to: -

- (a) Loss of life and property with the youths and women being the most affected.
- (b) Displacement of the communities in Amaiya and Nasur sub-locations.
- (c) Loss of livelihood as agricultural activities in the entire Maiya location has been greatly affected.
- (d) High rate of school dropouts due to fear of being attacked in school.
- (e) Vandalism of basic social facilities and utilities namely; Amaiya irrigation scheme, Amaiya primary school and Nasur primary school.
- (f) No development projects in Suguta ward as all the communities in the area were displaced and the area currently do not have a member of the county assembly because they did not take part in the 2022 general election.

Measures in place to restore normalcy

256. The government, collaborating with civil society organisations, has played a crucial role in restoring normalcy. Despite these efforts, ongoing attacks and raids by bandits from Tiaty have been undermining peacekeeping efforts. ASTU has set up a camp in Longewan trading centre and has been instrumental in countering these attacks.

Challenges faced in the operation

257. The challenges faced in Samburu are: -

- (a) The Longewan community claimed some individuals from the Pokot community are not cooperative in peace talks. They take advantage of the peace meeting as a method to penetrate the Samburu communities.
- (b) Lack of cooperation by National Government Administrative Officers particularly the chiefs in Baringo County making recovery of stolen livestock difficult.
- (c) The vast and remote Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley serves as a haven for bandits to conceal stolen livestock. The lack of access roads and harsh terrain hinders pursuit and recovery efforts.
- (d) The Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley is vast and with no security agencies establishments and poor communication network.
- (e) Lack of air support for the security agencies has made the operation inefficient. The security forces deployed cannot pursue the bandits to their hideout without air capability and surveillance.
- (f) The ASTU camp based in Longewan has only one land cruiser which is not sufficient for the work due to vastness of their operational area. ASTU needs more vehicles to effectively deal with the banditry activities.
- (g) Lack of government presence as the available administrative units available are not operational as the assistant chiefs moved to safe areas.

Interventions put in place

258. The National Government, in partnership with the Samburu County Government, has recruited and trained NPRs. However, the number recruited is insufficient considering the vast area they are expected to cover.

259. The residents appealed to the Committee for crucial interventions to address the pressing security concerns affecting the communities as follows: -

- (a) Facilitating the return of residents to their homes in Amaiya and Nasur and implementation of robust security measures to ensure their safety and protect their properties and livelihoods upon return.
- (b) Relocate the ASTU camp stationed in Longewan center to the strategic point along the boundary between Samburu County and Tiaty to serving as a buffer and deterrent against cross-border crime.
- (c) Prioritize the rehabilitation of Amaiya and Longewan primary schools and revival of the vandalized Amaiya Irrigation Scheme as part of comprehensive social intervention efforts by the government to address the impact of banditry on education and community development.
- (d) Consider the creation of a new sub-county carved from the existing Samburu Central sub-county, aiming to bring security agencies and essential services closer to residents, thereby enhancing government presence and responsiveness to local needs.
- (e) Deploy additional multi-agency security forces equipped with MRAPs and APCs and drones for enhanced surveillance, bolstering security measures and ensuring effective monitoring of the region.

- (f) The government should intervene promptly to resolve boundary disputes between Samburu and Baringo counties, addressing a longstanding source of tension and insecurity.
- (g) Construction of security roads linking those connecting Longewan, Amaiya, Nasur and Malasso sub-locations to facilitate accessibility and rapid response by security personnel.
- (h) Establishment of a sub-county headquarters in Amaiya, along with police posts in Nasur and Amaiya sub-locations to improve security and government presence in the area.
- (i) Infrastructural projects funded by Tiaty East National Government Constituency Development Fund in Nasur and Amaiya sub-locations should be discontinued.
- (j) Flushing of bandits from Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley to prevent further criminal activities.
- (k) Recruitment and training of additional NPRs should be prioritized to complement the existing security officers and enhance community-based security initiatives.
- (l) Provide support and resources to the displaced Amaiya community to rehabilitate and resettle their farmlands. This could involve the provision of agricultural inputs, infrastructure restoration, and assistance in rebuilding their homes and livelihoods.
- (m) Establishment of Military training camps in the Amaiya to boost security and development in the area.

3.5.4 Lolmolog, Samburu Central

260. On 17th November 2023, the Committee visited Lolmolog Location in Samburu Central to evaluate the security situation. During this visit, residents reported their ongoing struggles with insecurity, which has significantly disrupted their daily lives and affected the broader Samburu West Constituency. The residents conveyed the following concerns: -
261. The residents of Lolmolog have endured severe consequences from the conflicts between the Samburu and Pokot communities. These clashes have resulted in significant loss of lives, livestock, and livelihoods, creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. This situation has severely impacted the residents' ability to enjoy their basic human rights and freedoms. Consequently, many residents have fled their homes and are now living in crowded villages without essential social amenities.
262. The challenges they face include inadequate access to basic necessities such as sanitation, food, healthcare services, and education for their children. The residents appealed to the government to restore peace in the area, enabling them to return to their farms and resume their socio-economic activities. Furthermore, they requested the creation of a new sub-county, Samburu West, and additional divisions to bring security agencies and national government services closer to the residents, thereby enhancing government presence and responsiveness to local needs.

3.5.5 Residents of Losuk, Samburu West

263. On 18th November 2023, the Committee visited Losuk Location in Samburu Central Sub-county to assess the security situation. Residents of Losuk expressed their concerns over the escalating violence between the Samburu and Pokot communities, stating that: -

264. Throughout last year, the area has experienced numerous cattle rustling and banditry incidents from the neighbouring Pokot community. These attacks resulted in the loss of lives, livestock, and the displacement of families. The violence forced the closure of businesses and the abandonment of agricultural activities, with many residents seeking refuge in safer areas such as Maralal town, Lesidai, and Loosuk shopping centres. Educational institutions, including Pura Primary School, have also been closed, disrupting learning and school programmes.
265. The Pokot community is exploiting the ongoing conflict to unlawfully encroach on and claim Losuk and neighbouring areas, disregarding longstanding county boundary demarcations. Residents appealed to the government for urgent intervention to restore security and normalcy in the area. They stressed the necessity of measures to protect lives and livelihoods, allowing them to resume economic activities and rebuild their lives.
266. The residents called for enhanced deployment of security forces and the recruitment of National Police Reservists in the affected areas to secure the community. They further recommended that security agencies conduct regular patrols and establish checkpoints along critical routes to deter banditry and protect civilians and their properties. Additionally, the residents proposed the creation of a new sub-county, Samburu West, with its headquarters in Losuk town, to improve security and the delivery of essential services to the local community.

3.5.6 Residents of Lesidai, Samburu West

267. On 18th November 2023, the Committee visited Lesidai area in Malasso Division, Samburu Central Sub-county, to assess the security situation. The Samburu Loip Alternative Justice System, a group of elders dedicated to resolving disputes through traditional mechanisms, submitted the following on behalf of the residents of Lesidai: -
268. The current security incidents began in June 2022 and have continued up to the date of submission in 2023. The conflicts, primarily involving banditry and cattle rustling, have significantly impacted the Samburu community. Many lives have been lost, including those of security personnel, and several individuals have been injured.
269. In February 2023, the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and National Administration issued an order designating several areas—Ltungai Conservancy, Longewan, Nasur, Lochokia, Lekadaar Escarpments, Lolmolok Caves, Pura Valley, Malaso Escarpment, and Suguta Valley—as ‘disturbed and dangerous’ in preparation for a security operation. The local communities in the affected areas of Samburu County complied with this order and vacated their homes. However, the anticipated security operation has not taken place.
270. As a result, bandits from the neighbouring Tiaty region have occupied these areas and continued their attacks on the local population. This lack of security presence has left the affected communities vulnerable and without the protection they were promised. In Suguta Ward, 17 people were killed and 24 injured; in Losuk Ward, 20 people were killed and 5 injured; in Poro Ward, 2 people were killed; and in Angata Nanyukie Ward, 9 people were killed and 6 injured. In total, 83 deaths and injuries have been reported.

Reported Incidence from January 2023

271. On 25th February 2023, a Principal Chief for Porro Location was ambushed and murdered by suspected bandits. On 24th February 2023, KDF soldiers were ambushed, and on 8th February 2023, the OCS Maralal Police Station and two other officers were killed, with additional soldiers injured. In recent days, bandits have escalated their attacks on innocent residents and law enforcement agencies, burning down schools, police vehicles, and other amenities.
272. On 15th October 2023, a GSU officer was killed and another injured in Pura area by suspected Pokot bandits. In the same area, bandits ambushed and killed a senior officer on 20th October 2023. The increasing boldness and aggression of the bandits are attributed to the availability of firearms.
273. In various incidents, a total of 2,836 cows and 3,663 goats were stolen. After complying with the government's order, residents were forced to abandon their farms and livelihoods, only to have their homes destroyed and their farmland used for grazing by bandits from the Tiaty region.
274. The residents appealed for the government to: -
- (a) Immediately deploy adequate security forces and resources to the designated 'disturbed and dangerous' areas to provide protection and security for the affected communities and the planned security operation be carried out without further delay.
 - (b) Provide immediate humanitarian assistance, including food, shelter, and medical care, for the displaced and affected communities who have lost their homes and livelihoods.
 - (c) Establish a comprehensive disarmament and rehabilitation program to recover illegal firearms from the bandits and provide alternative livelihood opportunities to discourage cattle rustling and banditry.
 - (d) Strengthen cross-border security to curb the movement and activities of the armed bandits into Samburu County.
 - (e) Compensate the affected residents for the loss of life, property, and livestock, and provide adequate resettlement and rehabilitation assistance to help them rebuild their lives and livelihoods.
 - (f) Improve the overall socio-economic development and infrastructure in the affected areas to address the marginalization and lack of opportunities that contribute to the conflicts.

3.5.7 Hon. Naisula Lesuuda, OGW Member of Parliament for Samburu West Constituency

275. On 30th November 2024, Hon. Naisula Lesuuda, OGW, the Member of Parliament for Samburu West, appeared before the Committee at Parliament Buildings and submitted as follows: -
276. For many years, the residents of Samburu and Tiaty lived as peaceful neighbours until 2005, when conflicts between the two communities began to emerge. The situation worsened in 2023, as the conflicts escalated from traditional cattle rustling to killings and the displacement of residents, seemingly driven by an agenda of territorial expansion by Pokot neighbours. The boundary between Samburu and Baringo is clearly defined according to the Districts and

Provinces Act, 1992, and both communities are aware of their boundaries. Thus, the contestation of these boundaries cannot justify the Pokot community's encroachment into Samburu County or the resulting conflict.

277. Banditry and cattle rustling in Samburu West have led to loss of lives, destruction of property, and displacement of communities, as documented in a report shared with the Committee. Residents have been deprived of their rights to life, security, and safety. Schools along the boundary in Samburu County, such as Amaiya, Longewan, Lolmolog, Losuk, Lesidai, Siambu, and Pura, suffer regular closures and vandalism, denying children their right to education.
278. While residents complied with the orders issued on 12th March 2023 by the Cabinet Secretary for Interior to vacate certain areas believed to harbour bandits, no decisive action has been taken by security forces, and bandits continue to terrorise the residents. The multi-agency team deployed to Samburu West faces equipment gaps, hindering their ability to respond effectively to attacks in the region's harsh and rough terrain. She thus urged that officers should be fully equipped to ensure a strong and visible presence that deters potential security threats.
279. Security agencies must escalate their intelligence-gathering and surveillance efforts to detect, prevent, and neutralise individuals or groups responsible for insecurity. The NPS and the ODPP should ensure the prompt apprehension and prosecution of those accountable for acts of violence, robbery, cattle rustling, criminal threats, or intimidation, sending a clear message that impunity will not be tolerated.
280. Regarding land ownership, DCI, NLC, and other pertinent agencies should investigate the correlation between land ownership and the wave of attacks, particularly along the boundaries between Samburu and neighbouring counties. This initiative is essential due to concerns expressed by community leaders and instances of mass displacement aimed at creating large expanses of grazing fields for other communities. She called for the reconstruction of schools destroyed by bandits and the construction of security roads along the Samburu and Baringo border to improve accessibility and response to emergencies.

3.5.7 Hon. Letipila Dominic Eli, Member of Parliament for Samburu North Constituency

281. On 14th March 2024, the Member of Parliament for Samburu North appeared before the Committee at Parliament Buildings and submitted the following: -
282. Samburu North is an electoral constituency in Samburu County, one of the three constituencies in the county. Covering 7,035.1 square kilometres, it comprises two administrative divisions: Baragoi and Nyiro. Over the years, cattle rustling has evolved from traditional practices into a dangerous activity, causing significant loss of life and property. This issue has persisted for more than thirty years. In February 2024, a Member of the County Assembly for Ang'ata Nanyokie in Samburu County was killed. The location of the incident is a plateau, with the lower side of the plateau, Malasso, being illegally inhabited by the Pokot community from Tiaty Constituency. This has caused unrest in both Samburu North and Samburu West.

283. In Samburu North, the conflict between the Samburu and Turkana communities has shown progress through dialogue. Incidences of violent clashes have reduced, and the communities have established some peace and truce. Although challenges remain, the communities are actively working together to find sustainable solutions and maintain stability through continuous dialogues 'chini ya mti.' This success is attributed to the political leaders from both Samburu and Turkana committing to peace.

284. However, a persistent challenge exists between the Samburu and Pokot communities in Samburu North, with reluctance to engage in constructive dialogue. Despite efforts to bring these groups together, mistrust and longstanding tensions have hindered progress toward amicable solutions. Addressing this impasse requires a renewed commitment from all stakeholders to facilitate meaningful and inclusive discussions to overcome the barriers to peace and stability in the region. Government intervention, through the deployment of security forces in the region, alongside community involvement and dialogue, has proven fruitful in Samburu North.

State of Security

285. In Samburu North alone, 19 people have lost their lives and 2,500 livestock have been stolen between February 2023 and March 2024. Insecurity has severely impacted the communities of Morijo, Soit Pus, Lorian, Angata Nanyekie, Lkujita, and Ngorika within the Angata Nanyekie Ward. Residents have fled their homes and sought refuge in makeshift shelters within Kirisia Forest, fearing for their safety due to threats posed by bandits from Tiaty.

286. The busy Baragoi-Maralal A4 road has become impassable, with bandits targeting vehicles, including matatus and those transporting schoolchildren, with gunfire. The MCA of Angata Nanyekie Ward was killed along this road. This region, known for its agricultural productivity, is distinguished by its settled communities who prioritize education for their children, in contrast to the pastoralist communities in other areas. Schools such as Nkabai, Angata, Nkirenyi, Silango, Lesoit Naibor, Nkorika, Soit Pus, and Ntarakwai collectively cater to approximately 2,000 children in these vulnerable zones.

Consequences of the Attacks in Samburu

287. Due to the security challenges along the Maralal-Baragoi road, travellers are unable to use this route. The transportation of goods, including food supplies, to Baragoi and Nyiro has been significantly disrupted. Insecurity has led to the closure of schools in the affected areas, and many people have been forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge in nearby forests. This situation is deeply concerning and requires immediate attention from the relevant authorities.

Causes of Insecurity

288. The primary cause of the attacks is to acquire and settle on the fertile, arable land in Samburu. These incidents are not traditional rustling; attackers target people on the roads and shoot them in their homes.

Short- and Long-Term Measures

289. The government provided relief food and plastic covers for temporary structures to people living in the forest. However, there are no security forces in the immediate area, with the nearest presence in Baragoi. There is an urgent need for security forces in the affected areas of Samburu West and for increasing the number of NPRs in the region.

Effectiveness of the Multi-Agency operation in the Area

290. The operation was not effective since the area that the locals vacated on the government directive has since been occupied by Pokot bandits in Samburu West.

Challenges faced in the operation

291. There is marginalisation of land and a lack of roads, rendering some areas impassable. Leaders have made empty promises, and the poor terrain along the valley, coupled with the lifestyle of the communities, exacerbates the situation. Additionally, impassable roads, inadequate facilitation of NPRs, and the availability of illegal firearms contribute to the ongoing challenges.

292. The Hon. Member recommended the following:- :-

- (a) Deployment of additional security personnel, such as police and military to the affected areas to restore a sense of safety and security for the residents. This should include regular patrols, intelligence gathering, and swift response to any incidents.
- (b) Safe reopening of schools and providing additional security measures such as fencing, surveillance systems and coordinating with community leaders to ensure the safety of students and teachers.
- (c) Facilitation by government for resettlement of residents who had fled their homes and beefing up of security.
- (d) Collaboration with community leaders, religious organisations, and civil society groups to understand the specific needs and concerns of the affected populations. This will help in developing tailored solutions and building trust between the government and the local communities.
- (e) Addressing the underlying causes of the security challenges, such as poverty, lack of economic opportunities, or unresolved conflicts, through sustainable development initiatives and conflict resolution mechanisms.

3.6 Turkana County

293. The Committee undertook a fact-finding mission to Turkana County on 18th and 19th November 2023. During the mission, the Committee visited the County Commissioner in Lodwar town, and also toured Lokori and Lokwamosing in Turkana East, as well as Kakuma and Lokichoggio areas in Turkana West.

3.6.1 County Commissioner Turkana, Mr. Jacob Juma

294. Turkana County is situated in north-western Kenya, bordered by Marsabit to the east, Baringo to the southeast, and West Pokot to the southwest. It also shares international boundaries with Uganda to the west, Southern Sudan to the northwest, and Ethiopia to the northeast.

295. The county is subdivided into eight sub-counties: Turkana South, Turkana East, Turkana West, Turkana Central, Turkana North, Lokichoggio, Loima, and Kibish, encompassing 21 divisions and 156 sub-locations. Turkana County is represented by six parliamentary constituencies: Turkana South, Turkana East, Turkana Central, Loima, Turkana West, and Turkana North, each further divided into 30 wards.

Status of Security in Turkana County

296. During the visit, the county was notably more peaceful compared to January 2023. Ongoing peace meetings involving neighbouring countries and counties, facilitated by NGOs, have been effective. Economic and social empowerment efforts, coupled with political goodwill, are showing positive results.

297. Police establishment can be summarised as follows: -

Sub County	Police	Police Post	Patrol Base
Kibish	3	2	0
Turkana North	2	4	0
Turkana Central	2	2	0
Turkana West	2	3	6
Turkana South	3	3	0
Turkana East	2	3	0
Loima	2	4	0
Lokichoggio	1	1	0

298. There has been a notable decrease in cases of cattle theft and highway banditry within Turkana County. However, incursions by the Toposa from South Sudan and Dasanach from Ethiopia persist in Lokichoggio and Kibish sub-counties respectively, driven by the search for pasture and water, leading to increased tensions. Ongoing multi-agency operations have successfully stabilized the volatile areas of Turkana South and Turkana East, with operations still ongoing. Despite these efforts, Turkana East and Turkana South remain susceptible to attacks and livestock theft from neighbouring West Pokot and Baringo Counties.

299. In Turkana West and Loima, recent incidents of cattle theft occurred in the Karamojong region of Uganda, involving clashes between the Jie/Dodoth/Tepeth communities and the Turkana, sparked by grazing activities of Turkana herders in Uganda. Ugandan authorities have responded by prosecuting over 40 Turkana individuals in court and confiscating their livestock.

300. The deployment of Kenya Coast Guard officers at Lowarengak in Turkana North Sub-County remains minimal, tasked with policing Lake Turkana waters. The DCI operates with fifty-three personnel and eight vehicles county-wide, supporting other agencies in investigating and prosecuting offenders. CIPU comprises one hundred and ninety-five officers

and nine vehicles tasked with safeguarding critical infrastructure such as banks, power lines, fibre optics, highways, and buildings across Turkana County.

Reported Incidences in Turkana County

No.	Sub- County	Number of Incidences	Deaths	Camels	Goats/ Sheep	Donkeys	Cows
1.	Turkana East	19	25	185	5178	210	64
2.	Turkana South	40	21	21	3715	14	21
3.	Turkana Central	6	4				20
4.	Lokichoggio	1	2			8	70
5.	Turkana North	6	4		40		
	TOTAL	74	58	280	10992	232	195

301. The schools that were vandalized in the county include Kapedo Secondary School, Nakuse Primary School, Kangakimak Primary School, Awarnaparan School, Lokwar School, and Napeitom School.

Causes and consequences of the conflicts and criminal activities

(A) Inherent ethnic hostility

302. Deep-seated ethnic animosity between communities significantly contributes to cases of cattle theft. The longstanding conflict between the Pokot and Turkana, as well as between the Turkana and Toposa, plays a major role in these incidents. For these communities, stealing livestock is seen as a demonstration of strength and a means of humiliating their adversaries. Such actions often provoke retaliatory responses from the affected community, perpetuating a cycle of violence and theft.

(B) Competition for pasture and water resources

303. Competition for pasture and water remains a primary driver of livestock theft in the region. The changing climate patterns in grazing areas have exacerbated this issue, particularly along the Kenya-Uganda border in Turkana West and Loima. Despite agreements on pasture sharing, some individuals within the communities exploit the presence of livestock nearby, leading to incidents of theft and raiding. These incidents often escalate into full-fledged inter-communal conflicts.

(C) Boundary disputes

304. Boundary disputes have escalated cases of cattle rustling, particularly along the Kenya-South Sudan border. The Toposa and Turkana communities frequently engage in thefts whenever they encroach on disputed territories claimed by both sides. Areas like Kokuro, Todonyang, Naita, and Lorumor have witnessed numerous incidents of cattle thefts due to these disputes. Similarly, ongoing boundary disagreements between the Pokot and Turkana in Kainuk and Kapedo have also fueled cattle thefts and raids. This is often driven by a desire to assert

dominance, with stolen livestock used as a means to deter perceived intrusions into contested grazing areas.

(D) Cultural practices

305. The Turkana share cultural practices with their neighbours from Uganda, Ethiopia, and South Sudan, such as the Jie/Dodoch, Toposa, and Meriile/Nyangatoms. Livestock holds significant cultural importance, symbolizing pride and determining social status within these communities. Raiding livestock from rival communities is often glorified as an act of bravery, and young men aspire to accumulate large herds of cattle as a mark of prestige. Moreover, the tradition of paying high bride prices in livestock motivates young men to engage in raiding to impress prospective wives and their families. These cultural norms incentivise involvement in livestock theft among these communities.

(E) Commercial interest

306. The commercialization of cattle theft is becoming increasingly prevalent among pastoral communities. There is a high demand for meat and hides, prompting some individuals to resort to stealing livestock for sale in slaughterhouses and livestock markets. Cases of cattle theft tend to rise notably when KMC sets quotas for purchasing livestock from specific areas during periods of drought.

(F) Breach of peace agreements

307. Several peace agreements, including the Lokiriama Peace Accords, have been reached among communities to promote peace and share pasture, particularly across international boundaries. However, these agreements are often violated, perpetuating ongoing cycles of raids and retaliatory attacks.

(G) Political interference

308. Political figures are supplying communities with firearms and ammunition to destabilize rival groups, contributing to the proliferation of illegal small arms and perpetuating cycles of revenge attacks.

(H) Consequences of the conflicts and criminal activities

309. This situation has led to livestock theft, illegal cross-border trade, including drugs, and the proliferation of small arms. Coupled with high illiteracy rates, these are the major threats along Turkana County's borders with Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Uganda. Peace and security among neighbouring communities such as the Toposa, Dasanach, and Nyagatom, particularly in the Elemi Triangle, has been unstable due to ongoing conflicts.

