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CONSOLIDATING THE PEACE PROCESS AND ESTABLISHING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL POLITICAL TRANSITION IN KENYA: 2010-2013

UNDP and the Government of Kenya Joint Initiative

PEACE DIVIDENDS: CONSOLIDATING PEACE IN NORTHERN KENYA THROUGH PEACE DIVIDEND PROJECTS

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the concept of peace dividend and more specifically its contribution to consolidation and promotion of peace and prevention of recurrence of conflicts among communities or groups emerging from violent or protracted conflicts. It argues that communities, emerging from a history of conflicting relationships but have since embraced peace should be “rewarded” with peace “dividends” mainly to consolidate the gains realized after the signing (informal or formal) of a peace agreement or cessation of hostilities. It also argues that such projects have the potential to act as bait in as far as encouraging other communities to embrace peace in order to benefit from peace dividend project.

For such projects to fit the bill of peace dividends, the paper outlines the types of projects or assistance as well as the selection criterion and implementation processes. Such projects need to be selected in a participatory manner (community involvement), be bi-communal, conflict, gender and age sensitive. Above all, the projects should clearly demonstrate its linkage with consolidation of peace between groups or communities in society.

The main purpose of this paper is to outline the processes and procedures that should be taken into account while designing, executing, monitoring and evaluation peace dividend projects, especially by the programme staff as well as partners and communities involved in the implementation of the **Consolidating the Peace process and establishing the foundation for a Successful Political Transition in Kenya 2010-2013 programme.**

1.0 Introduction

In the recent past, the discourse on post-conflict reconstruction in many parts of the world has been dominated by the call for the respective governments, aid agencies, development partners and the communities to expend their energies and resources to consolidating the just gained peace through a series of development projects that are popularly referred to as peace dividends.

The rationale behind such discourse stems from the understanding that with the end of conflict or war, resources that were initially channeled to the conflict could now be used for socio-economic development projects and general reconstruction. The concept is also premised on the fact that the ceasefire or peace agreement is just an event within the peace building continuum, where the real process of consolidated the gains made commences, and what a way to do the same other than to invest in strengthening social relations, livelihood restoration, rehabilitation and or development of socio-economic infrastructure to kick-start the process of healing, reconciliation and cohesion.

In the conflict management speak aid agencies and governments have been known to pump a lot of resources in conflict prone areas ostensibly to prevent and or manage the conflict but disappear the sooner a ceasefire agreement is brokered. This has in turn led to communities' clamoring that the resources that were initially being channeled to conflict management should now be invested in the communities to deepen and consolidate the peace. Others have been outright in claiming that because of maintaining peace, their efforts should be rewarded with peace dividend projects alongside other awards and commendations.

Proponents of Peace Dividends have been vocal in North Eastern Kenya, a region that has managed to emerge from near three decades of both state and self inflicted mayhems. Immediately after independence in 1963, North Eastern Kenya found itself in the murky

waters of *shifita*¹ war that lasted until late 1960s with its effects being felt up to early 2000. The war was fought because the independent Kenyan government could not entertain the idea of the Somali community residing in the region joining Somalia to create the Greater Somalia Republic.

After the war formally ended in 1968 following the signing of the Lusaka Agreement² the previous year, remnants of the *shifita* (bandits) continued terrorizing the residents, with the ensuing conflicts taking inter-clan dimension. It was only until 2001 that the region finally emerged out of this conflict shadows following the brokering of the Modogashe Peace Agreement.

Throughout this conflict period, the government and aid agencies diverted all their resources to security operations and peace dialogues at the expense of other sectors of economy. However and with the achievement of peace in 2001, most of the aid agencies started to move to other areas such as North Rift region, a region still grappling with the problem of insecurity.

This led peace activists and communities in North Eastern Kenya to demand that although there are no major conflicts in the region compared to other parts of the country, aid agencies that were initially supporting peace building activities should now focus on socio-economic development and rehabilitation projects, the peace dividends.

Soon, the government, through Arid Lands Resource Management Project that utilizes

¹ The term *shifita* (bandit or rebel) has its origins in the Amharic verb *shaffala* (to rebel) and is commonly used in East Africa and the Horn to describe an armed group at odds with the law of the state. It was used by early District Commissioners in northern Kenya to describe groups who raided villages and police posts. After independence, it was used to describe people or groups who were at odd with the government (dissidents) and often accused of leading, participating, supporting or being sympathetic to the secessionist movement in former NED (to join the greater Somalia)

² In 1967, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda mediated peace talks between Sonaia Prime Minister Mohamed Egal and Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta in Lusaka, leading to signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the two states that formally ended the *Shifita* war

a credit facility from World Bank as well as other Ministries, started supporting livelihood and socioeconomic projects in the region. Although such projects were not necessarily linked to consolidation of peace, its cumulative results were definitely contributing to sustained peace in a number of ways.

Water facilities, schools and health services were soon restored, rehabilitated or constructed in the region with community members (organized groups) directly supported with micro-credit facilities. Alternative livelihoods such as crop farming along the few rivers in the region were supported with the community members, and mainly because of the drought that became more frequent and severe, embarking on small scale enterprises such as trade, not only in the region, but also in many parts of the country and beyond. Towns like Garissa started to attract a lot of local investments, leading to establishment of major private and public enterprises in the Provincial capital. Albeit it might be difficult to attribute the development of the region to peace, one thing that stands out clear is the fact that compared to other regions of Kenya that have been unable to resolve their conflicts, they pale shadow in terms of development. In synopsis, the dividends of peace are there for all to see in North Eastern region of Kenya today.

Nevertheless, it was Pact Kenya, through its Peace in East and Central Africa phase II (PEACE II) programme that finally popularized the concept peace dividends in cross-border areas of North Eastern Kenya. For the first time, the projects were carefully selected, with the express aim of rewarding peaceful communities and laying frameworks for preventing recurrence of further conflicts. Community participation in the identification of beneficiaries, prioritization of the peace dividend projects, contracting processes, implementation and evaluation of the projects was paramount. This was deliberately done to ensure that the communities not only own the projects but also have a first hand experience of peace dividends; connecting the linkage between peace and development.

On its part, UNDP Kenya, in collaboration with Arid Lands Resource Management Project phase II (ALRMP II), through the Armed Violence and Small Arms Reduction in pastoralists communities of Kenya project that initially started as a pilot project in Garissa in 2004 and expanded in 2008 to include North Eastern