310. The porous borders have led to an influx of undocumented persons, with reports of human trafficking, especially in Kibish and Todonyang. These conflicts primarily revolve around resource-based disputes, particularly water and pasture, exacerbated when the River Omo floods into Kenya, providing nourishment for pasture during dry periods when livestock migrate to Kibish and Todonyang.

311. Poor road networks within the sub-counties bordering Uganda, Ethiopia, and South Sudan contribute to these challenges. Cattle rustling persists along the borders with Baringo and West Pokot, while poaching and deforestation are prevalent in Turkana South. Land disputes

along the shared borders with Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan, where the traditional occupation by the Turkana is contested, also fuel cross-border conflicts involving the Toposa, Nyangatom, Dasanach, and Turkana communities. The Elemi Triangle, a disputed area between South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia, remains a particularly contentious and dangerous no-man's-land.

Measures and interventions put in place to restore normalcy in the affected areas.

312. The Government has implemented the following measures to restore normalcy in Turkana County: -

- (a) Cross border peace initiatives using local peace committees and continuous cross border community peace dialogue forums/engagements and enhanced stringent measures by security agencies including but not limited to enhanced intelligence gathering along the border and continued sustained joint patrols.
- (b) Operationalize Suguta Sub County, Katilia and Kochodin Divisions and other gazetted administrative units in Turkana East. Multi-agency cooperation /engagements with KRA/customs, immigration, port health to curb smuggling of goods and human trafficking along the international borders. Activation of range management committees to enhance resource sharing.
- (c) An enhanced stakeholder engagement with partners from NGOs, Religious Organizations and County Government in peace building and mainstreaming engagement of youths, reformed warriors, traditional seers and women in security management.
- (d) Repairing of grounded vehicles to enable and improve mobility of Assistant County Commissioners in the divisions. However, more funds are needed to maintain the vehicles.
- (e) Aerial surveillance by Maliza Uhalifu operation in the North Rift to deter raiders and a security operation to eliminate cells/hideouts used by raiders who plan stock thefts.
- (f) Security screening using Biometric Information Management systems (for refugees and asylum seekers), and proposed BPU at Nakitongo and Nawauntos and gazetting them as official entry points.
- (g) Regular patrols by the Kenya Coast Guard within the lake areas has minimized the entry of unaccustomed goods to Kenya and regular engagement with NPRs to make them more proactive in preventing crime and discouragement of settlement within Turkana South Game Reserve to deter poachers.
- (h) Formation of peace committees with support from DRC (Danish Refugee Council). The formed peace committees along the border and at Kalobeyei settlement to handle issues affecting refugees and hosts community.
- (i) Community Elders from both Turkana and Pokot communities were mobilized and brought together to dialogue through facilitation by various peace actors from the National Government and Development Partners (non - State Actors e.g. NGOs in conjunction with all stakeholders in Turkana East).
- (j) The consultative dialogues led to the signing of ORWA, Kamuge and Napeitom Declarations and Peace Accords signed between Turkana and Pokot Communities

spearheaded by the established Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs). The CMCs were established in each location and was meant to champion peace building and conflict resolution including facilitating recovery of stolen livestock and instituting fines and penalties against anyone who breaches the accords and declarations. The CMCs have succeeded in recovery of 207 Pokot shoats stolen by Turkana raiders in Lomelo (December 2022) and 194 Turkana shoats stolen by Pokot raiders in Lokori in February 2022.

Social Interventions

313. The social interventions put in place by the government include: -

- (a) KDF in Turkana East are currently renovating/constructing social amenities within the sub-county that were recently vandalized by bandits.
- (b) Proposed social intervention is upgrading Kibish Primary School as a peace school if implemented will go a long way to sustain the peaceful co-existence.
- (c) Supply of relief food to enhance learner retention.

Effectiveness of the ongoing security operation.

314. In recent months, there has been a decrease in incidents of insecurity due to the efforts of the county security team and the Multi-Agency team. They have successfully addressed the underlying drivers of insecurity in Turkana South and Turkana East. The joint police-led operation, in collaboration with KDF, has significantly restored normalcy in these regions. Most of the recently stolen livestock have been recovered and returned to their rightful owners.

315. Turkana East and Turkana South are the only two sub-counties currently under security operations, as they border the volatile Baringo, West Pokot, and Samburu Counties. The security operation has also focused on building trust within the communities and responding effectively and promptly to reports. These efforts are embedded in a holistic approach that emphasizes partnership and community engagement.

Challenges faced in the efforts to stabilize the situation

316. The challenges faced in stabilizing the situation in Turkana county include: -

- (a) Harsh terrain /Vastness/Poor road network/Poor or lack of mobile communication network coverage - The conflict prone areas are highly inaccessible for quick security response whenever incident occurs. Additionally, the bandits reside in caves in the several hills within Nadome, Silale, Tiaty, Lomatong (Lochakula) and Napeitom/Kulal areas. This is difficult for use of normal police equipment to flash them out.
- (b) Lack of modern equipment and structures in the Formed Police units at Lomelo and Lokori just to mention but a few. The security personnel lack vehicles and adequate fuel for vehicles.
- (c) Lack of respect and honour to peace declarations agreed between communities. The Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMC) have no power and resources to punish any errant member of either community as per the agreements. A few local leaders from both communities see no need for peaceful coexistence between the two communities. They exploit the conflict for their personal gains. They also protect their bandits.

- (d) Delayed Medical Evacuations to officers that sustained injuries during attacks/ambushes for specialized treatments, lack of political goodwill by local politicians, high illiteracy levels among the communities. There are also overlapping administrative units in Turkana County with neighbouring sub counties.

Recommendations

317. To avert future land and boundary disputes between Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu, and Turkana counties, it is recommended that the Government conduct a survey and erect markers to clearly define the boundaries. A task force on boundary delimitation and verification should be established to oversee this effort. Additionally, different ethnic groups should be encouraged to live among other communities to foster peaceful coexistence.

Social Amenities Proposals

318. To improve the well-being of residents, it is recommended to provide access to clean water by drilling boreholes, establish health facilities and clinics to enhance healthcare services, and implement food security programs to address hunger and malnutrition. Education should be enhanced by building schools and protecting resources, including the KDF rebuilding of schools damaged by bandits, such as Kapedo Mixed, Napeitom, Lokidongito, and Nadome schools. Additionally, the grading of the C-13 Road from Chemolingot through Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lokori to Amosing should be prioritized.

319. NPRs play a crucial role in safeguarding community livestock and maintaining general security in the remote rural areas, given the vastness of the county. They protect herders at grazing fields and water points against predators, provide armed security to the kraals where both people and livestock are kept, and serve as the first line of defence in the event of a banditry attack until security agencies arrive. Their local knowledge of the terrain and ability to endure harsh weather conditions, being locals themselves, underscores the need to train and hire more NPRs.

320. The table below shows total and proposed number of NPRs in Turkana County

Total No. NPRs	Number Trained	Number In Training	Number Yet To Be Trained	Proposed Number of NPRs to be Added
1125	625	140	360	1090

321. For robust security management in Turkana, there is need for deliberate and focused effort in the following spheres:

- (a) Enlisting the good will of the political leadership both locally and across the international borders to forestall the cycle of acrimony and violence.
- (b) Boundary conflict between Turkana and West Pokot should be fixed once and for all. The boundary needs to be determined and be respected by everyone.
- (c) Deployment of the KDF along areas with our common borders.

- (d) Kibish and Todonyang: borders Ethiopia (Land was availed for the erection of a border post but up to August 2023 there has been no action).
- (e) Loima: Borders Uganda -There is need to have a permanent presence of officers in the Kenyan side to augment the work of the RBPU. Kasarani area in Turkana East, where land was also availed for common borders. Additional Special Unit camps to be deployed at Maruasi (Notorious corridor bandits use) Kamuge, Napeitom, Lokipoto (situated along the Kenya-Uganda)

3.6.2 Turkana East Deputy County Commissioner, Mr. Moses Wariungi

- 322. The Committee convened a meeting with the Lokori Deputy County Commissioner and the Sub-County Security Committee at the Deputy County Commissioner's office. The Committee was informed that: -
- 323. Since January 2023, nineteen incidents have been reported, resulting in 25 deaths and 9 injuries, with 185 camels, 5,178 goats, and 210 donkeys reported stolen. Insecurity and intercommunity conflict, predominantly in the form of livestock raids, are prevalent in Katilia, Lokori, Nadome, Lomelo, Napeitom, Kapedo, and Kamuge locations, primarily carried out by the Pokot. The Turkana have conducted raids in Kapau, Ameyan, Silale in Tiaty, and against Pokot families residing within Turkana County, as well as engaging in road banditry along the Chemolingot–Kapedo–Lokori (C113) road.
- 324. The sub-county, particularly Lomelo Division, frequently experiences raids and stock thefts from neighbouring sub-counties of Tiaty West, Tiaty East, and Pokot Central. Occasionally, the Samburu from Samburu North also raid the sub-county for livestock. Conflicts over control of pasture and water resources occur within Turkana East Sub-county, where Turkana and Pokot pastoralists clash in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lochakula locations. The ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre is contested by both the Turkana and Pokot, with each community claiming it and having administrative units named Kapedo.
- 325. Areas most affected by Pokot raids and attacks include Kapedo, Lomelo, Napeitom, Riet, Kamuge, Lokwamosing, Lopii, Nakukulas, Lochakula, and Kochodin locations. It is also notable that the Turkana conduct several stock theft raids in Tiaty West and Tiaty East, as well as in Samburu North sub-counties.

Causes of conflict

- 326. Intercommunity resource-based conflicts arise from competition for scarce resources such as pasture, water, and control of grazing fields. Prolonged drought exacerbates these scarcities. Livestock raids, predominantly carried out by the Pokot, occur in Katilia, Lokori, Nadome, Lomelo, Napeitom, Kapedo, Kamuge, and sometimes Lochakula. The Turkana conduct raids in Kapau, Ameyan, Silale in Tiaty, and against Pokot families residing within Turkana County. Banditry is prevalent along the Chemolingot–Kapedo–Lokori (C113) road.
- 327. Disputes over county boundaries are frequent between Baringo and Turkana Counties, West Pokot and Turkana Counties, and Samburu and Turkana Counties, with all communities contesting the exact borders. Clashes over control of pasture and water resources are common within Turkana East Sub-county, particularly in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and

Lochakula. The ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre is contested by both Turkana and Pokot, with both communities having administrative units named Kapedo.

328. Political warlords exacerbate tensions by arming communities, leading to destabilization and cycles of revenge attacks. The proliferation of illegal small arms and weapons further fuels the conflict. Cultural practices such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors contribute to violence, while stock theft driven by cultural and economic motives encourages the desire to restock herds depleted during droughts.
329. Violence in these predominantly pastoralist areas is driven by competition over land and natural resources, commercialisation of livestock raiding, traditional cultural practices, historical grievances, and the availability of affordable modern weapons. Any of these triggers can result in the displacement of entire communities.
330. In Turkana, land is communally owned, and conflicts arise when communities expand into others' territories or attempt to restrict access. These population movements are often triggered by external factors such as climate change and land degradation, prompting pastoralists to diversify their livelihoods and seek land for crop cultivation.

Challenges

331. The harsh terrain, vastness, poor road network, and lack of mobile communication network coverage make conflict-prone areas highly inaccessible, hindering quick security responses. Bandits reside in caves within the hills of Nadome, Silale, Tiaty, Lomatong (Lochakula), and Napeitom/Kulal, rendering conventional police equipment ineffective for flushing them out. Formed Police units at Lomelo and Lokori lack modern equipment, compromising their efficiency and effectiveness in the region.
332. The peace declarations agreed between communities are often disregarded, and the Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMC) lack the authority and resources to enforce penalties against errant members of either community. Some local leaders exploit the conflict for personal gain and have no genuine interest in peaceful coexistence. Those with political ambitions use the conflict for survival, showing lukewarm support for peace initiatives and obstructing peace pioneers, while constantly blaming the government for the insecurity and protecting their bandits from punishment.
333. Challenges in Turkana East include inadequate fuel for security vehicles, lack of vehicles for Assistant County Commissioners (ACCs), delayed medical evacuations for injured officers, and a lack of political goodwill from local politicians. Additionally, high illiteracy levels among the communities exacerbate these issues.

Recommendations

334. To address insecurity in Lokori Sub-County, the Sub-County Security Committee recommended as follows: -
 - (a) Recruitment of additional 100 NPRs, proper and objective vetting should be carried out, substantive NPR leadership and induction course for NPRs and Kitting.
 - (b) Establishment of NPRs strategic camps for centralised command, 7 camps proposed with at least 50 NPRs along attack routes. Deployment of additional specialized/formed

units at Napeitom, Amarias/Amarieth, Kachelanga (Lokwamosing), Kariwo and Ngikengoi (Katilia) and equipping the specialized units with modern equipment, armoured vehicles and Land cruisers. Additionally, provision of motor vehicles to ACCs and motorbikes to chiefs.

- (c) Increasing police strength- Adequate facilitation of the operation formed units with fuel and motor vehicles servicing and regular changeover of police officers - morale booster to police. Establish two proposed additional police stations at Katilia and Kapedo and one Police Post at Lomunyenakwan.
- (d) Operationalization of Suguta Sub County, Katilia and Kochodin Divisions and other gazetted administrative units and filling all vacant administrative units
- (e) Rehabilitation of Lokori and Kapedo airstrips and opening up of major access roads and security roads; Lokori – Kainuge, Kainuge – Kapedo, Kamuge – Nachola, Kamuge – Parkati. Upgrading to tarmac standard (C-13 Road) from Chemolingot through Kapedo, Napeitom, Lokori to Amosing.
- (f) Resettlement of displaced communities in Napeitom, Lochakula, Lomelo and Nadome. Construction of Kalokumi bridge across Kerio River to provide an alternative route to Lokori Bridge. Develop new strategic approach to peace building initiatives and registration of community land.
- (g) All peace actors should work under the strict supervision of Government and formalization of all community peace agreements and support their implementation.
- (h) Investigating politicians fuelling inter-communal clashes and arming communities. \
- (i) To avert future county boundaries and land disputes between Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana counties there is need to erect beams to mark the boundaries.
- (j) Provision of motor vehicles for Assistant County Commissioners and motorbikes to chiefs.

Proposed Social amenities and interventions put in place for communities

335. The grading of the C-13 Road from Chemolingot through Kapedo, Napeitom, Lokori to Amosing, and the rebuilding of vandalised schools such as Kapedo Mixed, Napeitom, Lokidongito, and Nadome by KDF.

Effectiveness of the ongoing operations

336. Frequent attacks have been minimized due to the heavy presence and patrols by the operation team. Successful recoveries of stolen livestock have been witnessed. Modern equipment and weapons, such as drones, have been provided to conclusively flush out bandits. Normalcy has resumed in most areas as security officers have taken full control of the disturbed and dangerous regions.

3.6.3 Suguta Professional Group, Turkana East.

337. The Committee held a meeting with Suguta Professional Group from Turkana East. The group submitted to the Committee as follows: -

338. The stability of Kapedo, Nadome, and Napeitom wards has been consistently undermined since the 1980s due to injustices and developmental marginalisation by past regimes. What began as cattle rustling has escalated into militia groups that kill and displace residents through burning villages and driving away livestock.

State of Security

339. All movements within Kapedo and Napeitom must be escorted by security personnel. Normal activities such as fetching firewood and children going to school require security escort. There are no public vehicles operating within Kapedo and Napeitom ward.

Security Incidences

340. From January 2023 to August 2023, there have been 26 security incidents reported in the villages of Kamuge, Napeitom, Kapedo, Moruangikokolak, Lomelo, Nadome, and Kakiteitei.

Causes and Consequences of Conflicts

341. The causes of the conflict include competition over natural and mineral resources, a discriminatory government disarmament programme, the formation of militia groups by Pokot leadership, and compromised security agencies. Additionally, duplication of administrative units along the Turkana border with Baringo County contributes to the conflict.

Consequences of the conflicts in Turkana East

342. The consequences of the conflict include internally displaced persons, fatalities, loss of livestock, restricted movement between settlement centres, psychological trauma for victims, destruction of public amenities and educational institutions, diminished academic performance due to teacher shortages, and cessation of operations by NGOs.

Recommendation

343. The group recommended the formal establishment of Suguta Sub-County through official gazette, deployment of NPRs and KDF to the affected regions, grading and clearing vegetation along the Chemolingot – Kapedo - Lomelo Road, and provision of security escorts by security agencies to civilians.

Challenges in Restoring Peace

344. The government's lack of commitment to resolving conflicts is evident in the delay in operationalising Suguta Sub County and discrepancies in understanding administrative boundaries between Turkana and Pokot communities. Infrastructure deficiencies, such as the absence of paved roads from Chemolingot to Lokori, hinder efforts to restore peace. Political interference in government initiatives and inadequate equipment, such as drones, for deployed officers further exacerbate these challenges. Concerns raised by Suguta professionals highlight the confusion surrounding KeRRA's approval of road projects extending into Kapedo/Napeitom ward at Ekipor, Nadome, Silale, and Katiir Sub-locations in Lomelo.

3.6.4 Residents of Lochakula Location

345. Lochakula consists of Kakulit, Lochakula, and Lokwamosing sub-locations, bordering West Pokot and Baringo Counties, where pastoralism is the main livelihood. The ongoing insecurity

in Lochakula location is rooted in historical injustices and developmental neglect, heightening tensions in the region.

346. The security situation in Lochakula location since January 2023 has been deteriorating, shifting from cattle rustling to land acquisition due to its proximity to two counties.

Security incidents reported as from January 2023 to November, 2023

Date	Incident	Outcomes	Response
3/2/2023	Raid	500 donkeys taken from Lokenoi no casualty	None was recovered
8/2/2023	Stock theft	35 camels driven From Ngipurio no casualties	Not recovered
13/2/2023	Nakujakwan raid	7974 goats taken 1 death 1 casualty	Not recovered
5/4/2023	Pokot raid	Lokwamosing No casualty	No livestock taken
26/10/2023	Pokot raid	Lokwamosing No casualty	No livestock taken

Causes and consequences of the conflict and criminal activities

347. Land competition in Lochakula Location is intensified by its border with two counties, each vying for land through tactics that induce fear among the local community, such as frequent raids aimed at displacing residents and asserting territorial claims. Given that neighbouring communities rely on pastoralism, they too seek land for grazing and access to water sources, often resorting to raids to achieve these ends.

348. Political interests further exacerbate insecurity, particularly in areas bordering other counties, where there is a push to expand constituencies. Instead of seeking solutions to insecurity, political agendas in rallies often incite fear among pastoralists to secure votes.

349. Moreover, Lochakula Location boasts abundant natural resources like gold, mercury, oil, gas, granite, and quarries, adding to the complexity of resource competition in the area.

Short- and long-term measures put in place to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas

- (a) Recruitment of NPRs at least 15 personnel in the 3-sub location to boost security of the area.
- (b) Pokots should be taken back to their land until both Administration (Pokots and Turkana) sit down and lay rules of entering either territory.
- (c) The IEBC and NLC to disclose the contentious issue of boundaries in Baringo County and Turkana County, West Pokot, and Turkana County to avoid encroachments of counties.
- (d) The Government needs improve road networks across all the main roads linking the warring communities for easy access and surveillance, that will enhance smooth

transportation of commodities and communication in the long run cases of banditry will reduce or come to an end especially in Kachalanga – Lokori. Kachalanga – Kaario, Kachalanga – Lowat, Lokwamosing – Kaaruko, Lochakula - Napeitom

- (e) The long-promised completion of construction of Lowat dam by Government to improve on food security production and access and reduce dependency on livestock production.
- (f) Deployment of RDU within Lochakula area at Kachalanga. The unit will serve the entire location and its neighbours.
- (g) Operationalizing of Lochakula Conservancy. These will not only benefit the host community but the entire Turkana East and the neighbouring counties in job creation, organizing cultural events that both communities will participate and social amenities as lodges will be constructed within the area.
- (h) Construction of a common market that will serve the 3 counties.

Effectiveness of the ongoing security operations in the areas gazetted as disturbed.

350. Rampant raids have been reported in the newly gazetted areas. We recommend the operationalization of Lowat, Kailongokol, Amaler, Lochakula, and Lotiruk as a Division.

Challenges faced in the effort of restoring peace and stability.

351. Political interest from politician hinders in restoring peace and stability for their interest in cattle rustling is bigger.

352. Poverty gives those with no livestock an option of raiding to acquire some for them to be recognized in the community.

353. Poor infrastructure. The perpetrators of insecurity live in areas that are not accessible by roads. This becomes difficult to preaching peace to them.

Social Amenities and interventions by the government to assist the affected communities.

354. Since January 2023 to November, 2023 there are no interventions of the government in any way to try curb the continued insecurity cases in the area.

355. The residents requested deployment of the Defence forces to settle at the identified place of Lochakula location to curb frequent movement of Pokot bandits into the area and also provide social amenities to the community as they promised like; construction of roads, provision of medical services as it has been done to Kapedo for the two areas share something in common.

356. Implementation of Lochakula as a Division by itself and placing all the administrative structures.

357. The residents requested also appeal to the office of the Ministry of Interior not to continue in engaging in too much talk in public (publicity stunts) on matters regarding security, but instead get down to work so that as Kenyan citizens we see immediate results. The Ministry should as well invest heavily in technical support for security professionals.

3.6.5 Hon. Nicholas Ngikor Nixon Ngikolong, Member of Parliament for Turkana East

358. Hon. Nicholas Ngikor Nixon Ngikolong, Member of Parliament for Turkana East, submitted the following before the Committee in Lokori Sub-County: -

359. Turkana East Constituency covers an area of 13,124 square kilometres and has a population of 138,000 according to the 2019 census. It borders four counties: Marsabit to the northeast, Samburu to the east, Baringo to the south, and West Pokot to the southwest. The constituency comprises two sub-counties, Turkana East and Suguta, the latter of which includes the recently gazetted areas of Kapedo/Napeitom awaiting operationalization.
360. The constituency is divided into seven divisions, of which only Lokori and Lomelo are operational. The other five divisions, Katilia, Kochodin, Lochakula, Napeitom, and Kapedo, are not operational. It has 20 locations, with 9 operational and 11 not operational, and 41 sub-locations, with 20 operational and 21 not operational.
361. Turkana East is plagued by perennial insecurity, leading to the closure and occupation of areas such as Lochakula, Kakulit, Kachalanga, Napeitom, Nadome, and Ekipor by the Pokot community, who claim ownership of these lands. The original inhabitants were forcefully displaced by sustained insecurity and massacres, resulting in significant loss of livestock, property, and human lives. Notably, on 1st August 2023, 11 people were burned at Napeitom, which is only 30 kilometres from Lokori town headquarters.
362. The loss of livestock, a primary economic activity in Turkana East, has led to widespread poverty. The entire constituency suffers from poor road networks and a lack of power in most parts.

Areas Affected	Number of Incidences	Number of livestock	Number of Casualties	Number of deaths
Katilia ward	6	22,789	4	0
Lokori/ Kochodi	22	23,812	16	4
Kapedo/ Napeito	25	9,035	15	9
TOTAL	53	56,241	35	13

Causes and Consequences of Criminal Activities

363. The deliberate creation of a boundary dispute between Baringo and Turkana East contravenes the Districts and Boundaries Act of 1992, which remains consistent with the original Act of 1963. These Acts clearly delineate the boundaries of the two counties using physical features such as rivers, waterfalls, and mountains. Political leaders incite disputes over these boundaries to gain political mileage and further their economic interests. Competition over natural resources, such as geothermal energy and other minerals in areas bordering Baringo County, exacerbates these tensions.
364. Illicit arms and ammunition cartels contribute to banditry, while the commercialization of livestock raids thrives due to a ready market in major towns like Kabarnet, Eldoret, Nakuru, and Nairobi. The absence of government presence in many parts of Turkana East, especially along the Suguta Valley, which is plagued by insecurity, worsens the situation. Government security apparatus often fail to act against criminals, bandits, and political inciters who kill security officers and Turkana pastoralists, thereby incentivizing banditry due to the lack of consequences for such criminal actions.

365. Additionally, the lack of communication networks and road infrastructure in certain areas hinders incident reporting and response. The Turkana community often delays or fails to report stolen animals to government authorities, impeding follow-up and action. There are also deliberate duplications of administrative unit names and the posting of government officials to areas within Turkana County, causing confusion and leading to land and boundary disputes.

366. These expansionist tendencies are detailed in the table below:

	Administrative Units in Turkana East	Administrative Units in Tiaty
1.	Kapedo Sub- Location	Kapedo North-Sub -Location, Kapedo West Sub-Location, Kapedo East Sub-Location and Naudo Sub-Location
2.	Patpat Sub-Location	Patpat Sub-Location
3.	Silale Sub-Location	Silale Location
4.	Nadome Sub-Location	Nadome Sub-Location
5.	Katiir Sub-Location	Kapau Sub-Location
6.	Kaasmanang (Nakoret) Sub-Location	Akoret Location
7.	Kamuge Location	Kamuge North Sub-Location
8.	Ekipor Sub-Location	Akwichat

Consequences/Negative impact of insecurity

367. The region has experienced significant turmoil, resulting in IDPs and loss of lives. Pokot communities have occupied Turkana land, leading to substantial loss of livestock. Fear restricts free movement between settlements, causing mental anguish among residents of Kapedo/Napeitom Ward. Public amenities, including schools and dispensaries, have been destroyed, leading to the closure of some institutions. Consequently, educational performance has suffered due to a lack of teachers and incomplete syllabi.

368. Insecurity has also hindered the operations of NGOs in Kapedo/Napeitom, now declared a red zone. The loss of livestock, the primary source of livelihood, has impoverished the local population.

Short- and long-term measures put in place to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas

369. There is a need to establish additional administrative units, including Suguta Sub-County and the Kapedo, Napeitom, Katilia, Kochodin, and Lochakula divisions, which are currently pending operationalization. Deploying NPRs is essential to bolster security efforts in the region. Additionally, grading and clearing the Chemolingot-Kapedo-Lomelo road will aid in restoring peace and normalcy. This infrastructure improvement will enhance access and mobility for security operations.

Effectiveness of the ongoing security operation in the areas gazetted as disturbed

370. No operational activities are currently taking place in Turkana East. The designated disturbed areas have not seen any improvement, as raids and killings of civilians and security personnel remain prevalent.

Challenges faced in the efforts of restoring peace and stability

371. There is a lack of government presence in the affected areas. Some communities have undergone disarmament while others still retain their firearms. The rugged terrain, familiar only to NPRs, who are insufficient in number to cover the entire region, exacerbates the issue. The poor road infrastructure and network in Turkana East hampers security responses when needed. Political interference disrupts government plans, including disarmament exercises and mop-up operations, which are often halted by politicians. Additionally, banditry actors are rarely prosecuted, perpetuating a cycle of impunity.

Social amenities and interventions by the Government to assist the affected communities

372. Repairs and construction of the perimeter wall and building structures have been completed at Kapedo Secondary School. However, similar interventions are yet to be carried out in other affected areas within Turkana East Constituency. More efforts are required to address the infrastructure needs across the region. The KDF have an ongoing rehabilitation program for schools in these affected areas, which is a positive step towards improving educational infrastructure and supporting local communities.

Recommendation

Proposed Interventions to Address Insecurity in Turkana East:

- (a) Clear demarcation of administrative boundaries in line with the existing Districts and Boundaries Act, 1992, to establish clear jurisdictions.
- (b) Deploy sufficient and relevant security personnel, including NPRs, in the areas negatively impacted by insecurity.
- (c) Resettle the displaced Turkana East IDPs scattered across Turkana County and other counties back to their original lands.
- (d) Deliberately recruit livestock owners as NPRs to provide security along the affected areas of Turkana East.
- (e) Rebuild critical infrastructure, such as schools, health facilities, bridges, and roads, by the County and National Governments, including through the involvement of entities like the Kenya Defence Forces.
- (f) Prosecute identified banditry actors to serve as a deterrent measure.
- (g) Subdivide Turkana County into at least two counties to ease the administrative burden and improve service delivery.
- (h) Engage all levels of political and administrative leaders from the North Rift region in collective efforts to pacify the affected communities across the border areas.
- (i) Mobilize and intensify grassroots inter-communal peace initiatives, such as games, joint market days, and cultural exchanges, to promote social interaction and reconciliation among the cross-border communities.

- (j) Conduct peace caravans involving political leaders, peace partners, County and National Government officials, professionals, community elders, women, and youth across the North Rift region.
- (k) Implement measures to enable development actors to operate within the affected 'red zone' areas and remove any barriers to their access.

Challenges

- (a) Rugged terrain which can only be understood by the local security arrangement. There is general poor road infrastructure and networks in Turkana east hampering security response when required.
- (b) Political interference of Government plans: disarmament exercises and mop up operations are usually stopped by politicians. Banditry actors are never prosecuted thus perpetuating impunity.
- (c) Few National Police Reservists to provide security in the entire Turkana East.

3.6.6 Lokichoggio Peace Education Organization

373. On 19th November 2023, they appeared before the Committee at Lokichoggio Sub-County and submitted the following: -
374. There have been eleven peace dialogues, fifteen inter-community dialogues, and six cross-border meetings. These efforts have led to the successful organisation of grazing patterns and proper rangeland management, recovery of livestock, properties, and lives. The communities now share information and coordinate effectively, maintaining relative peace. They have resettled communities in Kapetadie, increased water sources and grazing fields, and ensured timely coordination of information. Security patrols and deployments have been intensified in Nadapal, Kapetadie, Letea, and Oropoi. Through the committee's efforts, networks and joint peace committees have been formed, along with cross-border chief forums and a cross-border peace actors' forum.
375. Challenges include cattle thefts, attacks on security vehicles by Toposa militia, financial constraints for supporting border peace meetings, poor communication among key partners, lack of sustainable water sources during dry seasons, lack of a common market for livestock marketing, unharmonized protocols, language barriers, increased town crimes, commercialization of stolen livestock, increased raids, and cross-border political instability.
376. Opportunities identified include the construction of the A1 Road linking Kenya and South Sudan to promote trade, transport, and communication, and the rehabilitation of Lokichoggio International Airport, which will open up multiple opportunities for the area.
377. The committee recommends the deployment of a security system at the border, provision of infrastructure and social amenities, such as boreholes, water pans, and administration offices, to enhance safety. Additionally, initiatives like sports for peace, peace caravans, intergovernmental meetings, community dialogues, and the review of migratory routes will also boost security in the region.

3.6.7 Deputy County Commissioner, Lokichoggio Sub-County

State of the security situation in Lokichoggio Sub-County since January 2023 to November 2023

378. The Deputy County Commissioner for Lokichoggio Sub-County submitted as follows: -
379. The security situation in the sub-county has been relatively calm. However, certain areas have experienced cattle raids by the neighbouring Toposas from South Sudan, particularly in Nadapal within Lokichoggio Division and Kapetediye within Nanam Division. These incidents have caused significant harm and hindered development initiatives within the sub-county. Border disputes along the Nadapal corridor with South Sudan remain a major concern.
380. While incidents have been limited due to a multi-agency approach to security, stock theft between the Turkana and Toposas from South Sudan and Kenya has significantly reduced. Only two incidents were reported in September. In one, Toposas from South Sudan stole approximately 70 cattle from Kapetediye in Nanam Division, belonging to the Nakayama kraal. This matter is currently being handled diplomatically to ensure peaceful coexistence. In another incident, a South Sudanese individual was found in Lokichoggio, abandoned by unknown persons, and was returned through the coordinated efforts of the sub-county security committee and local peace committees.

Cross Border conflict corridors

Loteteleit

381. The area borders South Sudan, bringing the Turkana into contact with the Diding'a and Toposa communities living in South Sudan. It serves as a crucial grazing area during the dry season.

Nadapal corridor

382. The corridor houses KRA/Customs, immigration, port health, and the UN Transit Centre. However, the area remains disputed, with South Sudanese authorities claiming ownership of the entire region, including the grazing lands. The Toposa occasionally enter forcefully in search of water and pasture, leading to fierce conflicts with the Turkana herders residing there.

Nanam corridor

383. This corridor borders South Sudan and extends to Kibish, which neighbours Ethiopia. The Mogila Hills, also contested by South Sudan, are included in this region. Napakin, located in Mogila, was designated for the establishment of a KDF military camp, but this has yet to occur. The corridor also encompasses the Kapetadie Plains, known for their rich pasture and grasslands, attracting the Toposa and leading to banditry and clashes between the two communities.

Elemi triangle

384. This area is located in Lorau, bordering South Sudan and extending slightly into Ethiopia at the Lotikipi Plains. It is a potential conflict zone during dry seasons as the Toposa and Turkana compete for pasture and water.

Causes and consequences of the conflicts and criminal activities

385. The causes of these conflicts include, but are not limited to, limited resources such as pasture and water, cultural beliefs, lack of formal education, and the spread of rumours and propaganda by clan and kraal elders, who are typically respected by the local community.

Consequences

386. Consequences include loss of life, abduction of children, societal hatred, lack of development and infrastructure, and destruction of property.

Short- and long-term measures put in place to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas

- (a) Recruit NPR officers in every kraal to enhance security in areas affected by cattle raids.
- (b) Engage in cross-border peace initiatives with warring communities and provide sufficient resources such as water and road access.
- (c) Implement controlled grazing patterns and infrastructure development in remote areas.
- (d) Incorporate social amenities, including sports between South Sudan and Kenya, and conduct sensitization caravans on the dangers of cattle raids and rustling.
- (e) Ensure equal distribution of resources by the government to meet the needs of the local population, emphasizing education and coordinating with NGOs to promote well-being.

Effectiveness of the ongoing security operations

- (a) Operations have been effective since the government has deployed security officers along the border operating in multi-agency approach patrol.
- (b) Proper coordination of NPR officers who were manning kraals and quick response when there is occurrence of attacks.
- (c) Tracing of the stocks which were stolen and handing over back to the rightful owners.
- (d) Apprehension of offenders.
- (e) Those who were abducted are being handed over back to the owners by the peace actors.

Challenges faced in efforts of restoring peace and stability.

- (a) Different administrative structures in Kenya and South Sudan between the two countries makes it difficult to harmonize peace activities in the region
- (b) Poor infrastructure e.g. security roads for patrol.
- (c) Lack of mobility. The Lokichoggio DCC and the SCPC both have not been issued with Government vehicles thus affecting their mobility.
- (d) Cultural beliefs in the affected tribes
- (e) Influx of small arms along the porous borders.
- (f) Border/boundary dispute between Kenya and South Sudan. The 10km stretch between Nadapal and Nakodok is still in dispute although the matter is currently being handled diplomatically.
- (g) High illiteracy levels in the region
- (h) Migratory nature of the community due to scarcity of water and pasture.

Proposed Social amenities

- (a) Construction of water pans and boreholes along the border.

- (b) Building of health facilities within NADAPAL.
- (c) Promotion of trade e.g. construction of sale yard at the border.
- (d) Building of schools to promote education.
- (e) Working with peace actors and other relevant stakeholders to promote peace among the affected communities.

Measures put in place to address cross border conflicts between the Turkana of Lokichoggio sub county and Toposa of South Sudan

387. The measures include: -

- (a) MADA has established AIC women peace networks between Narus AIC Church and AIC Lokichoggio, empowering women to lead in peacebuilding through conferences and workshops.
- (b) MADA has established referral pathways for tracing and handing over abducted children from both sides of the border. Most recently, on **30th October 2023**, a child was handed over to the Toposa by SCSIC team. Church leaders from both sides also organize church crusades to preach peace as part of these efforts.
- (c) Cross border committees and peace ambassadors which engage Toposas and Turkana in peace workshops as recently held meeting was on 6th to 7th October 2023 in Narus South Sudan.
- (d) Integration of local peace NGOs /CBOs like Lokado and Lopeo for cross border peace meetings and negotiations for return of stolen livestock and abducted children.
- (e) Formation of grazing committees to adopt modern grazing patterns to avoid creating obvious targets of grazing along disputed Nadapal border point where conflicts and banditry take place.
- (f) Integration of social economic amenities at Nadapal where there is ongoing construction of hospital, livestock sale yard and water borehole which will be shared by Turkana and Toposas to bring cohesion.
- (g) Recruitment, training, and deployment of NPRs to man conflict prone areas like water points and to deter cross border entry with a view to stealing livestock.

3.7 West Pokot County

388. On **8th December 2023**, the Committee conducted a fact-finding visit to West Pokot County. Meetings were held with the County Commissioner, Mr. Apollo Okello, and the County Security Committee at the County Commissioner's Office in Kapenguria. Additionally, the Committee visited Cheptulel Primary School and Turkwel Power Station, where two barazas were held.

3.7.1 County Commissioner, Kapenguria

389. The County Commissioner submitted to the Committee as follows: -

390. West Pokot County covers an area of 9,169.4 square kilometres and shares borders with Elgeyo Marakwet, Transzoia, Turkana, Baringo Counties and Uganda. The County is divided into six sub-counties: Kipkomo, South Pokot, Pokot Central, Kacheliba, Pokot North, and West Pokot. It comprises four constituencies: Kapenguria, Kacheliba, Pokot South, and Sigor.

The county has an estimated population of 621,241 people, including the Pokot Community, Sengwer, Turkana, and other tribes.

391. Approximately 80% of the county is arid and semi-arid, while the remaining 20% consists of arable land suitable for crop farming. The county's economy is predominantly pastoralist, with a smaller percentage engaged in crop production.

Situation of the County from January to November 2023

392. The area under review has generally been peaceful, albeit with sporadic incidents of livestock theft and banditry. The county maintains a good relationship with Uganda. During the period, incidents of banditry and cattle rustling resulted in thirty-nine (39) deaths and twelve (12) injuries. Additionally, three hundred and fifty (350) goats and one hundred and twenty-three (123) heads of cattle were reported stolen, while one hundred and twenty (120) cattle and eighty-seven (87) goats were successfully recovered.

Causes and Consequences of Conflict and Criminal Activities

393. Several factors contribute to the conflict, including scarce resources, the commercialization of cattle rustling due to accessible markets, and the widespread availability of illegal firearms and ammunition. Boundary disputes along the West Pokot and Turkana border are exploited by politicians to fuel tensions between communities. Local leaders from conflicting communities also play a role through incitement, while cultural practices like demanding large numbers of animals as dowry exacerbate the situation.

Consequences

394. The conflicts and criminal activities have resulted in loss of life, disruption of livelihoods, closure of schools, hospitals, and displacement of populations.

Short-term and Long-Term Measures Put in Place to Restore Peace and Normalcy in Affected Areas

395. The government has undertaken several initiatives to restore peace in the county. These efforts include recovering livestock stolen by bandits, organizing joint security meetings and community gatherings, deploying NPRs in the region, and increasing multi-agency patrols in volatile areas, including schools along the border. Additionally, a voluntary disarmament exercise has been conducted, military patrols have been intensified in Kamologon Forest (Pokot South/Marakwet East), and the Lami Nyeusi/Nyeupe GSU camp has been established. Perpetrators, including bandits and their facilitators, have been arrested, summoned, and interrogated. Curfew orders have also been enforced in areas experiencing disturbances.

Long Term Solutions

396. The following long-term measures have been put in place: -

- (a) Disarmament exercise to mop up illegal firearms in the hands of civilians from the affected communities. Establishment of permanent security camp/units within the affected areas.
- (b) Alternative livelihood activities for the Turkana community like farming through irrigation.
- (c) Establishment of low-cost boarding schools and vocational training institutions along the borders in efforts to bring communities together.

- (d) Relevant government departments and institutions to embark on settling disputed land boundaries. Improvement of infrastructure, opening new access roads.
- (e) Establishment of pasture management committees along conflict zones. Re-activation of cross border peace committees to enhance peaceful coexistence among the warring communities.
- (f) Establishment of security camps in Ombolion area in Pokot North, Amolem and Chesogon areas within Pokot Central.

Effectiveness of the Ongoing Operation

397. Since the establishment of the GSU Camp at Lami Nyeusi and the deployment of KDF at Kainuk, there has been a noticeable reduction in banditry activities. Incidents of stock theft and highway banditry have also decreased, and a total of 49 firearms were voluntarily surrendered. Moreover, the presence of KDF has enabled the reopening of schools that were previously closed due to insecurity. For example, Turkwel Secondary School, which had temporarily shut down, resumed operations after GSU officers assured enhanced security measures. Local Pokot residents who were displaced by insecurity along the Marakwet East and Pokot South border have been able to return to their homes following the deployment of KDF officers in the affected areas.

Challenges in Restoring Peace and Stability

398. The effectiveness of security agency operations in the region is hindered by poor communication and road networks, along with inadequate access roads. Additionally, there is insufficient budgetary allocation and a shortage of security personnel. The ongoing influx of illegal firearms across the porous Turkana borders further complicates efforts to restore peace and stability.

Proposed Social Interventions by the Government for Affected Communities

399. The implementation of the school feeding program and the construction of schools funded through NG-CDF have been notable initiatives. Specifically, Sangak Primary School and Boarding School, funded by KENHA at a cost of KES 250 million, are under construction and will include a borehole for water supply. Additionally, the county government is constructing a border school at Akulo along the Pokot Central and Turkana South Sub Counties border. Furthermore, the County Government is also constructing Suruben Health Centre in Pokot Central Sub County.

3.7.2 Residents of Cheptulel, West Pokot Central Sub-County

400. On **8th December 2024**, the Committee held a *baraza* at Cheptulel Primary School. The residents submitted as follows: -

401. Mr. Joel Lormortom, a resident of Chesogon, highlighted the severe insecurity that led to the closure of six schools in the area. He urged for the deployment of NPRs to restore peace and emphasized the importance of setting up the agreed KDF camp.

402. Mr. William Lemumula expressed regret that while their neighbours continued with their lives normally, they were experiencing school closures and living in fear. He appealed to the Committee to ensure that normalcy returned to their area and that they received adequate support to settle back into their homes.

403. Mama Wilson drew attention to women and children who had been displaced from their homes and were now living in caves due to insecurity. She requested the construction of a fence around Cheptulel Primary School for their safety. Additionally, she appealed to the government to assist in resettling the affected people by providing iron sheets and blankets. Mama Wilson also highlighted the lack of healthcare facilities, urging for the return of a medic who used to serve at Alpollo Health Centre, with support from the County Government for this initiative.

3.7.3 Residents of Turkwel Gorge

404. The residents of Turkwel submitted to the Committee as follows: -

405. The area most affected includes Kochaluk and parts of Kalemonyang, which border Pokot North and Turkana South. There had been a longstanding peaceful coexistence characterized by shared grazing lands and joint gold mining activities among communities. However, recent attacks from both North Pokot and South Turkana have disrupted this harmony, exacerbated by the widespread availability of illicit firearms used in various attacks and retaliations.

406. The deployment of NPRs has indeed bolstered security but has also brought forth new challenges. Some raiders have taken advantage of the NPR presence by impersonating them, using this disguise to conduct livestock raids that result in loss of lives and vandalism of property. Additionally, boundary disputes have emerged, notably when CDF Turkana South built a school in an area contested as not belonging to them.

3.7.4 Hon. Peter Lochakapong, Member of Parliament for Sigor Constituency

407. The Hon. Member for Sigor Constituency informed the Committee as follows: -

408. Sigor Constituency, a region long plagued by conflicts with neighbouring areas such as Turkana South, Turkana East, and Marakwet, requires a comprehensive approach to ensure enduring peace and prosperity for its people. The root causes of these conflicts are deeply rooted in historical and socio-economic factors.

409. The nomadic nature of pastoralists, who cross boundaries in search of water and pasture without restrictions, often leads to tensions and disputes. Poverty, exacerbated by limited education and economic opportunities, drives some individuals to resort to raiding neighbouring communities as a means of survival. The influx of illegal firearms through porous borders further escalates violence and insecurity in the region.

410. Historical prejudices and misconceptions have perpetuated animosity between communities, fostering hatred and discord. Successive government administrations' failures to adequately protect lives and property, coupled with biased security interventions and uneven infrastructure development, have worsened the situation.

411. Personal disputes frequently escalate into communal conflicts, while political incitement during elections adds yet another layer of complexity to an already volatile environment. The consequences of banditry attacks have been dire, resulting in school closures, displacement of families, loss of lives, and destruction of livelihoods. The marginalization of the Pokot people has deepened, highlighted by the government's inadequate presence in addressing their needs and concerns effectively.

412. In light of these challenges, the following solutions are proposed: -

- (a) **Marginalization:** The marginalization of the Pokot community should be actively addressed through targeted interventions and resource allocation to improve their standard of living.
- (b) **Civic Education:** government should initiate civic education programs to foster understanding, tolerance, and unity among different communities, to form a common understanding.
- (c) **Livelihood Diversification:** The government should provide viable alternative livelihood to reduce dependency on traditional practices such as rustling and alleviate poverty, thereby reducing the incentive for conflict.
- (d) **Inclusive Governance:** Recognizing that administrative boundaries do not define community boundaries; all Kenyan citizens should be served equitably regardless of their location. Elected leaders must be actively involved in resolving conflicts and shaping security solutions, ensuring their voices are heard and respected.

3.8 Elgeyo Marakwet

413. The Committee conducted a fact-finding visit to Elgeyo Marakwet County on **10th December 2023**. Meetings were held with the County Commissioner and the County Security Committee at the Office in Iten town, and with the Governor in Aror in Marakwet West Sub-County and Tot in Marakwet East Sub-County.

3.8.1 Elgeyo Marakwet County Commissioner and the County Security Committee

414. The County Commissioner briefed the Committee that Elgeyo Marakwet County spans an area of 3029.9 square kilometres. It shares borders with West Pokot County to the North, Baringo County to the East, Trans Nzoia County to the Northwest, and Uasin Gishu County to the West. The county is geographically divided into three zones: the highlands plateau, the Marakwet Escarpment and Kerio Valley, and the Elgeyo Escarpment, each running parallel in a north-south direction and separated by the Elgeyo Escarpment. Administratively, it is divided into four sub-counties: Marakwet East, Marakwet West, Keiyo South, and Keiyo North, each comprising several divisions, locations, and sub-locations.

415. The county is home to the Keiyo and Marakwet communities, with minority populations of Sengwer and other smaller groups. Agriculture is the primary economic activity in the highlands, while livestock keeping, fruit farming, and nature-based tourism thrive in the lowlands. The security situation in the county has been precarious, particularly in the lower regions bordering the Kerio Valley where it intersects with Baringo and West Pokot counties. Conflict arises from competition for pastures and incidents of cattle rustling and banditry between the Marakwet and Pokot communities.

416. Initially, conflicts were predominantly between the Marakwet and Pokot communities along the Kerio River border. However, intensified security measures along the border led Marakwet bandits to resort to raiding within their own community. The delineation of Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, and West Pokot counties by the Kerio River, a permanent river, ensures boundary clarity without dispute. In 2023, armed conflicts resulted in 24 deaths, with 15 fatalities occurring on the Marakwet side and 9 on the Pokot side. Additionally, 109 livestock were

reported stolen, with the majority recovered. Authorities apprehended four notorious bandits from the Marakwet community, though others remain at large.

417. The apprehension of suspected bandits prompted retaliatory attacks targeting security personnel, including the burning of a National Police Service vehicle in Aror, Marakwet West. In a daring act, armed bandits stormed a hospital in Iten town to rescue a wounded colleague receiving treatment after sustaining injuries during a banditry raid. Insecurity has resulted in loss of lives, livestock, school closures, community displacement, and hindered socio-economic development. Two sub-locations on the West Pokot side bordering Elgeyo Marakwet have been abandoned due to aggression from Marakwet bandits.
418. To address the situation, the County Commissioner proposed the following measures: -
- (a) Recruitment and deployment of additional National Police Reservists to enhance security in the Kerio Valley and support the work of the police force.
 - (b) Deployment of specialized police units to the Kerio Valley instead of relying solely on general police duties to effectively address the region's unique security challenges.
 - (c) Enforcement of forceful disarmament exercise to confiscate all illegally held arms in the county and neighboring areas through a coordinated and effective operation.
 - (d) Establishment of mobile security camps to enhance security presence and response capabilities in strategic areas, thereby improving overall security measures.

3.8.2 H. E Dr. Wisley Rotich, Governor Elgeyo Marakwet County

419. The Committee made a courtesy visit to Governor H.E. (Dr.) Wesley Rotich at his office in Iten town. During the meeting, the Governor presented the concerns of the county residents, which include: -

Possible root causes of conflicts in the North Rift

420. Organized crime: - Cattle rustling was considered a cultural practice traditionally and was sanctioned and controlled by the elders. This was motivated by the quest for wealth accumulation through raiding of livestock.
421. Territorial expansion attempts: - The bandits attack across the boundaries of neighbouring community and after a successful raid; they occupy the place and claim ownership of the area. These are evident attempts to expand their territories.
422. Poverty, Illiteracy, Marginalization and Climate Change: - Many children especially in Tiaty Constituency are introduced to herding at a tender age hence most of them fail to join school. Moreover, weaponry is introduced to them at this age, and with nothing else to do, shooting becomes their sport. This becomes their life style of using weapon and raiding stock from their neighbour's.
423. Proliferation of illegal firearms: - The availability of cheap, small and light weapons has been a major contributor to the killings in the North Rift.
424. Laxity by Security Officers- Some of the officers serving in the region are often on disciplinary cases and are rarely transferred, thus lethargic to confronting the security issues in the area.

425. Political and Cultural motivation: - Local Politics contribute to a larger extent to banditry in Kerio Valley. The culprits must be well connected individuals. Politically instigated violence against communities by politicians for their own gains.

Recommendation to end banditry

426. Despite perpetrators being positively identified by the locals, they often evade justice and continue to raid and kill without consequence. The Governor proposed the following measures to address insecurity in Elgeyo Marakwet: -

- (a) Intelligence based disarmament to mop up the illegal guns in the hands of local residents. Give an amnesty to those ready to return the guns and engage them in identifying those who fail to surrender the guns.
- (b) Moving all police stations along the road to Kerio border areas for effective response to banditry
- (c) Immediate deployment of military to Kolowa Bridge to restore sanity and prevent the bandits from crossing over to Elgeiyo/Marakwet
- (d) Recruitment and training of more National Police Reservists.
- (e) Resumptions of peace talks in consultations with leaders and elders at the grass roots level.
- (f) Increased government presence in Tiaty by opening up police stations and new administrative units.
- (g) Deploying military drones for surveillance to assist security agencies monitor criminal activities.
- (h) Identify arrest and prosecute all bandits to end the culture of impunity
- (i) Increase resource allocation to all security agencies operating in Kerio Valley to ensure swift response
- (j) The neighbouring counties, Baringo, West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet to establish Security, Peace and Reconciliation Departments in their counties to coordinate peace efforts in the region
- (k) All political leaders to desist from inciting their communities and those found culpable should face the full force of the law including political sanctions.
- (l) Harsh penalties will deter the members of community, especially the youths from engaging in banditry.
- (m) Opening up of roads in Keiyo Valley.

Long Term Measures to Address insecurity in Elgeyo Marakwet

- (a) Military operations to flush out the bandits in the area.
- (b) The government should introduce mandatory schooling for all children below 18 years in Tiaty Constituency to improve literacy levels
- (c) Establish more administration units to have a sub-County in Kerio Valley, additional locations and sub locations should be considered.
- (d) Sensitisation on viable economic activities like dairy farming, horticulture, irrigated agriculture along Kerio Valley.
- (e) All land in Kerio Valley belt should be adjudicated and subsequent issuance of title deeds along the entire Kerio Valley, Baringo, West Pokot and Elgeyo Marakwet

- (f) Introduction of fully integrated boarding schools in areas with low school enrolment especially Tiaty Constituency, and deployment of more teachers to the region while improving their welfare to ensure retention
- (g) The Government to provide a safe and enabling environment for donors, development partners, religious groups to initiate mind-set and behavioural change in the region, followed by worship areas, schools, water points and health centres
- (h) Introduction of micro-chip for all livestock to ease monitoring livestock, like the one used in Botswana
- (i) Commencement and implementation of a Marshall plan that will address developmental gaps in the region
- (j) Industrial and light industries to create employment and engage the idle youth. There is need to also rehabilitate the reformed bandits
- (k) The communities should be integrated on shared resources like schools, programs for harmony
- (l) Establishment of irrigation schemes along Kerio Valley to provide an alternative source of livelihood to communities living along Kerio Valley away from engaging in Pastoralism which fuels banditry
- (m) To enhance reconciliation in the communities' there is need for compensation of property, livestock and lives lost in banditry.

3.8.3 Mohamed D. Maow the Deputy County Commissioner, Marakwet West Sub-County and the County Security Committee,

427. The Committee visited Aror in Marakwet East on **10th December, 2023**, to evaluate the security situation in Aror Sub-County. They held meetings with Mr. Mohamed D. Maow, the Deputy County Commissioner, at Aror in Marakwet East Sub-County, along with the Sub-County Security Committee and residents of Aror. The Deputy County Commissioner provided the following submission: -

428. In Marakwet East Sub-County, divisions such as Tot, Tirap, Chesongoch, and Kapyego have been plagued by incidents of cattle rustling and banditry. There has been a noticeable decrease in such criminal activities. Recoveries of stolen livestock have been achieved, and several bandits have been apprehended.

On the number of incidences from January 2023

429. There have been a total of 38 incidents reported, with 21 occurring in Tot division, 6 in Chesongoch, and 11 in Kapyego. The number of livestock stolen remains unknown, but 25 animals were successfully recovered. Additionally, there were 35 fatalities reported. Currently, there are 209 NPRs deployed in Marakwet East.

Causes and Consequences of the Conflict and Criminal Activities

430. The conflicts in Marakwet West stem from several factors: -

- (a) Proliferation of firearms and inadequate security roads in prone areas, coupled with insufficient resources for the National Gun Owners Association (NGAO).
- (b) Resource-based conflicts exacerbated by challenging terrain and inaccessibility of areas like Kamologon in Embotut Forest.

- (c) Lack of commitment from community members to share intelligence, coupled with unattended animals in grazing fields along the borders, leading to frequent theft of livestock.

Some of the consequences are:

431. People in the region have been displaced and their economic activities have been disrupted, are loss of lives and livelihood.

Short term Measures

- (a) Frequent and sustained cross border peace and security engagements/meetings and enhanced intelligence sharing with prompt actions.
- (b) Enhance of surveillance by use of drones by GSU and KDF and intensifying patrols.
- (c) Compensation of families affected by banditry and enhancement of peace elders/grazing committees in alighting members of the public.

Long term Measures

432. The Deputy County Commissioner and the Sub-County Security Committee recommended the following interventions to tackle insecurity in Marakwet West: -

- (a) Implementation of a structured disarmament program for civilians in the region with a focus on dialogue and community engagement, rather than forceful measures.
- (b) Enhanced supervision and oversight of NPRs to ensure compliance with standard operating procedures and accountability in their activities.
- (c) Coordination of joint police patrols and the establishment of additional GSU, ASTU, and NPS posts along the borders. Additionally, setting up a KDF camp at the Kaben-Cheptulel border to enhance security presence in the area.
- (d) Prioritization of the construction of security roads on both the Marakwet and West Pokot sides, alongside the apprehension of known criminals to enhance law enforcement efforts.
- (e) Allocation of vehicles to ACCs along the Kerio Valley to improve their operational effectiveness and response capabilities.
- (f) Assignment of police officers to Chiefs to support efficient service delivery at the grassroots level and strengthen community-police relations.
- (g) Streamlining the payment process for NPRs to ensure prompt compensation, boosting their morale and dedication to their roles in maintaining security and peace in the region.

Effectiveness of the operation

433. The current operation has shown significant effectiveness in addressing security challenges in the sub-county. There has been a notable reduction in cattle rustling and banditry activities since its inception. Improved interactions and business engagements between the Marakwet and Pokot communities at Kolowa market in Tiaty West indicate a restored trust between them. The successful recovery of stolen livestock and the apprehension of notorious bandits have played a crucial role in stabilizing the area. Regular patrols by the KDF have also been instrumental in restoring peace and enhancing security measures in the region.

Challenges faced the efforts to normalize the situation

434. The security efforts have encountered several challenges, including the proliferation of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure such as roads in high-risk areas, insufficient resources for National Government Administrative Officers, community hostility towards security agencies, and instances where community members shield criminals, which hinders law enforcement efforts.

3.8.4 Residents of Aror, Marakwet West

435. Aror residents informed the Committee that the Marakwet and Pokot communities are neighbours in the Kerio Valley, separated by the Kerio River, which also acts as the boundary between Elgeyo Marakwet and Baringo counties. Persistent conflicts between these communities are primarily triggered by cattle rustling and competition for resources, especially access to fertile pastures on the Marakwet side. During the dry season, when pastures dwindle on the Baringo side, Pokots often cross into Marakwet lands, leading to conflicts over grazing rights.

436. Other factors exacerbating these conflicts include the proliferation of illicit firearms, low levels of literacy, cultural practices that glorify cattle rustlers, and the commercialization of cattle rustling. Criminal activities and livestock theft are common from both sides, often resulting in retaliatory attacks. In some instances, criminals from both communities collaborate to steal livestock from each other.

437. One of the deadliest incidents was the Murkutwo massacre, where a large group of armed Pokots invaded several Marakwet villages, resulting in numerous fatalities. In another tragic incident in January 2023, suspected Pokot bandits killed a group of schoolchildren in a horrifying attack. These conflicts in the Kerio Valley have inflicted prolonged suffering on the residents, leading to loss of lives, destruction of homes, theft of livestock, displacement of people, abandonment of farms, sudden closure of schools, increased school dropouts, stalled development projects, and widespread poverty.

438. The killings by the bandits appear to be meticulously planned, driven by a clear agenda to expand their territory towards Elgeyo Marakwet. This trend is alarming, as pastoralist communities traditionally avoid targeting women and children. However, the bandits have now resorted to indiscriminate killings, sparing no one. The Marakwet community blames the government for failing to protect them, fostering apprehension and resentment towards government security forces. In self-defence, some community members have resorted to acquiring weapons.

439. To restore peace and calm in the Kerio valley, the residents recommended that:

- (a) Implementing a disarmament exercise in the Kerio Valley.
- (b) Increasing government security personnel and establish additional police posts at border points between Marakwet and Baringo.
- (c) Provision of security to chiefs and assistant chiefs who are targeted by bandits from both sides for reporting criminal activities.
- (d) Strengthening of peace-building committees to promote harmony between the two communities.

- (e) Reviving the Kerio River irrigation scheme to engage youth in productive economic activities.
- (f) Recruit more National Police Reservists and provide them with appropriate remuneration.

3.8.5 Deputy County Commissioner, Marakwet East Sub-County

440. On **9th December 2023**, the Committee convened with the Deputy County Commissioner and residents of Tot Sub-county. During the meeting, the Deputy County Commissioner briefed the Committee that: -

441. Marakwet East Sub-County comprises four divisions aligned with wards, 23 locations, and 53 sub-locations. It borders West Pokot and Tiaty in Baringo County. Conflict involves the Marakwet and Pokot communities, notably impacting Tot, Chesegeon, and Kapyego with persistent insecurity due to frequent incidents of cattle theft and banditry. This cycle triggers retaliatory attacks, leading to loss of lives, livestock, displacement, and school closures on both sides of the border.

442. To address these challenges, the government has deployed NPS, ASTU, GSU, and 222 NPRs to affected areas. Tot has historically experienced cattle rustling, banditry, and inter-community conflicts due to resource competition and widespread firearms.

443. Efforts to enhance security include operations by security agencies to disarm civilians, apprehend criminals, and increase patrols. Despite progress, challenges persist such as firearm availability, inadequate security infrastructure, limited resources, community distrust of law enforcement, and local support for criminals.

444. Recent operations have yielded positive outcomes, including reduced cattle rustling incidents, improved community relations, and successful apprehension of notorious bandits. In Tot, 11 cattle rustling incidents resulted in 9 deaths and 329 stolen animals attributed to bandits from Tiaty.

Causes of Conflicts

445. Forceful intrusion by livestock herders in search of pastures, territorial expansion, possession of illegal firearms, traditional cultures and beliefs, theft as a source of wealth, high bride prices, low prioritisation of education, and high poverty rates are key issues affecting the region.

Consequences

446. The region experiences loss of lives and property, family displacement, a high rate of orphans, widows, and widowers, poverty, high student dropout rates at all educational levels, and low development rates.

Short term Measures

447. The Deputy County Commissioner recommended the following measures to address insecurity in the Kerio Valley: -

- (a) Disarmament and confiscation of illegal firearms from the hands of the public.

- (b) It is vital to emphasize the importance of community respect for boundaries, which can help mitigate conflicts.
- (c) Construction of security roads in security-prone areas to enhance law enforcement capabilities and response times.
- (d) Increased patrols along the Kerio Valley River boundary to prevent incursions and illegal activities.
- (e) Implementing a school feeding program, rehabilitating schools to encourage enrolment in schools and provision bursaries to students in the affected regions to minimize school drop outs.
- (f) Resettling displaced families are key interventions for community development and stability.
- (g) Providing compensation to affected individuals will help address grievances and promote reconciliation within the community.
- (h) Declaring banditry as a terrorist act can strengthen legal frameworks and enhance efforts to combat criminal activities effectively.

Long-term Measures

448. Some long-term measures to promote peace and development in the region include: -

- (a) Implementing irrigational schemes along the Kerio Valley River to boost agricultural productivity and enhance food security.
- (b) Establishment of a university Kerio Valley to provide higher education and empower local communities with knowledge and skills..
- (c) Building joint boarding schools along the Kerio Valley boundaries to foster inter-community interactions and promote education as a tool for peace-building.
- (d) Construction and maintenance of existing airstrips for improved transportation and access to remote areas.
- (e) Arrest and prosecution of bandits to deter criminal activities and uphold the rule of law. f. Construct security camps along the Kerio Valley river to enhance surveillance, response capabilities, and overall security measures in the region.

Challenges

449. The challenges of normalizing the situation in the Kerio Valley include: -

- (a) Limited resources and funding for security operations in remote areas.
- (b) Lack of cooperation and coordination between government agencies, community leaders, and security forces.
- (c) Resistance and lack of support from some community members for security initiatives.
- (d) High levels of poverty and unemployment, leading to increased vulnerability to criminal activities.
- (e) Limited access to education and awareness programs on security and crime prevention.
- (f) Corruption and impunity among law enforcement officials, leading to mistrust and lack of confidence in the justice system.

3.8.6 The Chairperson of Marakwet Council of Elders

450. The Chairperson of Marakwet Council of Elders submitted that the longstanding conflicts between the Marakwet and Pokot communities date back to 1969 when tensions first arose in Chesogon. After a period of peace, individuals from both communities acquired firearms. Bandits from Pokot West and Tiaty regions, situated across the Kerio River, frequently cross into Marakwet territory to steal livestock, prompting retaliatory actions from the Marakwet, turning the valley into killing fields.
451. The conflict stems from a boundary dispute, with the Pokot asserting a claim that their territory extends 100 kilometers beyond the recognized boundary of the Kerio River into Marakwet land. Political incitement, rampant livestock theft, and competition over pasture further exacerbate the situation, as Pokot herders cross into Marakwet lands to graze their livestock on farms and crops.
452. The incessant cattle raids have had a severe impact on the Marakwet community, compelling them to relocate to the escarpment for better vigilance against bandits from West Pokot and East Baringo. These bandits target areas like Chesetan, Chesuman, and the larger Endo, creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. The constant threat of raids disrupts the daily lives of the Marakwet people, leading to the complete shutdown or partial closure of schools and forcing many families to relocate to safer areas.
453. To address the conflict, the Chair of the Council of Elders of Marakwet recommended several key measures, including enhancing the capacity of peace committees to effectively mediate between the two communities, conducting a comprehensive disarmament exercise, compensating affected families, and offering psychosocial support to those impacted by the conflict.

3.9 Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

454. On **9th March 2024**, the Chairperson of the KNCHR appeared before the Committee to present a report titled 'Mending the Rift'. The report detailed an inquiry conducted by the Commission into the perennial insecurity among the resident communities of Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, West Pokot, and Baringo Counties. The Chairperson submitted as follows: -
455. The causes of conflict in the North Rift are: -
- (a) **Introduction of guns in the region** – In the past raiders used traditional weapons such as bows and arrows however, the acquisition of guns has led to increased and violent inter community raids with devastating consequences.
 - (b) **Cultural practices** - The traditional cattle rustling practice of raiding livestock is a cultural culture for most pastoralists in Northern part of Kenya. This has made it difficult to address since the communities do raids for their traditional use.
 - (c) **Commercialization of cattle rustling** - There was a consensus among the witnesses that rustled livestock were sold in Nairobi, Nyahururu, Mogotio, Nakuru and Uganda. It was noted that the commercialization of rustled livestock is undertaken by a cartel involving herders, rustlers, and business people with the support of politicians, state counsels and government administrators.

- (d) **High Bride Price** - The high bride price in the form of livestock paid in the region is also a cause for rustling. Pokot young men ready to marry are overstretched and have to use all means available to obtain cattle to fulfil the social obligation.
- (e) **Political Incitement** - Resolving tribal clashes in the region was unending due to agitations by some elected local leaders who contribute to disharmony for political advantage. According to most witnesses, Baringo and Turkana are the main counties where politicians are accused of incitement. An instance was mentioned in Tiaty Constituency in Baringo County that has had six members of Parliament since independence and political incitement and intensity of violence is tied to the election of some members. Some witnesses submitted that the voters were promised pastures for grazing which essentially means avenues for cattle rustling.
- (f) **Administrative boundaries making and remaking** - The boundaries which are now a source of conflict in the region were clearly marked and each county and ethnic group were shown their respective boundaries. However, the attempts to make and remake these boundaries has resulted to hostility among the ethnic groups.
- (g) **Overlap of Administrative boundaries** - The Chiefs in all the contested areas administer same people but report to their ethnic counties, and this anomaly created and perpetuated the Executive arm of Government with connivance of politicians. The disputed boundaries are Mukutani, Loruk, Amayia, West Pokot and Marakwet.
- (h) **Shrinkage of shared pastures and water sources** - The increasing scarcity of pasture and water in these regions and the ensuing competition for these scarce resources. In North Rift Region pastures tend to be more along the Pokot- Turkana boundary, Wei-wei Turkwel River. More pastures tend to be found Kenya- Uganda border and Turkana North, Kibish areas provide good pastures. In Baringo County, pastures found in Silale Mountains and in Mukutane-Arabal, shores of Lake Baringo which also provide reliable sources of water from Mukutani and Arabal Rivers. The Pokot induced conflict in Mukutani and Kiserian, the Pokot-Tugen conflict in Arabal and the Tugen Ilchamus conflict in Sandai are more of pasture conflict occasioned by climate change.
- (i) **Inadequate Deployment of Security Personnel** - Records indicate that there are far too few police officers in these areas with the police civilian ration in the North Rift region been recorded at 1:4,624 compared to the national ratio of 1:380 and the global requirement standard of 1:568. The statistics show that 98% of the areas in the north rift are not under national security
- (j) From Silale to Amer (61.5 km) there is no police presence. From Kainuk to Loiya (105km) there is only one police post. The entire Baringo- Samburu boundary has no police presence or government presence.

456. The Impact of the Conflict include: -

- (a) During this conflict teacher who are not from the local communities do not return to the schools. Very few TSC teacher are employed in the conflict and insecure zones, untrained teachers take up the tasks and hence the low quality of teaching

- (b) Majority of the people in the affected region have not newspaper, television, mobile network, no internet due to lack of infrastructure.
- (c) The state of insecurity in the region has negatively affected the enjoyment of high attainable standards of health.
- (d) North Rift Region has many persons with disabilities, this is due to the gunshots during raids. A total of thirty-five (35) witnesses had disabilities from gunshots. Most male victims were former NPRs. Most of the PWDs had no knowledge of the requirement to register with the Department of Social Services to access support.
- (e) Hundreds of houses had been burned, businesses abandoned, thousands of livestock stolen, farms destroyed, and abandoned, irrigation infrastructure damaged, water courses diverted and hundreds of bee hives stolen or destroyed.

Recommendations

457. To address the insecurity situation in the North Rift, the Commission recommended as follows: -

- (a) State officials to take responsibility for Human Rights violations by making public apology to those affected.
- (b) A comprehensive disarmament/removal of illegal guns from the civilian population to be undertaken concurrently in all affected areas.
- (c) The government to involve East African Community and IGAD in the disarmament exercise as it has a strong regional dimension.
- (d) There is need for a concerted program to settle the IDPs.
- (e) There is need to set up a Fund to compensate the victims of cattle rustling and a comprehensive Program of Psychological support to be rolled out.
- (f) Post police officers to be close to schools to ensure continuous safety of teachers and pupils and set up an Educational fund to support children whose families have been affected. Construction of boarding schools to reduce high rates of high school drop outs, post enough number of teachers to schools and all schools to be properly fenced.
- (g) Feeding programs should also be introduced in schools, and enforce Education Act through persuasion. Introduce peace clubs and connector schools in the affected region.
- (h) In policing, there is need for smart deployment in strategic areas along the boundaries, police should uphold the rule of law and avoid taking orders from politicians.
- (i) Adequate staffing in each camp, ASTU, police post etc, increase fuel allocation to the officers, deploy officers to health facilities and Chiefs to be assigned administration police and control NPRs in their locations
- (j) There is need to construct shared infrastructure in boundary areas, schools, health centers, markets. Tugen - Pokot, Pokot - Turkana, Pokot - Ilchamus, Pokot - Maraket, Pokot - Samburu. Access roads to be constructed in the currently inaccessible areas that are vulnerable to the conflict. This is with a focus on, East Pokot, Mukutani War, Nadome, Ombion, Masol, and the general Turkwell – Weiwei Corridor.
- (k) Encourage of regular inter-community meetings on peace building through District Peace Committees and Council of Elders Committees.

- (l) Improve penetration of network in many parts of North Rift, to boost coordination and increased information flow for better security.
- (m) Need to have a systematic approach that is to be used for communities/herders seeking pastures and water.
- (n) There is need to promote alternative source of livelihood in the entire North Rift region, crop farming, dairy farming.
- (o) There is need to support reformed bandits.
- (p) There is need to develop a clear mechanism for application, vetting, recruitment deployment of NPRs.
- (q) Investigate and prosecute persons adversely mentioned in the conflict.
- (r) The administrative boundaries overlap between West -Pokot, Turkana, Baringo – Turkana, Baringo and Samburu to be resolved.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ISSUES FOR DETERMINATION

458. The issues for determination are as per the terms of reference set out for the purposes of the inquiry and are as follows-

- (a) To assess the state of security situation in the affected counties.
- (b) To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis.
- (c) To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas.
- (d) To identify challenges faced in stabilization of the situation
- (e) To formulate recommendations to address the security challenges in the region.

The Committee determines the issues as follows-

4.1 To assess the state of security situation in the affected counties

459. The North Rift region is experiencing ongoing insecurity due to persistent cattle rustling and banditry. These bandits have escalated their attacks on residents, security personnel, government facilities, and motorists, leading to significant displacement, property damage, vandalism of schools, and a decline in economic activity, thereby posing a serious security challenge.

458. In Laikipia County, despite a generally peaceful security situation, Laikipia North Sub-County faces challenges due to its porous border with Samburu and Isiolo counties. Armed pastoralists from these areas migrate with their livestock to Mukogodo Forest without local consent, leading to increased insecurity, livestock theft, and human-wildlife conflicts. The bandits have targeted private ranches, police, and national government officers, resulting in fatalities, community displacement, and livestock theft. Some stolen livestock has been traced and recovered in Isiolo and Samburu counties.

459. In Baringo County, there are notable ongoing issues of stock theft, attempted thefts, and banditry in Baringo North, Baringo South, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties. Baringo South has experienced frequent attacks that have forced students to use classrooms as dormitories due to inadequate facilities. Similarly, Kagir Primary School has faced hostility from Tiaty herders driving livestock into Tugen territory, while Chemorongion Primary School has had intermittent operations due to security concerns. The Ilchamus Community in Mukutani Ward has suffered attacks from Tiaty bandits for seventeen years, resulting in displacement and significant losses. Cattle rustling has evolved into organised crime, driven by crime syndicates and weapon proliferation, severely impacting education, forcing teacher withdrawals, and disrupting irrigation schemes. In Baringo North, security incidents involving suspected Pokot bandits were witnessed in early 2024, which resulted in injuries and fatalities among civilians, NPR officers, and security personnel. Baringo North

and South have witnessed significant loss of life, widespread displacement, escalating tensions, educational disruptions and revenge attacks. In Tiaty West, small criminal groups, rather than large community-supported gangs, are involved in illegal cattle rustling.

460. In Samburu County, persistent cross-border raids and attacks by Pokot bandits from Tiaty and Laikipia have caused significant displacement, loss of life, and livestock theft, severely affecting the pastoral Samburu community. Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley has been identified as a major conflict hotspot. Armed Pokot bandits exploit the rugged terrain and harsh weather to conduct raids, evade law enforcement, and hide stolen livestock. The border zone from Longewan to Morijo also experiences intense conflict, leading to substantial livestock losses, community displacement, and disruption of livelihoods. In Samburu Central areas such as Lolmolog, Longewan, Losuk, and Lesidai, residents suffer from severe consequences, including loss of life, property damage, and vandalism of social facilities. Many businesses and agricultural activities have been abandoned, and schools have been closed, disrupting education. Residents accuse the Pokot community of exploiting the conflict to unlawfully claim territories like Losuk. The conflicts have evolved from traditional cattle rustling to more violent acts, including killings and widespread displacement, driven by a perceived agenda of territorial expansion by the Pokot. Banditry and cattle rustling have resulted in loss of life, property destruction, community displacement, and the closure and vandalism of schools along the border.
461. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner reported a decrease in cattle theft and highway banditry. However, incursions by Toposa from South Sudan and Dasanach from Ethiopia continue in Lokichoggio and Kibish sub-counties, driven by the search for pasture and water. In Turkana East, high insecurity persists, marked by livestock raids and road banditry along the Chemolingot–Kapedo–Lokori road. Conflicts over pasture and water between Turkana and Pokot pastoralists, particularly in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lochakula, are frequent. The disputed ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre has further intensified tensions. This insecurity has led to significant displacement, loss of livestock, destruction of public amenities, and disruptions to NGO operations. Poor road networks and lack of power exacerbate poverty, while school and dispensary closures have disrupted education and health services. The Deputy County Commissioner for Lokichoggio noted that despite a multi-agency approach reducing stock theft, equipment shortages and challenging terrain limit the effectiveness of security operations. The Suguta Professional Group highlighted that cattle rustling in Kapedo, Nadome, and Napeitom has escalated into militia activities, resulting in violence and displacement. The MP for Turkana East emphasised that insecurity has led to displacement, loss of lives, and encroachment by the Pokot on Turkana land, causing significant socio-economic disruptions and mental anguish among residents.
462. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner highlighted general peace, though there have been sporadic incidents of livestock theft and banditry. These incidents have resulted in fatalities and injuries, with some livestock stolen and recovered. The two sub-locations bordering Elgeyo Marakwet have been abandoned due to Marakwet bandit aggression.
463. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, initial conflicts were primarily between the Marakwet and Pokot communities along the Kerio River border. This river, which marks the boundaries between Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, and West Pokot counties, ensures clear territorial

delineation. In 2023, increased security measures led Marakwet bandits to shift their activities within their own community. Despite efforts to recover stolen livestock and apprehend bandits, significant violence and theft persisted. Notably, there were retaliatory attacks on security personnel, including the burning of a National Police Service vehicle and an assault on a hospital in Iten town. The ongoing insecurity has resulted in loss of lives, property destruction, school closures, and community displacement, severely impacting socio-economic development. In Marakwet East Sub-County, while incidents of cattle rustling and banditry have decreased, severe attacks such as the Murkutwo massacre and the killing of schoolchildren by suspected Pokot bandits have occurred. Frustration with government protection efforts has prompted some Marakwet community members to acquire weapons for self-defence.

464. KNCHR highlighted severe impacts of the ongoing conflict in North Rift. The conflict has deterred teachers from outside the local communities from returning to schools. The lack of infrastructure has left many residents without access to newspapers, television, mobile networks, or the internet. Insecurity has compromised health standards and caused numerous disabilities due to gunshot injuries from raids. The conflict has also led to the burning of homes, abandonment of businesses, and destruction of farms, including significant damage to irrigation infrastructure. Additionally, thousands of livestock have been stolen, water courses diverted, and hundreds of bee hives have been either stolen or destroyed.

465. The Committee made the following findings on the the state of security situation in the affected counties: -

- 1) The six counties of North Rift namely Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Laikipia are the most affected by persistent insecurity stemming from frequent criminal activities that include cattle rustling, banditry and inter-communal conflicts perpetrated by armed criminals. The situation has intensified to be national security concern.
- 2) The conflicts in the North Rift, centred around the Tiaty area, which pose a significant challenge to the region's stability and development. Armed raiders planning and executing assaults on the surrounding counties of Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, Samburu, Laikipia, and parts of Baringo. These raids target livestock and result in the loss of human lives, further worsening the instability in the region.
- 3) The consequences of the criminal activities- The criminal activities in the region have had a devastating impact on the local population. Loss, displacement of communities, large-scale theft of livestock, destruction of property and livelihoods, destruction and closure of educational institutions. These criminal acts have undermined all economic activities in the region, leading to the impoverishment of the people.

4.2 To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis

466. Resource disputes, political instigations, cultural significance, and inter-communal conflicts were identified as the primary causes of banditry, theft, and violence. In Laikipia County, the persistent insecurity was attributed to armed land invasions by herders from Samburu, Isiolo, and Baringo counties. These conflicts primarily involve agriculturalists, pastoralists, and

wildlife conservationists, driven by competition for land, pasture, water, and other resources, particularly in Kirima and Laikipia North sub-counties. In Kirima, clashes between farmers and herders arise as herders invade private farms and the Laikipia Nature Conservancy, leading to crop and property destruction and armed conflicts. Armed herders, migrating from degraded pastures in Samburu East and Isiolo, frequently invade ranches, community conservancies, and the Mukogodo Forest. This results in violent attacks on the Mukogodo, Yaaku, and Il Ng'wesi communities, causing loss of life, property destruction, school closures, and undermining conservation efforts, thereby creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity for local residents. The insecurity in Laikipia County is largely driven by competition for pastures and water, the proliferation of illegal firearms, territorial encroachments, and livestock theft by pastoralist communities from neighbouring counties. Additionally, recurring violent invasions are influenced by politicians courting votes from specific ethnic groups, possibly inciting herders against locals.

467. In Baringo County, regional insecurity is primarily driven by livestock raids for commercial purposes, restocking after droughts, and dowry payments. These issues are exacerbated by boundary and territorial disputes, particularly involving the Pokot community's encroachment on parts of Baringo South and Baringo North. The persistence of outdated cultural practices, such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors, further escalates tensions. Political incitement and the support of banditry by leaders seeking office have worsened security challenges, as has the commercialization of banditry through unregulated markets and livestock trade. Although local communities argue that firearms are necessary to protect their livestock, the misuse of these weapons has resulted in significant loss of life and property. It was noted in Mochongoi Ward in Baringo South Sub-County that the recent intensification of banditry is driven by bandits' objectives of territorial expansion and exclusive land control, and that communal land ownership system is a contributing factor to these attacks. The Ilchamus Community identified political incitement, land disputes, and the proliferation of illegal firearms as root causes of the conflict, underscoring the need for proactive government intervention. In Saimo Soi Division, residents identified several causes of insecurity, including scarce resources such as pasture and water, territorial disputes, poor land tenure, and retrogressive cultural practices. The commercialization of banditry through the livestock trade, involvement of cartels in the livestock business, and low literacy levels further aggravate the situation. Political incitement and overlapping administrative boundaries between Baringo North, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties have also contributed to the unrest. The Pokot community's agenda of territorial expansion has led to the displacement of Tugen people, with Pokot control extending to the Loruk Health Centre. The administrative overlap has intensified tensions, with reports of Tiaty sub-county officers being sent illegally into Baringo North to serve the Pokot community and resolve disputes. This includes the placement of the Loruk Location Chief's office in Baringo North's Sibilo Location and the extension of Tiaty officers' jurisdiction into Loruk Kongasis Sub-Location. The security challenges in Saimo Soi and Bartabwa wards were attributed to armed herders from Tiaty East and Tiaty West. These herders occupy strategic vantage points to monitor security forces and facilitate attacks on Tugen communities. In Tiaty West Sub-County, high illiteracy, inadequate infrastructure, widespread availability of illegal firearms, and lack of government presence were identified as the key contributors to insecurity. Additional factors include poverty,

alcoholism, boundary politics, inconsistent peace efforts, and the absence of a coherent strategy to eliminate cattle rustling.

468. In Samburu County, it was observed that conflicts primarily arise from competition over scarce natural resources, particularly between the Samburu and Turkana communities over access to water and grazing land, frequently escalating into violent confrontations. While Samburu North has seen relative calm recently, areas like Ang'ata Nanyukie Ward continue to face security challenges from bandits displacing local residents from neighbouring Tiaty in Baringo County. The key drivers of insecurity in Samburu County include intensified competition over natural resources, disputes over access to water and grazing land, politicization of community boundary issues, and cultural practices such as *moranism*, which encourages cattle rustling. The involvement of political actors manipulating communal conflicts for personal gain and the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons have also significantly contributed to the escalation of violent conflicts. In Longewan, residents opined that the alleged boundary conflict between Samburu and Pokot in Tiaty is a pretext for ongoing tensions, with the Pokot community seeking to expand their territory into Samburu County. The longstanding conflict along the Samburu-Tiatiy border revolves around competition for land, water, and pasture, exacerbated by cattle rustling and banditry.
469. In Turkana County, it was noted that conflicts and criminal activities are primarily driven by ethnic hostility, competition for pasture and water, boundary disputes, cultural practices, commercial interests, breaches of peace agreements, and political interference. In Turkana East, it was observed that resource-based conflicts stem from competition for scarce resources, such as pasture and water, exacerbated by prolonged drought, particularly in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lochakula. Residents of Lochakula Location reported that land competition is intensified by bordering two counties, leading to frequent raids aimed at displacing residents and asserting territorial claims. For instance, the ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre is contested by both Turkana and Pokot, each having administrative units named Kapedo. It was noted that political warlords exacerbate tensions in border areas by arming communities, leading to cycles of revenge attacks. The proliferation of illegal arms fuels the conflict, while cultural practices such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors contribute to violence. Stock theft is driven by cultural and economic motives, including the need to restock herds depleted during droughts. The conflict is attributed to competition over natural and mineral resources, a discriminatory disarmament programme, militia formation by Pokot leadership, and compromised security agencies. Further, illicit arms and ammunition cartels contribute to banditry, and the commercialization of livestock raids thrives due to a ready market in major towns. The lack of communication networks and road infrastructure hinders incident reporting and response. The Turkana community often delays or fails to report stolen animals, impeding follow-up and action. Deliberate duplications of administrative unit names and the posting of government officials to areas within Turkana County cause confusion and lead to land and boundary disputes.
470. In West Pokot County, the key contributing factors to the ongoing conflict in the region include resource scarcity and the commercialisation of cattle rustling, driven by accessible markets. The proliferation of illegal firearms further aggravates the situation. Political exploitation of boundary disputes between West Pokot and Turkana fuels community tensions.

Additionally, local leaders from conflicting communities often engage in incitement, while cultural practices, such as demanding substantial dowries, further exacerbate the conflict.

471. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, it was noted that the root causes of the conflicts in the North Rift include organised crime, attempts at territorial expansion, poverty, illiteracy, marginalisation, climate change, and the proliferation of illegal firearms. Additionally, lax security measures and political and cultural motivations contribute to the unrest. Specific local issues, such as the spread of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, and resource-based conflicts exacerbated by difficult terrain, notably in Kamologon in Embotut Forest. These challenges are compounded by insufficient community engagement in intelligence-sharing and the presence of unattended livestock along borders, which leads to frequent theft. In Marakwet East, residents reported that persistent conflicts are driven by cattle rustling and competition for resources, particularly access to pastures. During the dry season, the influx of Pokots into Marakwet lands for grazing results in disputes. Contributing factors include the availability of illicit firearms, low literacy levels, cultural practices that glorify cattle rustling, and the commercialisation of such activities. Collaborative criminal activities between communities, aimed at livestock theft, and retaliatory attacks further aggravate the situation. Issues such as forceful intrusion by livestock herders, territorial expansion, illegal firearms, cultural beliefs, and high poverty rates. Further, boundary dispute with the Pokot, along with political incitement, rampant livestock theft, and competition over pastures, intensifies the conflict, especially when Pokot herders graze on Marakwet farms and crops.
472. KNCHR submitted that the conflict in the North Rift is driven by multiple factors. Key among these are the introduction of firearms, cultural practices, and the commercialisation of cattle rustling. Additionally, high bride prices, political incitement, and frequent changes to administrative boundaries contribute to the conflict. The situation is further exacerbated by the shrinkage of shared pastures and water sources, inadequate deployment of security personnel, and the lack of police presence over a 61.5 km stretch from Silale to Amer.
473. The Committee made the following findings on the the causes of insecurity and the understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis:
- 1) Commercialization of cattle rustling and availability of ready livestock market access. Cattle rustling and banditry stand out as the primary causes of insecurity in the North Rift. Cattle rustling is incentivized by factors such as financial gains from banditry, cultural practices and sentimental value attached to livestock and the compulsion to restock after periods of drought.
 - 2) Competition over scarce and diminishing resources. Competition for resources such as water, pastureland and expansion of grazing lands by certain communities has significantly contributed to insecurity in the region. As the resources become increasingly limited, tensions escalate among communities leading to conflicts.
 - 3) Proliferation and availability of illicit small arms, ammunition and light weapons in the North Rift. The ease of access to small arms and ammunitions has empowered criminal groups and armed militias, allowing them to terrorize local communities, disrupt economic activities, and destabilize the region. The criminals have become bolder and

unyielding in their banditry activities to the extent of targeting security personnel security personnel and government installations with impunity, undermining the rule of law and order in the affected area.

- 4) Territorial expansion and land grabbing by warring communities. The conflict has also been escalated by the push for dominance and aggressive attempts to expand territorial control and secure exclusive land ownership by some communities in the North Rift. This is evident where Ilchamus, Tugen, Turkana, Samburu have been displaced from their ancestral lands. Similarly, the Mukogodo of Laikipia north have been displaced from the ancestral homes by invaders from Isiolo county.
- 5) Marginalization and under development: - The six counties of the North Rift are among the least developed regions in Kenya due to longstanding marginalization. Tiaty Constituency, in particular, suffers from limited socioeconomic development, lack of economic opportunities and high levels of illiteracy which perpetuates a cycle of insecurity. The limited government presence in most of these areas has permitted criminal activities and lawlessness to thrive, further worsening the insecurity in the region.
- 6) Porous borders and lack of sufficient administrative National Government structures. Porous borders and inadequate government presence in the North Rift region facilitate the flow of illicit arms, provide safe havens for criminals, and hinder law enforcement efforts, creating a cycle of violence and escalating insecurity. The cycle of attacks and counter-attacks increases the demand for firearms and transformed traditional raids into organized and deadly operations.
- 7) Political actors and elites. Some politicians and elites provide support, including arms, ammunition and auxiliary resources to criminals to carryout raids. The aim is to gain political supremacy and control of their neighbouring communities' land. Politicisation of violence escalates inter-communal conflicts and hinders peace efforts.
- 8) Cultural Practices and traditional spiritual leaders: - The possession of firearms among youth incentivizes them to join in cattle raids driven by the desire to reclaim cattle exchanged for weapons. Raids are carried out with the blessings of the traditional spiritual leaders and the community glorifies the raiders who receive cultural recognition and enhanced social status for the killings.

4.3 To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas

The Interventions

474. The Committee noted a significant improvement in security within the North Rift counties since the commencement of security operations in early 2023. This has led to a reduction and containment of banditry and cattle rustling, though the situation remains fragile, necessitating ongoing efforts for regional stabilisation. In the short term, the government has implemented several measures to restore peace and security. These include promoting peaceful coexistence through cross-border meetings, mopping up illegal firearms, recruiting and deploying NPRs, and deploying specialised police units. Additional efforts involve enforcing a dusk-to-dawn curfew, increasing patrols and surveillance, holding security barazas, apprehending

perpetrators, recovering stolen livestock, and collaborating with security stakeholders and communities. For long-term peace, the government is focused on initiatives aimed at improving infrastructure and accessibility for security agencies, such as rehabilitating road networks and constructing schools. Other measures include enhancing telecommunication networks, ensuring reliable water sources, and deploying special security units. The government is also working on enforcing compulsory basic education, resolving boundary disputes, increasing its presence through additional police stations and administrative units, and improving overall infrastructure to support police operations and ensure swift emergency responses.

475. In Laikipia County, the government has deployed the GSU, RDU, and NPRs to bolster security efforts. A collaborative operation involving multiple agencies is currently underway in Mukogodo Forest, with law enforcement agencies, NPRs, and community elders actively engaged in pursuing and recovering operations to manage criminal activities and conflicts. Immediate measures implemented by the government to restore stability include peace dialogues between communities, a coordinated multi-agency response to incidents, curfews, nighttime patrols, and security operations in Mukogodo Forest. Long-term strategies involve disarmament initiatives, recruitment and training of NPRs, enhancing surveillance and intelligence capabilities, community-based conflict resolution mechanisms, and strengthening the Kenya Forest Service's capacity to manage Mukogodo Forest.
476. In Baringo County, there is a comprehensive approach to enhancing security, involving increased policing, the active participation of politicians and local leaders, and joint peace meetings with elders. Several short-term measures have been implemented to address insecurity, including the deployment of specialised units to volatile regions, recruitment and deployment of NPRs, and ongoing security operations to eliminate bandits and stabilise the region. In Baringo North Sub-County, the Government is implementing infrastructure improvements such as the opening and grading of security roads, with plans to provide vehicles, meals, and protective gear for security personnel. The deployment of MRAP vehicles, APCs, drones for aerial surveillance, and increased fuel allocations are also part of the strategy, although some measures remain pending. Long-term strategies include economic empowerment through development projects like dams, boreholes, schools, and churches, aimed at addressing the root causes of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of inter-community cohesion. Legal reforms have also been recommended to legislate harsher punishments for banditry, investigate arms trafficking, hold accountable leaders benefiting from illegal activities, and implement livestock branding for easier tracking of stolen animals. A multi-pronged approach combining robust security operations, socio-economic development, legal reforms, and promoting peaceful coexistence between communities is deemed essential to resolving the cycle of insecurity in the region.
477. In Samburu County, the security measures implemented include facilitating cross-border meetings and dialogue among communities, efforts to identify and seize illegally-held small arms and light weapons, recruitment and deployment of NPRs and other security measures, establishment and empowerment of local committees to oversee the sustainable management of grazing lands and water resources, activation of Range Management Committees, identification, arrest, and prosecute individuals involved in insecurity-related crimes, and

recovery and repatriation of stolen livestock. The County Security Committee recommended a phased and coordinated mass disarmament exercise, the construction and improvement of road and communication networks, the implementation of a livestock identification and tracking system, expediting the process of clear land demarcation and boundary identification, empowering traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and integrating them with formal justice systems, and providing opportunities for morans to participate in community development and peace-building initiatives.

478. In Turkana County, the Government has implemented several measures to restore normalcy. Cross-border peace initiatives, using local peace committees and continuous community peace dialogue forums, have been crucial. Enhanced operations by security agencies include the operationalisation of Suguta Sub-County, Katilia, and Kochodin Divisions, and other administrative units in Turkana East. The Government has also engaged stakeholders such as NGOs, religious organisations, and the County Government in peacebuilding efforts, with a focus on youths, reformed warriors, traditional seers, and women in security management. The security measures include biometric screening for refugees and asylum seekers, regular patrols by the Kenya Coast Guard within lake areas, engagement with NPRs, and mobilisation of community elders from both Turkana and Pokot communities for dialogue. The MP for Turkana East submitted that no operational activities are currently taking place in Turkana East, with raids and killings of civilians and security personnel still prevalent.

479. In West Pokot County, there are several government initiatives aimed at restoring peace, including recovering stolen livestock, organising joint security meetings, and community gatherings. NPRs have been deployed, and multi-agency patrols have been increased in volatile areas, including schools along the border. Additionally, a voluntary disarmament exercise has been conducted, military patrols intensified in Kamologon Forest, and a GSU camp established at Lami Nyeusi/Nyeupe. Perpetrators, including bandits and their facilitators, have been arrested, and curfew orders enforced in disturbed areas. Long-term measures focus on mopping up illegal firearms, promoting alternative livelihoods such as irrigation farming for the Turkana community, and establishing low-cost boarding schools and vocational training institutions along the borders. The government is also addressing disputed land boundaries, creating pasture management committees in conflict zones, and setting up security camps in Ombolion, Amolem, and Chesogon.

480. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, the government has deployed NPS, ASTU, GSU, and NPRs to address ongoing regional conflicts. The area of Tot has historically been troubled by cattle rustling, banditry, and inter-community disputes, primarily due to resource competition and the proliferation of firearms. To enhance security, the government has implemented disarmament operations, increased patrols, and intensified efforts to apprehend criminals.

Effectiveness of the Interventions

481. On the effectiveness of the interventions implemented by the Government security agencies to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas, the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner noted that ongoing multi-security operations have stabilised the region by facilitating movement, restoring normalcy, and reducing inter-community counterattacks. Key successes include arrests and confiscation of illegal firearms, recovery of stolen livestock, displaced communities have returned to their ancestral homes, security has improved, economic

activities have resumed, schools have reopened, new low-cost schools have been built, and community groups supported for long-term development.

482. In Laikipia County, the Deputy County Commissioner for Laikipia North reported a decrease in livestock theft, retrieval of illegal firearms, and recovery of stolen livestock. However, ongoing operations have displaced 4,306 households from Lokusero, Sieku, and Mukogodo locations, and the closure of Sieku, Lokusero, Ol-Arjiju, and Bokish Primary Schools. Forced evictions from numerous villages without alternative shelter or accommodation have raised concerns about human rights violations, displacement households and disruption of education with the deprivation of livelihood for communities like Yaaku whose livelihood entirely depends on Mukogodo Forest. The residents of Makurian Location criticised the eviction strategy for lacking consultation and involving the *nyumba kumi* elders. Despite the order, bandits remained in the forest and there is of bandit retaliation if security operations fail.
483. In Baringo County, it was noted that recent security efforts have led to a notable reduction in banditry incidents, the return of displaced populations, the reopening of schools, and the resumption of economic activities in previously affected areas. The Kasiela RDU Camp Commander also highlighted the success of a multi-agency approach to addressing insecurity, noting the return of residents, the reopening of businesses and schools, and improved relations between local communities and law enforcement. Operation *Maliza Uhalifu*, a key element of this strategy, has significantly decreased banditry, though sporadic incidents of cattle theft and violence persist. The establishment of the Arabal GSU Camp was also noted as a significant turning point, with a gradual return of residents indicating an improved security situation. However, in Baringo North Sub-County, Members of Parliament for Baringo North and Baringo County reported ongoing attacks by suspected Pokot bandits. On 10th February 2024, bandits ambushed motorbikes at Namba in Kosile, resulting in the fatal shooting of a visually impaired head teacher from Kagir. The following day, further violence occurred along Kindiki Road, where heavy gunfire with security forces led to injuries and vehicle damage during an ambush along the Karanga Joto-Kagir route. Despite the multi-agency efforts under Operation *Maliza Uhalifu* to eradicate illegal herding activities, the community continues to suffer from fatalities, property losses, and displacement. School programmes have also been disrupted, further disadvantaging the community. Although security agencies have acted with good intentions, the operation has not fully achieved its objectives, indicating a need for additional measures to ensure safety and security. The security units have implemented strategies such as daily briefings, dominating key hills, and flushing out illegal Pokot herders from the Ngaratuko grazing field. However, attacks have persisted, including the fatal shooting of the Kagir Primary School head teacher. The multi-agency team faces significant challenges, including inadequate transport, acute fuel shortages, a lack of vital equipment such as armoured carriers and drones, and issues of command and control. Consequently, the presence of security forces has not fully prevented further attacks, deaths, loss of livelihoods, animal theft, displacement, and disruption of education for the Tugen community. In Tiaty West Sub-County, there has been relative peace between Marakwet East and Tiaty, as well as in Laikipia and Baringo South. However, recent conflicts have emerged between Baringo North and Tiaty residents when Tiaty residents sought grass but faced resistance from their neighbours. The ongoing conflict between Tiaty and Turkana remains

unresolved, with areas like Kapedo, Lomelo, and Lomwakring Hills remaining ungoverned by either county or national administrations. Similarly, Tiaty residents have settled in ungoverned areas such as Malasso in Samburu County, with some migrating to Kacheliba Constituency and eventually to Uganda near Lake Choga.

484. In Samburu County, the County Commissioner stated that the multi-agency security presence, including KDF, police units (GSU and ASTU), and NPRs, has been crucial in restoring peace and reducing retaliatory attacks. These security operations have led to the arrest and prosecution of criminals and suspects, the neutralization of bandits, the recovery of stolen cattle, and the seizure and surrender of illegal firearms. However, the MP for Samburu West highlighted that despite residents complying with the orders of the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and National Administration to vacate areas believed to harbour bandits, security forces have not taken decisive action, and bandits continue to terrorise the residents. She noted that the multi-agency team in Samburu West faces equipment gaps, which hinder their ability to respond effectively to attacks in the region's harsh terrain.
485. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner highlighted a notable decrease in incidents of insecurity, attributing this improvement to the concerted efforts of the county security team and the Multi-Agency team. The joint police-led operation, in collaboration with KDF, has significantly restored normalcy in Turkana South and Turkana East. Most of the recently stolen livestock have been recovered and returned to their rightful owners. Turkana East and Turkana South, which border the volatile Baringo, West Pokot, and Samburu Counties, are the primary focus of ongoing security operations. These operations have emphasized building trust within the communities and responding effectively to reports, fostering partnership and community engagement. In Turkana East, the Deputy County Commissioner noted that the frequent attacks have been minimized due to the heavy presence and patrols by the operation team. There have been successful recoveries of stolen livestock, and the provision of modern equipment, such as drones, has aided in conclusively flushing out bandits. Normalcy has resumed in most areas, with security officers now taking full control of the previously disturbed regions.
486. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner reported a marked reduction in banditry and stock theft since the establishment of the GSU Camp at Lami Nyeusi and the deployment of KDF at Kainuk. The voluntary surrender of forty-nine firearms and the enhanced security have facilitated the reopening of previously closed schools, including Turkwel Secondary School. Furthermore, displaced residents along the Marakwet East and Pokot South border have been able to return to their homes due to the increased presence of KDF in the area.
487. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, recent security operations have effectively curtailed cattle rustling and banditry, according to the Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet West. These efforts have led to improved relations between the Marakwet and Pokot communities, fostering increased interactions and business at Kolowa market. Notable successes include the recovery of stolen livestock and the apprehension of notorious bandits, bolstered by regular KDF patrols. However, challenges remain. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet East noted ongoing issues such as the availability of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, limited resources, and community distrust of law enforcement. Despite the

positive outcomes of recent operations, these persistent problems continue to affect security and community trust in the region.

488. The Committee made the following findings on the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas: -

- 1) Operation Maliza Uhalifu. To achieve a successful peaceful situation, a police-led security operation supported by the Kenya Defence Forces dubbed Operation Maliza Uhalifu in the North Rift was ordered in February 2023 in the six counties in line with Article 241(3) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya.
- 2) Deployment of specialized police units and National Police Reservists. The Ministry of Interior and National Administration has strategically deployed specialized police units to multiple locations in the North Rift region to restore law and order. Additionally, the Ministry has recruited, trained and deployed National Police Reservists (NPRs) to enhance police operations and provide swift responses during emergencies.
- 3) Implementation of curfew, activation of rangeland management Committees to enhance resource sharing, enhanced regular patrols and surveillance. Also, they carried out security barazas, apprehending and charging of perpetrators in court of law, and enhanced recovery of stolen livestock in collaboration with all security stakeholders and the communities to restore peace
- 4) Promoting peaceful co-existence and cross border meetings amongst communities by mopping up of illegal firearms.
- 5) The Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration issued a Kenya Gazette Notice designating specific areas in Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, and Laikipia counties as 'disturbed' and 'dangerous'. This categorization of specific areas is intended to enable the implementation of focused security operation within these regions designating them as 'hot spots.'
- 6) The Government is in the process of implementing economic revitalization and development plans in the region for infrastructural development. As a priority the reconstruction of schools destroyed by bandits and opening of road networks to ensure accessibility by security agencies, and initiation of other socio-economic development projects.
- 7) Additionally, the government intends to provide, specialized equipment and tools to security officers and provision of socio-economic services which include telecommunication network coverage, drilling of boreholes, compulsory basic education, resolution of boundary disputes, and increase Government presence in the region.
- 8) There has been successful recovery of stolen livestock, flushing out of bandits from their hide-outs', displaced communities have returned to their ancestral homes in some parts, some schools have been reopened in Baringo County. Economic activities have resumed including farming in Perkerra irrigation scheme.

- 9) The multi-agency efforts in the North Rift have not made a significant impact. Residents who fled from their homes in parts of Turkana, Laikipia, Samburu, and Baringo have not returned home, and those in areas like Baringo North are still fleeing. Banditry attacks persist, leading to school closures along inter-communal borders, and lives and property remain at risk.
- 10) Despite the concerted effort by the government to address insecurity in the North Rift, challenges still persist. Cattle rustling, banditry, displacement of communities is still rampant.

4.4 To identify challenges faced in the stabilization of the situation

489. The Ministry of Interior and National Administration acknowledged concerns about the current design of police vehicles in operational areas and pledged to redesign them to enhance safety and expedite officer disembarkation during attacks. Additionally, new policies on fuel allocation for National Government Administrative Officers are being developed, and a new fleet of vehicles is scheduled for distribution soon. The Rift Valley Regional Commissioner highlighted several challenges in stabilising the region. These challenges include vast and rugged terrain hindering mobility, lack of aerial support for rapid response, poor communication networks, and the easy availability of illegal firearms and ammunition. High illiteracy levels in bandit-prone areas, insufficient security personnel, and inadequate resources for security agencies further complicate the situation. A shortage of police vehicles affects 43 police stations, while local political dynamics, poor road networks, water scarcity, and harsh climatic conditions also contribute to instability. Frequent breakdowns of MRAP vehicles and APCs, with 18 APCs requiring urgent repair, exacerbate the challenges.
490. In Laikipia County, the Deputy County Commissioner for Laikipia North highlighted the difficulties in accessing the rugged terrain of the vast Mukogodo Forest to apprehend bandits.
491. In Baringo County, the County Commissioner highlighted ongoing challenges, including insufficient security personnel, a lack of essential equipment such as MRAPs, APCs, and helicopters, and the proliferation of illegal firearms among communities. In Baringo South Sub-County, the Kasiela RDU Camp Commander noted that poor road networks hinder the movement of security forces in the rugged terrain, limiting mobility and operational effectiveness. The use of drones for aerial support is crucial, particularly as the region relies on a single KDF helicopter, which may not always be available due to prior commitments. The Arabal GSU Commander also stressed the critical need for drones given the area's challenging terrain. The limited availability of a single armoured vehicle for continuous school protection presents operational difficulties. Furthermore, there is an urgent need for the formal allocation of land for the GSU Camp to construct permanent structures, including an armoury to enhance security operations and a dispensary to provide local medical services, thus reducing the need for residents to travel to Kinamba or Marigat. In Baringo North Sub-County, the Members of Parliament for Baringo North and Baringo County reported that efforts to restore peace and stability are hindered by several challenges. These include inadequate transport, insufficient equipment, lack of motivation for officers, coordination issues among security teams, and instances of community incitement.

492. In Samburu County, the County Commissioner articulated the impediments to security efforts within the region including the rugged terrain of the Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley which significantly obstruct patrolling and law enforcement activities. The valley's inaccessibility is further compounded by the limited access roads, poor communication networks, and a lack of aerial support, all of which undermine operations aimed at combating banditry and recovering stolen livestock. The Commissioner also noted the proliferation of illegal firearms and high levels of illiteracy in the region as substantial obstacles to community engagement and intelligence gathering. The situation is exacerbated by the inadequate number of security personnel and the scarcity of essential resources, including vehicles and logistical support, which severely limit the operational capacity of the security forces. Furthermore, complex local political dynamics and the shortage of specialised vehicles such as MRAPs and APCs detrimentally impact the effectiveness of security measures. Efforts to stabilise the region are further hampered by the absence of proper evacuation plans for injured officers and insufficient cooperation with the Baringo County Security Committee. Residents of Longewan noted that certain individuals from the Pokot community exhibit uncooperative behaviour during peace talks, allegedly using these meetings to infiltrate Samburu areas. Additionally, the non-cooperation of National Government Administrative Officers, particularly the chiefs in Baringo County, impedes livestock recovery efforts. The ASTU camp in Longewan is notably under-equipped, possessing only one land cruiser to cover an extensive area, thus necessitating the provision of additional vehicles to enhance operational effectiveness. The overall government presence is diminished due to the non-operational status of administrative units and the relocation of assistant chiefs to safer areas. In Lolmolog, Samburu Central, residents endure severe shortages of basic necessities, including sanitation, food, healthcare, and education. They have called for the restoration of peace to enable them to return to their farms and resume socio-economic activities. Additionally, there have been requests for the creation of a new sub-county, Samburu West, and the establishment of additional divisions to bolster government presence and improve responsiveness to local needs.
493. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner noted significant challenges to stabilisation efforts, including harsh terrain, poor road networks, inadequate mobile communication coverage, and insufficient modern equipment for police units. These issues are exacerbated by a lack of adherence to peace agreements, delayed medical evacuations for injured officers, and insufficient political support, with high illiteracy levels further complicating the situation. In Turkana East, the Deputy County Commissioner highlighted that difficult terrain and poor infrastructure impede swift security responses. Bandits in remote areas such as Nadome and Napeitom are difficult to access with conventional police equipment. Local police units in Lomelo and Lokori suffer from outdated equipment, and peace declarations are often disregarded due to the limited authority and resources of Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs). Further challenges include inadequate fuel for security vehicles, a shortage of vehicles for Assistant County Commissioners, and delays in medical evacuations. The Suguta Professional Group noted slow progress in operationalising Suguta Sub-County and highlighted discrepancies in administrative boundaries between Turkana and Pokot. Infrastructure deficiencies, such as the lack of paved roads from Chemolingot to Lokori, and political interference exacerbate these issues. The MP for Turkana East added that inadequate

government presence and inconsistent disarmament efforts contribute to ongoing instability. The rugged terrain and insufficient numbers of NPRs hinder effective coverage, while political interference disrupts government initiatives, including disarmament and mop-up operations. The persistence of impunity among bandits is further attributed to infrequent prosecutions.

494. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner reported that the effectiveness of security operations is significantly hindered by several factors. Poor communication and inadequate road networks exacerbate these issues, while insufficient budgetary allocation and a shortage of security personnel further impede progress. Additionally, the ongoing influx of illegal firearms from the porous Turkana borders complicates efforts to restore peace and stability in the region.
495. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, security efforts are significantly challenged. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet West reported issues such as the proliferation of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, insufficient resources for National Government Administrative Officers, and community hostility towards security agencies. Furthermore, instances of community members shielding criminals hinder effective law enforcement. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet East added that in the Kerio Valley, challenges include limited resources and funding for security operations in remote areas, lack of coordination between government agencies and security forces, resistance from some community members, high poverty and unemployment rates, limited access to crime prevention education, and corruption among law enforcement officials. These issues collectively undermine trust in the justice system and exacerbate the security situation.
496. The Committee made the following findings on the challenges faced in the stabilization of the situation: -
- 1) Political interests and patronage: - Some politicians partner with criminal networks, armed groups to gain power, influence and resources, incentivizing the maintenance of instability. This undermines efforts to establish lasting peace in the region.
 - 2) The vast and rugged terrain, poor communication network and lack of aerial support by police makes rapid response and tracing the bandits difficult. Moreover, the availability of illegal firearms and ammunition from across the borders continues to complicate the operation.
 - 3) The security forces are not able to operate effectively due to lack of enough manpower, often out-numbered by the bandits. They also lack of appropriate equipment, fuel, food ration and are demoralized by unpaid allowances.
 - 4) The poor road networks to pursue bandits, water scarcity in camps, and harsh climatic conditions makes it difficult for security personnel to combat bandits effectively. The lack adequate serviceable (AMRAPs) and (APCs) in the North Rift has tremendously undermined the efficiency of the multi-agency operation.
 - 5) The challenging terrain, poor road networks, water scarcity, and harsh climate, hinders the effectiveness of security operations against bandits in the North Rift. Furthermore, the lack of sufficient armoured vehicles, like Armoured Mine-Resistant Ambush

Protected (AMRAPs) and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs), severely hampers the efficiency of multi-agency efforts to combat insecurity in the region.

- 6) Although the National Police Reservists supplement the police operations, there is lack of a legal framework on the establishment, operations, role and remuneration the National Police Reservists in the country leading to ambiguity and inconsistencies in their training, deployment, operational command and oversight.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS


497. Based on the evidence on record and analysis thereof, the Committee recommends as follows: -

- 4) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration, and National Police Service should initiate a disarmament exercise aimed at confiscating all illicit firearms held by unlicensed civilians in all areas in the six counties of North Rift. This will contribute in reducing the proliferation of illegal weapons, enhancing public safety, and curbing criminal activities associated with firearm misuse by criminals. Any leader confirmed to be sabotaging this exercise MUST be apprehended.**
- 5) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should initiate a systematic intelligence-led operation in the North Rift region to dismantle criminal networks operation in the region and flush the criminals from their hideouts. The Ministry should prioritize intelligence gathering to obtain accurate and real-time information on the activities and movements of criminal groups for effective crime prevention and response.**
- 6) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should establish strong National Government Administrative structures and presence across all regions, especially in underserved areas where criminal activities thrive due to the absence of government officers. This entails creating new administrative units, deploying personnel and resources to ensure effective governance, law enforcement and provision of essential services to promote stability and development.**
- 7) **The National Police Service should adopt and deploy modern security surveillance systems by integrating advanced technologies such as drones, Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected vehicles, Armoured Personnel Carriers, and air surveillance. This will enhance their ability to detect and combat crime, while ensuring safer working conditions for its officers.**
- 8) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should relocate security camps in operational areas from locations within the communities to border areas to enhance security presence, improve response capabilities, and establish a more effective buffer against cross-border criminal activities. The security forces need to be organised for mobile operations.**
- 9) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should review seating of mounted troops in police operations vehicles used for operation to ensure safer and faster disembarkation by officers during emergencies. Further, the Ministry shall streamline policy for fuel allocation to National Government Administrative Officers, in far flung areas, and that vehicles are fuelled within the operational areas.**

- 10) **The Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration should formulate and review National Police Reservist (NPR) Policy Framework and provide operational guidelines and structure and remuneration of the NPR as a professional and accountable security unit.**
- 11) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should follow internationally recognized human rights standards when evicting residents from disturbed areas in future. Measures should be put in place to ensure that innocent individuals are relocated to safer locations and provided with basic humanitarian necessities.**
- 12) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration in collaboration with other development partners shall offer humanitarian aid to internally displaced residents in terms of food and shelter. Further, the Government should facilitate safe return of the displaced communities in the six counties to their homes and provide security to enable them enjoy their fundamental rights to life, safety, and security and resumption of their social economic activities as provided for in Article 43 of the Constitution.**
- 13) **The Cabinet to establish an Inter-Ministerial agency led by the Ministry of Interior and National Administration to implement a comprehensive development plan for the remote areas of the North, including the construction of new schools, healthcare facilities, and water infrastructure.**
- 14) **The Ministry responsible for Infrastructure in liaison with Ministry of Interior and National Administration should construct security roads across the entire North Rift Region to connect all the six counties across the Kerio and Malasso valleys to enhance connectivity and spur economic development in the region.**
- 15) **The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should investigate allegations raised by residents and county governments of Samburu and Turkana that roads and infrastructural projects are being implemented in their constituencies using funds allocated to Tiaty Constituency CDF and KeRRA allegedly with the aim of claiming these areas and take remedial actions.**
- 16) **The National Government in collaboration with the County Governments should clearly delineate the county boundaries through collaborative and comprehensive approach for effective border management, security operations, and the prevention of disputes that often contribute to instability in the region.**
- 17) **The National Cohesion and Integration Commission should support the revitalization of traditional governance structures within pastoral communities by empowering local elders and traditional leaders to facilitate community-led conflict resolution mechanisms and promote inter-community dialogue. Top of Form The counties of Turkana, Elgeiyo Marakwet, Baringo, Samburu and Laikipia should be brought on board in order to be part of the discussion on national cohesion. Moreover, the Commission, shall look into issues of employment, equal opportunity, affirmative action, and inclusivity at all level of Kenyan society.**

- 18) The Cabinet shall implement long-term development initiatives focused on sustainable resource management, livelihood diversification such as irrigation and water harvesting, creating feedlots and economic empowerment to address the root causes of conflicts and promote socio-economic stability in the North Rift Region and in all Arid and semi-Arid lands
- 19) The Ministry of Education to ensure compulsory primary and secondary education in all North Rift and arid and semi-arid counties for all school age children. It is further proposed that there be integrated boarding schools that brings children from diverse communities together. Furthermore, it is recommended that there shall be a sustainable provision of school feeding programme.
- 20) The Ministry of Education should prioritize the reconstruction and reopening of all educational institutions that have been closed due to insecurity in the six affected counties. This is essential to ensure the continuity of learning and provide a safe environment for students and staff in these areas.
- 21) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration to develop a comprehensive strategy to resettle all displaced communities in the six counties back to their homes. Further, the Ministry should endeavour to restore calm and the rule of law in the affected regions and facilitate residents to return to their homes and resume their livelihoods.
- 22) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should establish a compensation mechanism to support the affected families who have lost their loved ones, properties, and livestock. This will help them resume their socio-economic activities and rebuild their lives in the aftermath of the conflict.
- 23) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration in collaboration with the Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning, should develop administrative mechanisms to resolve the persistent boundary disputes between the affected counties and undertake clear demarcation and delimitation exercises in line with Districts and Provinces Act, 1992, Chapter 105A of the Laws of Kenya from where boundaries are comprehensively defined.

Signed.....*[Signature]*.....Date.....*23RD / 05 / 2024.*.....

 HON. GABRIEL KOSHAL TONGOYO, MP, CHAIRPERSON	
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION & INTERNAL SECURITY	
DATE: 13 AUG 2024 D.V. Tuesday	
TABLED BY:	<i>Hon. Gabriel Tongoyo (Chairperson, Administration and Internal Security)</i>
CLERK AT THE TABLE:	<i>Shiruko Gadi.</i>

ANNEXTURES

ANNEXTURE I
Adoption List



THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT - THIRD SESSION – 2024
DIRECTORATE OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES
DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL SECURITY

ADOPTION SCHEDULE

Report on the Inquiry into the state of security in the Six Counties of North Rift of Baringo, Elegeyo-Marakwet, Turkan, West Pokot, Samburu and Laikipia declared as disturbed.

Date 23/05/2024

No.	MEMBER	SIGNATURE
1.	Hon. Gabriel Koshal Tongoyo, MP - Chairperson	
2.	Hon. Col (Rtd) Dido Rasso, MBS, MP-Vice Chairperson	
3.	Hon. Kaluma George Peter, MP	
4.	Hon. Fred C. Kapondi, MP	—
5.	Hon. Aduma Owuor, MP	—
6.	Hon. Sarah Paulata Korere, MP	
7.	Hon. Liza Chepkorir Chelule, MP	
8.	Hon. Mburu Kahangara, MP	—
9.	Hon. Protus Ewesit Akujah, MP	
10.	Hon. Oku Kaunya, MP	
11.	Hon. Rozaah Akinyi Buyu, MP	
12.	Hon. Amb. Francis Kipyegon Sigei, EBS, MP	
13.	Hon. Fatuma Abdi Jehow, MP	
14.	Hon. Caroline Jeptoo Ng'elechei, MP	—
15.	Hon. Hussein Weytan Mohammed, MP	

ANNEXTURE II
Adoption Minutes

MINUTES OF THE 43RD SITTING OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL SECURITY HELD ON FRIDAY, 26TH APRIL, 2024 IN 1ST FLOOR COMMITTEE ROOM, LAKE NAIVASHA RESORT AT 10.00 A.M.

PRESENT

1. **Hon. Gabriel Koshal Tongoyo, MP** - Chairperson
2. **Hon. Col (Rtd) Dido Rasso, MBS, MP** - Vice Chairperson
3. Hon. Kaluma George Peter, MP
4. Hon. Sarah Paulata Korere, MP
5. Hon. Liza Chepkorir Chelule, MP
6. Hon. Protus Ewesit Akujah, MP
7. Hon. Oku Kaunya, MP
8. Hon. Rozah Akinyi Buyu, MP
9. Hon. Amb. Francis Kipyegon Sigei, EBS, MP
10. Hon. Fatuma Abdi Jehow, MP
11. Hon. Hussein Weytan Mohammed, MP

ABSENT WITH APOLOGY

1. Hon. Fred C. Kapondi, MP
2. Hon. Aduma Owuor, MP
3. Hon. Mburu Kahangara, MP
4. Hon. Caroline Jeptoo Ng'elechei, MP

IN ATTENDANCE

COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT

1. Mr. John Mugoma - Clerk Assistant I
2. Ms. Grace Wahu - Clerk Assistant III
3. Mr. Gideon Kipkoech - Clerk Assistant III
4. Ms. Clara Kimeli - Legal Counsel
5. Mr. Edison Odhiambo - Fiscal Analyst
6. Ms. Delvin Onyancha - Research Officer
7. Ms. Ivy Maritim - Media Relations Officer
8. Mr. Benson Kimanzi - Sergeant-At-Arms

MIN./NO./DC-AIS/2024/214: PRELIMINARIES & ADOPTION OF AGENDA

The Session Chairperson, Hon. Col (Rtd) Dido Rasso, MBS, MP called the meeting to order at 10.00 a.m. and said a prayer. The agenda of the meeting was adopted having been proposed by Hon. Liza Chepkorir Chelule, MP and seconded by Hon. Aduma Owuor, MP.

MIN./NO./DC-AIS/2024/215: CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES OF THE PREVIOUS SITTINGS

The confirmation of Minutes was deferred to a later date.

MIN./NO./DC-AIS/2024/216: CONSIDERATION AND ADOPTION OF THE COMMITTEE REPORT ON THE INQUIRY INTO THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE NORTH RIFT REGION.

A. ISSUES FOR DETERMINATION

The issues for determination are as per the terms of reference set out for the purposes of the inquiry and are as follows-

- (a) To assess the state of security situation in the affected counties.
- (b) To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis.
- (c) To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas.
- (d) To identify challenges faced in stabilization of the situation
- (e) To formulate recommendations to address the security challenges in the region.

The Committee determines the issues as follows-

a. To assess the state of security situation in the affected counties

The North Rift region is experiencing ongoing insecurity due to persistent cattle rustling and banditry. These bandits have escalated their attacks on residents, security personnel, government facilities, and motorists, leading to significant displacement, property damage, vandalism of schools, and a decline in economic activity, thereby posing a serious security challenge.

1. In Laikipia County, despite a generally peaceful security situation, Laikipia North Sub-County faces challenges due to its porous border with Samburu and Isiolo counties. Armed pastoralists from these areas migrate with their livestock to Mukogodo Forest without local consent, leading to increased insecurity, livestock theft, and human-wildlife conflicts. The bandits have targeted private ranches, police, and national government officers, resulting in fatalities, community displacement, and livestock theft. Some stolen livestock has been traced and recovered in Isiolo and Samburu counties.
2. In Baringo County, there are notable ongoing issues of stock theft, attempted thefts, and banditry in Baringo North, Baringo South, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties. Baringo South has experienced frequent attacks that have forced students to use classrooms as dormitories due to inadequate facilities. Similarly, Kagir Primary School has faced hostility from Tiaty herders driving livestock into Tugen territory, while Chemorongion Primary School has had intermittent operations due to security concerns. The Ilchamus Community in Mukutani Ward has suffered attacks from Tiaty bandits for seventeen years, resulting in displacement and significant losses. Cattle rustling has evolved into organised crime, driven by crime syndicates and weapon proliferation, severely impacting education, forcing teacher withdrawals, and disrupting irrigation schemes. In Baringo North, security incidents involving suspected Pokot bandits were witnessed in early 2024, which resulted in injuries and fatalities among civilians, NPR officers, and security personnel. Baringo North and South have witnessed significant loss of life, widespread displacement, escalating tensions, educational

disruptions and revenge attacks. In Tiaty West, small criminal groups, rather than large community-supported gangs, are involved in illegal cattle rustling.

3. In Samburu County, persistent cross-border raids and attacks by Pokot bandits from Tiaty and Laikipia have caused significant displacement, loss of life, and livestock theft, severely affecting the pastoral Samburu community. Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley has been identified as a major conflict hotspot. Armed Pokot bandits exploit the rugged terrain and harsh weather to conduct raids, evade law enforcement, and hide stolen livestock. The border zone from Longewan to Morijo also experiences intense conflict, leading to substantial livestock losses, community displacement, and disruption of livelihoods. In Samburu Central areas such as Lolmolog, Longewan, Losuk, and Lesidai, residents suffer from severe consequences, including loss of life, property damage, and vandalism of social facilities. Many businesses and agricultural activities have been abandoned, and schools have been closed, disrupting education. Residents accuse the Pokot community of exploiting the conflict to unlawfully claim territories like Losuk. The conflicts have evolved from traditional cattle rustling to more violent acts, including killings and widespread displacement, driven by a perceived agenda of territorial expansion by the Pokot. Banditry and cattle rustling have resulted in loss of life, property destruction, community displacement, and the closure and vandalism of schools along the border.
4. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner reported a decrease in cattle theft and highway banditry. However, incursions by Toposa from South Sudan and Dasanach from Ethiopia continue in Lokichoggio and Kibish sub-counties, driven by the search for pasture and water. In Turkana East, high insecurity persists, marked by livestock raids and road banditry along the Chemolingot–Kapedo–Lokori road. Conflicts over pasture and water between Turkana and Pokot pastoralists, particularly in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lochakula, are frequent. The disputed ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre has further intensified tensions. This insecurity has led to significant displacement, loss of livestock, destruction of public amenities, and disruptions to NGO operations. Poor road networks and lack of power exacerbate poverty, while school and dispensary closures have disrupted education and health services. The Deputy County Commissioner for Lokichoggio noted that despite a multi-agency approach reducing stock theft, equipment shortages and challenging terrain limit the effectiveness of security operations. The Suguta Professional Group highlighted that cattle rustling in Kapedo, Nadome, and Napeitom has escalated into militia activities, resulting in violence and displacement. The MP for Turkana East emphasised that insecurity has led to displacement, loss of lives, and encroachment by the Pokot on Turkana land, causing significant socio-economic disruptions and mental anguish among residents.
5. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner highlighted general peace, though there have been sporadic incidents of livestock theft and banditry. These incidents have resulted in fatalities and injuries, with some livestock stolen and recovered. The two sub-locations bordering Elgeyo Marakwet have been abandoned due to Marakwet bandit aggression.
6. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, initial conflicts were primarily between the Marakwet and Pokot communities along the Kerio River border. This river, which marks the boundaries between Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, and West Pokot counties, ensures clear territorial delineation. In 2023, increased security measures led Marakwet bandits to shift their activities within their own community. Despite efforts to recover stolen livestock and

apprehend bandits, significant violence and theft persisted. Notably, there were retaliatory attacks on security personnel, including the burning of a National Police Service vehicle and an assault on a hospital in Iten town. The ongoing insecurity has resulted in loss of lives, property destruction, school closures, and community displacement, severely impacting socio-economic development. In Marakwet East Sub-County, while incidents of cattle rustling and banditry have decreased, severe attacks such as the Murkutwo massacre and the killing of schoolchildren by suspected Pokot bandits have occurred. Frustration with government protection efforts has prompted some Marakwet community members to acquire weapons for self-defence.

7. KNCHR highlighted severe impacts of the ongoing conflict in North Rift. The conflict has deterred teachers from outside the local communities from returning to schools. The lack of infrastructure has left many residents without access to newspapers, television, mobile networks, or the internet. Insecurity has compromised health standards and caused numerous disabilities due to gunshot injuries from raids. The conflict has also led to the burning of homes, abandonment of businesses, and destruction of farms, including significant damage to irrigation infrastructure. Additionally, thousands of livestock have been stolen, water courses diverted, and hundreds of bee hives have been either stolen or destroyed.
8. The Committee made the following findings on the the state of security situation in the affected counties: -
 - 1) The six counties of North Rift namely Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu and Laikipia are the most affected by persistent insecurity stemming from frequent criminal activities that include cattle rustling, banditry and inter-communal conflicts perpetrated by armed criminals. The situation has intensified to be national security concern.
 - 2) The conflicts in the North Rift, centred around the Tiaty area, which pose a significant challenge to the region's stability and development. Armed raiders planning and executing assaults on the surrounding counties of Elgeyo Marakwet, Turkana, Samburu, Laikipia, and parts of Baringo. These raids target livestock and result in the loss of human lives, further worsening the instability in the region.
 - 3) The consequences of the criminal activities- The criminal activities in the region have had a devastating impact on the local population. Loss, displacement of communities, large-scale theft of livestock, destruction of property and livelihoods, destruction and closure of educational institutions. These criminal acts have undermined all economic activities in the region, leading to the impoverishment of the people.

b. To determine the causes of insecurity and develop a comprehensive understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis

9. Resource disputes, political instigations, cultural significance, and inter-communal conflicts were identified as the primary causes of banditry, theft, and violence. In Laikipia County, the persistent insecurity was attributed to armed land invasions by herders from Samburu, Isiolo, and Baringo counties. These conflicts primarily involve agriculturalists, pastoralists, and wildlife conservationists, driven by competition for land, pasture, water, and other resources,

particularly in Kirima and Laikipia North sub-counties. In Kirima, clashes between farmers and herders arise as herders invade private farms and the Laikipia Nature Conservancy, leading to crop and property destruction and armed conflicts. Armed herders, migrating from degraded pastures in Samburu East and Isiolo, frequently invade ranches, community conservancies, and the Mukogodo Forest. This results in violent attacks on the Mukogodo, Yaaku, and Il Ng'wesi communities, causing loss of life, property destruction, school closures, and undermining conservation efforts, thereby creating an atmosphere of fear and insecurity for local residents. The insecurity in Laikipia County is largely driven by competition for pastures and water, the proliferation of illegal firearms, territorial encroachments, and livestock theft by pastoralist communities from neighbouring counties. Additionally, recurring violent invasions are influenced by politicians courting votes from specific ethnic groups, possibly inciting herders against locals.

10. In Baringo County, regional insecurity is primarily driven by livestock raids for commercial purposes, restocking after droughts, and dowry payments. These issues are exacerbated by boundary and territorial disputes, particularly involving the Pokot community's encroachment on parts of Baringo South and Baringo North. The persistence of outdated cultural practices, such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors, further escalates tensions. Political incitement and the support of banditry by leaders seeking office have worsened security challenges, as has the commercialization of banditry through unregulated markets and livestock trade. Although local communities argue that firearms are necessary to protect their livestock, the misuse of these weapons has resulted in significant loss of life and property. It was noted in Mochongoi Ward in Baringo South Sub-County that the recent intensification of banditry is driven by bandits' objectives of territorial expansion and exclusive land control, and that communal land ownership system is a contributing factor to these attacks. The Ilchamus Community identified political incitement, land disputes, and the proliferation of illegal firearms as root causes of the conflict, underscoring the need for proactive government intervention. In Saimo Soi Division, residents identified several causes of insecurity, including scarce resources such as pasture and water, territorial disputes, poor land tenure, and retrogressive cultural practices. The commercialization of banditry through the livestock trade, involvement of cartels in the livestock business, and low literacy levels further aggravate the situation. Political incitement and overlapping administrative boundaries between Baringo North, Tiaty East, and Tiaty West sub-counties have also contributed to the unrest. The Pokot community's agenda of territorial expansion has led to the displacement of Tugen people, with Pokot control extending to the Loruk Health Centre. The administrative overlap has intensified tensions, with reports of Tiaty sub-county officers being sent illegally into Baringo North to serve the Pokot community and resolve disputes. This includes the placement of the Loruk Location Chief's office in Baringo North's Sibilo Location and the extension of Tiaty officers' jurisdiction into Loruk Kongasis Sub-Location. The security challenges in Saimo Soi and Bartabwa wards were attributed to armed herders from Tiaty East and Tiaty West. These herders occupy strategic vantage points to monitor security forces and facilitate attacks on Tugen communities. In Tiaty West Sub-County, high illiteracy, inadequate infrastructure, widespread availability of illegal firearms, and lack of government presence were identified as the key contributors to insecurity. Additional factors include poverty, alcoholism, boundary politics, inconsistent peace efforts, and the absence of a coherent strategy to eliminate cattle rustling.

11. In Samburu County, it was observed that conflicts primarily arise from competition over scarce natural resources, particularly between the Samburu and Turkana communities over access to water and grazing land, frequently escalating into violent confrontations. While Samburu North has seen relative calm recently, areas like Ang'ata Nanyukie Ward continue to face security challenges from bandits displacing local residents from neighbouring Tiaty in Baringo County. The key drivers of insecurity in Samburu County include intensified competition over natural resources, disputes over access to water and grazing land, politicization of community boundary issues, and cultural practices such as *moranism*, which encourages cattle rustling. The involvement of political actors manipulating communal conflicts for personal gain and the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons have also significantly contributed to the escalation of violent conflicts. In Longewan, residents opined that the alleged boundary conflict between Samburu and Pokot in Tiaty is a pretext for ongoing tensions, with the Pokot community seeking to expand their territory into Samburu County. The longstanding conflict along the Samburu-Tiaty border revolves around competition for land, water, and pasture, exacerbated by cattle rustling and banditry.
12. In Turkana County, it was noted that conflicts and criminal activities are primarily driven by ethnic hostility, competition for pasture and water, boundary disputes, cultural practices, commercial interests, breaches of peace agreements, and political interference. In Turkana East, it was observed that resource-based conflicts stem from competition for scarce resources, such as pasture and water, exacerbated by prolonged drought, particularly in Nadome, Lomelo, Kapedo, Napeitom, and Lochakula. Residents of Lochakula Location reported that land competition is intensified by bordering two counties, leading to frequent raids aimed at displacing residents and asserting territorial claims. For instance, the ownership of Kapedo Trading Centre is contested by both Turkana and Pokot, each having administrative units named Kapedo. It was noted that political warlords exacerbate tensions in border areas by arming communities, leading to cycles of revenge attacks. The proliferation of illegal arms fuels the conflict, while cultural practices such as high bride prices and the glorification of warriors contribute to violence. Stock theft is driven by cultural and economic motives, including the need to restock herds depleted during droughts. The conflict is attributed to competition over natural and mineral resources, a discriminatory disarmament programme, militia formation by Pokot leadership, and compromised security agencies. Further, illicit arms and ammunition cartels contribute to banditry, and the commercialization of livestock raids thrives due to a ready market in major towns. The lack of communication networks and road infrastructure hinders incident reporting and response. The Turkana community often delays or fails to report stolen animals, impeding follow-up and action. Deliberate duplications of administrative unit names and the posting of government officials to areas within Turkana County cause confusion and lead to land and boundary disputes.
13. In West Pokot County, the key contributing factors to the ongoing conflict in the region include resource scarcity and the commercialisation of cattle rustling, driven by accessible markets. The proliferation of illegal firearms further aggravates the situation. Political exploitation of boundary disputes between West Pokot and Turkana fuels community tensions. Additionally, local leaders from conflicting communities often engage in incitement, while cultural practices, such as demanding substantial dowries, further exacerbate the conflict.
14. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, it was noted that the root causes of the conflicts in the North Rift include organised crime, attempts at territorial expansion, poverty, illiteracy, marginalisation,

climate change, and the proliferation of illegal firearms. Additionally, lax security measures and political and cultural motivations contribute to the unrest. Specific local issues, such as the spread of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, and resource-based conflicts exacerbated by difficult terrain, notably in Kamologon in Embotut Forest. These challenges are compounded by insufficient community engagement in intelligence-sharing and the presence of unattended livestock along borders, which leads to frequent theft. In Marakwet East, residents reported that persistent conflicts are driven by cattle rustling and competition for resources, particularly access to pastures. During the dry season, the influx of Pokots into Marakwet lands for grazing results in disputes. Contributing factors include the availability of illicit firearms, low literacy levels, cultural practices that glorify cattle rustling, and the commercialisation of such activities. Collaborative criminal activities between communities, aimed at livestock theft, and retaliatory attacks further aggravate the situation. Issues such as forceful intrusion by livestock herders, territorial expansion, illegal firearms, cultural beliefs, and high poverty rates. Further, boundary dispute with the Pokot, along with political incitement, rampant livestock theft, and competition over pastures, intensifies the conflict, especially when Pokot herders graze on Marakwet farms and crops.

15. KNCHR submitted that the conflict in the North Rift is driven by multiple factors. Key among these are the introduction of firearms, cultural practices, and the commercialisation of cattle rustling. Additionally, high bride prices, political incitement, and frequent changes to administrative boundaries contribute to the conflict. The situation is further exacerbated by the shrinkage of shared pastures and water sources, inadequate deployment of security personnel, and the lack of police presence over a 61.5 km stretch from Silale to Amer.
16. The Committee made the following findings on the the causes of insecurity and the understanding of the evolving dynamics and causes that continue to fuel the persistent crisis:
 - 1) Commercialization of cattle rustling and availability of ready livestock market access. Cattle rustling and banditry stand out as the primary causes of insecurity in the North Rift. Cattle rustling is incentivized by factors such as financial gains from banditry, cultural practices and sentimental value attached to livestock and the compulsion to restock after periods of drought.
 - 2) Competition over scarce and diminishing resources. Competition for resources such as water, pastureland and expansion of grazing lands by certain communities has significantly contributed to insecurity in the region. As the resources become increasingly limited, tensions escalate among communities leading to conflicts.
 - 3) Proliferation and availability of illicit small arms, ammunition and light weapons in the North Rift. The ease of access to small arms and ammunitions has empowered criminal groups and armed militias, allowing them to terrorize local communities, disrupt economic activities, and destabilize the region. The criminals have become bolder and unyielding in their banditry activities to the extent of targeting security personnel security personnel and government installations with impunity, undermining the rule of law and order in the affected area.
 - 4) Territorial expansion and land grabbing by warring communities. The conflict has also been escalated by the push for dominance and aggressive attempts to expand territorial control and secure exclusive land ownership by some communities in the

North Rift. This is evident where Ilchamus, Tugen, Turkana, Samburu have been displaced from their ancestral lands. Similarly, the Mukogodo of Laikipia north have been displaced from the ancestral homes by invaders from Isiolo county.

- 5) Marginalization and under development: - The six counties of the North Rift are among the least developed regions in Kenya due to longstanding marginalization. Tiaty Constituency, in particular, suffers from limited socioeconomic development, lack of economic opportunities and high levels of illiteracy which perpetuates a cycle of insecurity. The limited government presence in most of these areas has permitted criminal activities and lawlessness to thrive, further worsening the insecurity in the region.
- 6) Porous borders and lack of sufficient administrative National Government structures. Porous borders and inadequate government presence in the North Rift region facilitate the flow of illicit arms, provide safe havens for criminals, and hinder law enforcement efforts, creating a cycle of violence and escalating insecurity. The cycle of attacks and counter-attacks increases the demand for firearms and transformed traditional raids into organized and deadly operations.
- 7) Political actors and elites. Some politicians and elites provide support, including arms, ammunition and auxiliary resources to criminals to carryout raids. The aim is to gain political supremacy and control of their neighbouring communities' land. Politicisation of violence escalates inter-communal conflicts and hinders peace efforts.
- 8) Cultural Practices and traditional spiritual leaders: - The possession of firearms among youth incentivizes them to join in cattle raids driven by the desire to reclaim cattle exchanged for weapons. Raids are carried out with the blessings of the traditional spiritual leaders and the community glorifies the raiders who receive cultural recognition and enhanced social status for the killings.

c. To evaluate the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas

The Interventions

17. The Committee noted a significant improvement in security within the North Rift counties since the commencement of security operations in early 2023. This has led to a reduction and containment of banditry and cattle rustling, though the situation remains fragile, necessitating ongoing efforts for regional stabilisation. In the short term, the government has implemented several measures to restore peace and security. These include promoting peaceful coexistence through cross-border meetings, mopping up illegal firearms, recruiting and deploying NPRs, and deploying specialised police units. Additional efforts involve enforcing a dusk-to-dawn curfew, increasing patrols and surveillance, holding security barazas, apprehending perpetrators, recovering stolen livestock, and collaborating with security stakeholders and communities. For long-term peace, the government is focused on initiatives aimed at improving infrastructure and accessibility for security agencies, such as rehabilitating road networks and constructing schools. Other measures include enhancing telecommunication networks, ensuring reliable water sources, and deploying special security units. The

government is also working on enforcing compulsory basic education, resolving boundary disputes, increasing its presence through additional police stations and administrative units, and improving overall infrastructure to support police operations and ensure swift emergency responses.

18. In Laikipia County, the government has deployed the GSU, RDU, and NPRs to bolster security efforts. A collaborative operation involving multiple agencies is currently underway in Mukogodo Forest, with law enforcement agencies, NPRs, and community elders actively engaged in pursuing and recovering operations to manage criminal activities and conflicts. Immediate measures implemented by the government to restore stability include peace dialogues between communities, a coordinated multi-agency response to incidents, curfews, nighttime patrols, and security operations in Mukogodo Forest. Long-term strategies involve disarmament initiatives, recruitment and training of NPRs, enhancing surveillance and intelligence capabilities, community-based conflict resolution mechanisms, and strengthening the Kenya Forest Service's capacity to manage Mukogodo Forest.
19. In Baringo County, there is a comprehensive approach to enhancing security, involving increased policing, the active participation of politicians and local leaders, and joint peace meetings with elders. Several short-term measures have been implemented to address insecurity, including the deployment of specialised units to volatile regions, recruitment and deployment of NPRs, and ongoing security operations to eliminate bandits and stabilise the region. In Baringo North Sub-County, the Government is implementing infrastructure improvements such as the opening and grading of security roads, with plans to provide vehicles, meals, and protective gear for security personnel. The deployment of MRAP vehicles, APCs, drones for aerial surveillance, and increased fuel allocations are also part of the strategy, although some measures remain pending. Long-term strategies include economic empowerment through development projects like dams, boreholes, schools, and churches, aimed at addressing the root causes of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of inter-community cohesion. Legal reforms have also been recommended to legislate harsher punishments for banditry, investigate arms trafficking, hold accountable leaders benefiting from illegal activities, and implement livestock branding for easier tracking of stolen animals. A multi-pronged approach combining robust security operations, socio-economic development, legal reforms, and promoting peaceful coexistence between communities is deemed essential to resolving the cycle of insecurity in the region.
20. In Samburu County, the security measures implemented include facilitating cross-border meetings and dialogue among communities, efforts to identify and seize illegally-held small arms and light weapons, recruitment and deployment of NPRs and other security measures, establishment and empowerment of local committees to oversee the sustainable management of grazing lands and water resources, activation of Range Management Committees, identification, arrest, and prosecute individuals involved in insecurity-related crimes, and recovery and repatriation of stolen livestock. The County Security Committee recommended a phased and coordinated mass disarmament exercise, the construction and improvement of road and communication networks, the implementation of a livestock identification and tracking system, expediting the process of clear land demarcation and boundary identification, empowering traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and integrating them with formal justice systems, and providing opportunities for morans to participate in community development and peace-building initiatives.

21. In Turkana County, the Government has implemented several measures to restore normalcy. Cross-border peace initiatives, using local peace committees and continuous community peace dialogue forums, have been crucial. Enhanced operations by security agencies include the operationalisation of Suguta Sub-County, Katilia, and Kochodin Divisions, and other administrative units in Turkana East. The Government has also engaged stakeholders such as NGOs, religious organisations, and the County Government in peacebuilding efforts, with a focus on youths, reformed warriors, traditional seers, and women in security management. The security measures include biometric screening for refugees and asylum seekers, regular patrols by the Kenya Coast Guard within lake areas, engagement with NPRs, and mobilisation of community elders from both Turkana and Pokot communities for dialogue. The MP for Turkana East submitted that no operational activities are currently taking place in Turkana East, with raids and killings of civilians and security personnel still prevalent.
22. In West Pokot County, there are several government initiatives aimed at restoring peace, including recovering stolen livestock, organising joint security meetings, and community gatherings. NPRs have been deployed, and multi-agency patrols have been increased in volatile areas, including schools along the border. Additionally, a voluntary disarmament exercise has been conducted, military patrols intensified in Kamologon Forest, and a GSU camp established at Lami Nyeusi/Nyeupe. Perpetrators, including bandits and their facilitators, have been arrested, and curfew orders enforced in disturbed areas. Long-term measures focus on mopping up illegal firearms, promoting alternative livelihoods such as irrigation farming for the Turkana community, and establishing low-cost boarding schools and vocational training institutions along the borders. The government is also addressing disputed land boundaries, creating pasture management committees in conflict zones, and setting up security camps in Ombolion, Amolem, and Chesogon.
23. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, the government has deployed NPS, ASTU, GSU, and NPRs to address ongoing regional conflicts. The area of Tot has historically been troubled by cattle rustling, banditry, and inter-community disputes, primarily due to resource competition and the proliferation of firearms. To enhance security, the government has implemented disarmament operations, increased patrols, and intensified efforts to apprehend criminals.

Effectiveness of the Interventions

24. On the effectiveness of the interventions implemented by the Government security agencies to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas, the Rift Valley Regional Commissioner noted that ongoing multi-security operations have stabilised the region by facilitating movement, restoring normalcy, and reducing inter-community counterattacks. Key successes include arrests and confiscation of illegal firearms, recovery of stolen livestock, displaced communities have returned to their ancestral homes, security has improved, economic activities have resumed, schools have reopened, new low-cost schools have been built, and community groups supported for long-term development.
25. In Laikipia County, the Deputy County Commissioner for Laikipia North reported a decrease in livestock theft, retrieval of illegal firearms, and recovery of stolen livestock. However, ongoing operations have displaced 4,306 households from Lokusero, Sieku, and Mukogodo locations, and the closure of Sieku, Lokusero, Ol-Arjiju, and Bokish Primary Schools. Forced evictions from numerous villages without alternative shelter or accommodation have raised concerns about human rights violations, displacement households and disruption of education

with the deprivation of livelihood for communities like Yaaku whose livelihood entirely depends on Mukogodo Forest. The residents of Makurian Location criticised the eviction strategy for lacking consultation and involving the *nyumba kumi* elders. Despite the order, bandits remained in the forest and there is of bandit retaliation if security operations fail.

26. In Baringo County, it was noted that recent security efforts have led to a notable reduction in banditry incidents, the return of displaced populations, the reopening of schools, and the resumption of economic activities in previously affected areas. The Kasiela RDU Camp Commander also highlighted the success of a multi-agency approach to addressing insecurity, noting the return of residents, the reopening of businesses and schools, and improved relations between local communities and law enforcement. Operation *Maliza Uhalifu*, a key element of this strategy, has significantly decreased banditry, though sporadic incidents of cattle theft and violence persist. The establishment of the Arabal GSU Camp was also noted as a significant turning point, with a gradual return of residents indicating an improved security situation. However, in Baringo North Sub-County, Members of Parliament for Baringo North and Baringo County reported ongoing attacks by suspected Pokot bandits. On 10th February 2024, bandits ambushed motorbikes at Namba in Kosile, resulting in the fatal shooting of a visually impaired head teacher from Kagir. The following day, further violence occurred along Kindiki Road, where heavy gunfire with security forces led to injuries and vehicle damage during an ambush along the Karanga Joto-Kagir route. Despite the multi-agency efforts under Operation *Maliza Uhalifu* to eradicate illegal herding activities, the community continues to suffer from fatalities, property losses, and displacement. School programmes have also been disrupted, further disadvantaging the community. Although security agencies have acted with good intentions, the operation has not fully achieved its objectives, indicating a need for additional measures to ensure safety and security. The security units have implemented strategies such as daily briefings, dominating key hills, and flushing out illegal Pokot herders from the Ngaratuko grazing field. However, attacks have persisted, including the fatal shooting of the Kagir Primary School head teacher. The multi-agency team faces significant challenges, including inadequate transport, acute fuel shortages, a lack of vital equipment such as armoured carriers and drones, and issues of command and control. Consequently, the presence of security forces has not fully prevented further attacks, deaths, loss of livelihoods, animal theft, displacement, and disruption of education for the Tugen community. In Tiaty West Sub-County, there has been relative peace between Marakwet East and Tiaty, as well as in Laikipia and Baringo South. However, recent conflicts have emerged between Baringo North and Tiaty residents when Tiaty residents sought grass but faced resistance from their neighbours. The ongoing conflict between Tiaty and Turkana remains unresolved, with areas like Kapedo, Lomelo, and Lomwakring Hills remaining ungoverned by either county or national administrations. Similarly, Tiaty residents have settled in ungoverned areas such as Malasso in Samburu County, with some migrating to Kacheliba Constituency and eventually to Uganda near Lake Choga.
27. In Samburu County, the County Commissioner stated that the multi-agency security presence, including KDF, police units (GSU and ASTU), and NPRs, has been crucial in restoring peace and reducing retaliatory attacks. These security operations have led to the arrest and prosecution of criminals and suspects, the neutralization of bandits, the recovery of stolen cattle, and the seizure and surrender of illegal firearms. However, the MP for Samburu West highlighted that despite residents complying with the orders of the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and National Administration to vacate areas believed to harbour bandits, security

forces have not taken decisive action, and bandits continue to terrorise the residents. She noted that the multi-agency team in Samburu West faces equipment gaps, which hinder their ability to respond effectively to attacks in the region's harsh terrain.

28. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner highlighted a notable decrease in incidents of insecurity, attributing this improvement to the concerted efforts of the county security team and the Multi-Agency team. The joint police-led operation, in collaboration with KDF, has significantly restored normalcy in Turkana South and Turkana East. Most of the recently stolen livestock have been recovered and returned to their rightful owners. Turkana East and Turkana South, which border the volatile Baringo, West Pokot, and Samburu Counties, are the primary focus of ongoing security operations. These operations have emphasized building trust within the communities and responding effectively to reports, fostering partnership and community engagement. In Turkana East, the Deputy County Commissioner noted that the frequent attacks have been minimized due to the heavy presence and patrols by the operation team. There have been successful recoveries of stolen livestock, and the provision of modern equipment, such as drones, has aided in conclusively flushing out bandits. Normalcy has resumed in most areas, with security officers now taking full control of the previously disturbed regions.
29. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner reported a marked reduction in banditry and stock theft since the establishment of the GSU Camp at Lami Nyeusi and the deployment of KDF at Kainuk. The voluntary surrender of forty-nine firearms and the enhanced security have facilitated the reopening of previously closed schools, including Turkwel Secondary School. Furthermore, displaced residents along the Marakwet East and Pokot South border have been able to return to their homes due to the increased presence of KDF in the area.
30. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, recent security operations have effectively curtailed cattle rustling and banditry, according to the Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet West. These efforts have led to improved relations between the Marakwet and Pokot communities, fostering increased interactions and business at Kolowa market. Notable successes include the recovery of stolen livestock and the apprehension of notorious bandits, bolstered by regular KDF patrols. However, challenges remain. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet East noted ongoing issues such as the availability of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, limited resources, and community distrust of law enforcement. Despite the positive outcomes of recent operations, these persistent problems continue to affect security and community trust in the region.
31. The Committee made the following findings on the effectiveness of interventions implemented by the Government security agencies since January 2023 to restore peace and normalcy in the affected areas: -
 - 1) Operation Maliza Uhalifu. To achieve a successful peaceful situation, a police-led security operation supported by the Kenya Defence Forces dubbed Operation Maliza Uhalifu in the North Rift was ordered in February 2023 in the six counties in line with Article 241(3) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya.
 - 2) Deployment of specialized police units and National Police Reservists. The Ministry of Interior and National Administration has strategically deployed specialized police units to multiple locations in the North Rift region to restore law and order. Additionally, the Ministry has recruited, trained and deployed National Police

Reservists (NPRs) to enhance police operations and provide swift responses during emergencies.

- 3) Implementation of curfew, activation of rangeland management Committees to enhance resource sharing, enhanced regular patrols and surveillance. Also, they carried out security barazas, apprehending and charging of perpetrators in court of law, and enhanced recovery of stolen livestock in collaboration with all security stakeholders and the communities to restore peace
- 4) Promoting peaceful co-existence and cross border meetings amongst communities by mopping up of illegal firearms.
- 5) The Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration issued a Kenya Gazette Notice designating specific areas in Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, West Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, and Laikipia counties as 'disturbed' and 'dangerous'. This categorization of specific areas is intended to enable the implementation of focused security operation within these regions designating them as 'hot spots.'
- 6) The Government is in the process of implementing economic revitalization and development plans in the region for infrastructural development. As a priority the reconstruction of schools destroyed by bandits and opening of road networks to ensure accessibility by security agencies, and initiation of other socio-economic development projects.
- 7) Additionally, the government intends to provide, specialized equipment and tools to security officers and provision of socio-economic services which include telecommunication network coverage, drilling of boreholes, compulsory basic education, resolution of boundary disputes, and increase Government presence in the region.
- 8) There has been successful recovery of stolen livestock, flushing out of bandits from their hide-outs', displaced communities have returned to their ancestral homes in some parts, some schools have been reopened in Baringo County. Economic activities have resumed including farming in Perkerra irrigation scheme.
- 9) The multi-agency efforts in the North Rift have not made a significant impact. Residents who fled from their homes in parts of Turkana, Laikipia, Samburu, and Baringo have not returned home, and those in areas like Baringo North are still fleeing. Banditry attacks persist, leading to school closures along inter-communal borders, and lives and property remain at risk.
- 10) Despite the concerted effort by the government to address insecurity in the North Rift, challenges still persist. Cattle rustling, banditry, displacement of communities is still rampant.

d. To identify challenges faced in the stabilization of the situation

32. The Ministry of Interior and National Administration acknowledged concerns about the current design of police vehicles in operational areas and pledged to redesign them to enhance safety and expedite officer disembarkation during attacks. Additionally, new policies on fuel allocation for National Government Administrative Officers are being developed, and a new fleet of vehicles is scheduled for distribution soon. The Rift Valley Regional Commissioner

highlighted several challenges in stabilising the region. These challenges include vast and rugged terrain hindering mobility, lack of aerial support for rapid response, poor communication networks, and the easy availability of illegal firearms and ammunition. High illiteracy levels in bandit-prone areas, insufficient security personnel, and inadequate resources for security agencies further complicate the situation. A shortage of police vehicles affects 43 police stations, while local political dynamics, poor road networks, water scarcity, and harsh climatic conditions also contribute to instability. Frequent breakdowns of MRAP vehicles and APCs, with 18 APCs requiring urgent repair, exacerbate the challenges.

33. In Laikipia County, the Deputy County Commissioner for Laikipia North highlighted the difficulties in accessing the rugged terrain of the vast Mukogodo Forest to apprehend bandits.
34. In Baringo County, the County Commissioner highlighted ongoing challenges, including insufficient security personnel, a lack of essential equipment such as MRAPs, APCs, and helicopters, and the proliferation of illegal firearms among communities. In Baringo South Sub-County, the Kasiela RDU Camp Commander noted that poor road networks hinder the movement of security forces in the rugged terrain, limiting mobility and operational effectiveness. The use of drones for aerial support is crucial, particularly as the region relies on a single KDF helicopter, which may not always be available due to prior commitments. The Arabal GSU Commander also stressed the critical need for drones given the area's challenging terrain. The limited availability of a single armoured vehicle for continuous school protection presents operational difficulties. Furthermore, there is an urgent need for the formal allocation of land for the GSU Camp to construct permanent structures, including an armoury to enhance security operations and a dispensary to provide local medical services, thus reducing the need for residents to travel to Kinamba or Marigat. In Baringo North Sub-County, the Members of Parliament for Baringo North and Baringo County reported that efforts to restore peace and stability are hindered by several challenges. These include inadequate transport, insufficient equipment, lack of motivation for officers, coordination issues among security teams, and instances of community incitement.
35. In Samburu County, the County Commissioner articulated the impediments to security efforts within the region including the rugged terrain of the Amaiya-Malasso-Suguta valley which significantly obstruct patrolling and law enforcement activities. The valley's inaccessibility is further compounded by the limited access roads, poor communication networks, and a lack of aerial support, all of which undermine operations aimed at combating banditry and recovering stolen livestock. The Commissioner also noted the proliferation of illegal firearms and high levels of illiteracy in the region as substantial obstacles to community engagement and intelligence gathering. The situation is exacerbated by the inadequate number of security personnel and the scarcity of essential resources, including vehicles and logistical support, which severely limit the operational capacity of the security forces. Furthermore, complex local political dynamics and the shortage of specialised vehicles such as MRAPs and APCs detrimentally impact the effectiveness of security measures. Efforts to stabilise the region are further hampered by the absence of proper evacuation plans for injured officers and insufficient cooperation with the Baringo County Security Committee. Residents of Longewan noted that certain individuals from the Pokot community exhibit uncooperative behaviour during peace talks, allegedly using these meetings to infiltrate Samburu areas. Additionally, the non-cooperation of National Government Administrative Officers, particularly the chiefs in Baringo County, impedes livestock recovery efforts. The ASTU camp in Longewan is

notably under-equipped, possessing only one land cruiser to cover an extensive area, thus necessitating the provision of additional vehicles to enhance operational effectiveness. The overall government presence is diminished due to the non-operational status of administrative units and the relocation of assistant chiefs to safer areas. In Lolmolog, Samburu Central, residents endure severe shortages of basic necessities, including sanitation, food, healthcare, and education. They have called for the restoration of peace to enable them to return to their farms and resume socio-economic activities. Additionally, there have been requests for the creation of a new sub-county, Samburu West, and the establishment of additional divisions to bolster government presence and improve responsiveness to local needs.

36. In Turkana County, the County Commissioner noted significant challenges to stabilisation efforts, including harsh terrain, poor road networks, inadequate mobile communication coverage, and insufficient modern equipment for police units. These issues are exacerbated by a lack of adherence to peace agreements, delayed medical evacuations for injured officers, and insufficient political support, with high illiteracy levels further complicating the situation. In Turkana East, the Deputy County Commissioner highlighted that difficult terrain and poor infrastructure impede swift security responses. Bandits in remote areas such as Nadome and Napeitom are difficult to access with conventional police equipment. Local police units in Lomelo and Lokori suffer from outdated equipment, and peace declarations are often disregarded due to the limited authority and resources of Ceasefire Monitoring Committees (CMCs). Further challenges include inadequate fuel for security vehicles, a shortage of vehicles for Assistant County Commissioners, and delays in medical evacuations. The Suguta Professional Group noted slow progress in operationalising Suguta Sub-County and highlighted discrepancies in administrative boundaries between Turkana and Pokot. Infrastructure deficiencies, such as the lack of paved roads from Chemolingot to Lokori, and political interference exacerbate these issues. The MP for Turkana East added that inadequate government presence and inconsistent disarmament efforts contribute to ongoing instability. The rugged terrain and insufficient numbers of NPRs hinder effective coverage, while political interference disrupts government initiatives, including disarmament and mop-up operations. The persistence of impunity among bandits is further attributed to infrequent prosecutions.
37. In West Pokot County, the County Commissioner reported that the effectiveness of security operations is significantly hindered by several factors. Poor communication and inadequate road networks exacerbate these issues, while insufficient budgetary allocation and a shortage of security personnel further impede progress. Additionally, the ongoing influx of illegal firearms from the porous Turkana borders complicates efforts to restore peace and stability in the region.
38. In Elgeyo Marakwet County, security efforts are significantly challenged. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet West reported issues such as the proliferation of firearms, inadequate security infrastructure, insufficient resources for National Government Administrative Officers, and community hostility towards security agencies. Furthermore, instances of community members shielding criminals hinder effective law enforcement. The Deputy County Commissioner for Marakwet East added that in the Kerio Valley, challenges include limited resources and funding for security operations in remote areas, lack of coordination between government agencies and security forces, resistance from some community members, high poverty and unemployment rates, limited access to crime

prevention education, and corruption among law enforcement officials. These issues collectively undermine trust in the justice system and exacerbate the security situation.

39. The Committee made the following findings on the challenges faced in the stabilization of the situation: -

- 1) Political interests and patronage: - Some politicians partner with criminal networks, armed groups to gain power, influence and resources, incentivizing the maintenance of instability. This undermines efforts to establish lasting peace in the region.
- 2) The vast and rugged terrain, poor communication network and lack of aerial support by police makes rapid response and tracing the bandits difficult. Moreover, the availability of illegal firearms and ammunition from across the borders continues to complicate the operation.
- 3) The security forces are not able to operate effectively due to lack of enough manpower, often out-numbered by the bandits. They also lack of appropriate equipment, fuel, food ration and are demoralized by unpaid allowances.
- 4) The poor road networks to pursue bandits, water scarcity in camps, and harsh climatic conditions makes it difficult for security personnel to combat bandits effectively. The lack adequate serviceable (AMRAPs) and (APCs) in the North Rift has tremendously undermined the efficiency of the multi-agency operation.
- 5) The challenging terrain, poor road networks, water scarcity, and harsh climate, hinders the effectiveness of security operations against bandits in the North Rift. Furthermore, the lack of sufficient armoured vehicles, like Armoured Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (AMRAPs) and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs), severely hampers the efficiency of multi-agency efforts to combat insecurity in the region.
- 6) Although the National Police Reservists supplement the police operations, there is lack of a legal framework on the establishment, operations, role and remuneration the National Police Reservists in the country leading to ambiguity and inconsistencies in their training, deployment, operational command and oversight.

B. COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

40. Based on the evidence on record and analysis thereof, the Committee recommends as follows: -

- 1) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration, and National Police Service should initiate a disarmament exercise aimed at confiscating all illicit firearms held by unlicensed civilians in all areas in the six counties of North Rift. This will contribute in reducing the proliferation of illegal weapons, enhancing public safety, and curbing criminal activities associated with firearm misuse by criminals. Any leader confirmed to be sabotaging this exercise MUST be apprehended.
- 2) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should initiate a systematic intelligence-led operation in the North Rift region to dismantle criminal networks operation in the region and flush the criminals from their hideouts. The Ministry should prioritize intelligence gathering to obtain accurate and real-time information on the activities and movements of criminal groups for effective crime prevention and response.
- 3) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should establish strong National Government Administrative structures and presence across all regions, especially in underserved areas where criminal activities thrive due to the absence of government officers. This entails creating new administrative units, deploying personnel and resources to ensure effective governance, law enforcement and provision of essential services to promote stability and development.
- 4) The National Police Service should adopt and deploy modern security surveillance systems by integrating advanced technologies such as drones, Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected vehicles, Armoured Personnel Carriers, and air surveillance. This will enhance their ability to detect and combat crime, while ensuring safer working conditions for its officers.
- 5) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should relocate security camps in operational areas from locations within the communities to border areas to enhance security presence, improve response capabilities, and establish a more effective buffer against cross-border criminal activities. The security forces need to be organised for mobile operations.
- 6) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should review seating of mounted troops in police operations vehicles used for operation to ensure safer and faster disembarkation by officers during emergencies. Further, the Ministry shall streamline policy for fuel allocation to National Government Administrative Officers, in far flung areas, and that vehicles are fuelled within the operational areas.
- 7) The Cabinet Secretary for the Ministry of Interior and National Administration should formulate and review National Police Reservist (NPR) Policy Framework and provide operational guidelines and structure and remuneration of the NPR as a professional and accountable security unit.
- 8) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should follow internationally recognized human rights standards when evicting residents from disturbed areas in future.

Measures should be put in place to ensure that innocent individuals are relocated to safer locations and provided with basic humanitarian necessities.

- 9) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration in collaboration with other development partners shall offer humanitarian aid to internally displaced residents in terms of food and shelter. Further, the Government should facilitate safe return of the displaced communities in the six counties to their homes and provide security to enable them enjoy their fundamental rights to life, safety, and security and resumption of their social economic activities as provided for in Article 43 of the Constitution.
- 10) The Cabinet to establish an Inter-Ministerial agency led by the Ministry of Interior and National Administration to implement a comprehensive development plan for the remote areas of the North, including the construction of new schools, healthcare facilities, and water infrastructure.
- 11) The Ministry responsible for Infrastructure in liaison with Ministry of Interior and National Administration should construct security roads across the entire North Rift Region to connect all the six counties across the Kerio and Malasso valleys to enhance connectivity and spur economic development in the region.
- 12) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should investigate allegations raised by residents and county governments of Samburu and Turkana that roads and infrastructural projects are being implemented in their constituencies using funds allocated to Tiaty Constituency CDF and KeRRA allegedly with the aim of claiming these areas and take remedial actions.
- 13) The National Government in collaboration with the County Governments should clearly delineate the county boundaries through collaborative and comprehensive approach for effective border management, security operations, and the prevention of disputes that often contribute to instability in the region.
- 14) The National Cohesion and Integration Commission should support the revitalization of traditional governance structures within pastoral communities by empowering local elders and traditional leaders to facilitate community-led conflict resolution mechanisms and promote inter-community dialogue. Top of Form The counties of Turkana, Elgeiyo Marakwet, Baringo, Samburu and Laikipia should be brought on board in order to be part of the discussion on national cohesion. Moreover, the Commission, shall look into issues of employment, equal opportunity, affirmative action, and inclusivity at all level of Kenyan society.
- 15) The Cabinet shall implement long-term development initiatives focused on sustainable resource management, livelihood diversification such as irrigation and water harvesting, creating feedlots and economic empowerment to address the root causes of conflicts and promote socio-economic stability in the North Rift Region and in all Arid and semi-Arid lands
- 16) The Ministry of Education to ensure compulsory primary and secondary education in all North Rift and arid and semi-arid counties for all school age children. It is further proposed that there be integrated boarding schools that brings children from diverse communities together. Furthermore, it is recommended that there shall be a sustainable provision of school feeding programme.

- 17) The Ministry of Education should prioritize the reconstruction and reopening of all educational institutions that have been closed due to insecurity in the six affected counties. This is essential to ensure the continuity of learning and provide a safe environment for students and staff in these areas.
- 18) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration to develop a comprehensive strategy to resettle all displaced communities in the six counties back to their homes. Further, the Ministry should endeavour to restore calm and the rule of law in the affected regions and facilitate residents to return to their homes and resume their livelihoods.
- 19) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration should establish a compensation mechanism to support the affected families who have lost their loved ones, properties, and livestock. This will help them resume their socio-economic activities and rebuild their lives in the aftermath of the conflict.
- 20) The Ministry of Interior and National Administration in collaboration with the Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning, should develop administrative mechanisms to resolve the persistent boundary disputes between the affected counties and undertake clear demarcation and delimitation exercises in line with Districts and Provinces Act, 1992, Chapter 105A of the Laws of Kenya from where boundaries are comprehensively defined.

MIN./NO./DC-AIS/2024/217: ANY OTHER BUSINESS

There was no other business.

MIN./NO./DC-AIS/2024/218: ADJOURNMENT

There being no other business, the meeting was adjourned at 1.00 p.m. The next meeting will be held at 2.00 p.m. at the same venue.

SIGNED  DATE ~~25~~ 23/05/2024

**HON. GABRIEL TONGOYO, MP
CHAIRPERSON
DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION & INTERNAL SECURITY**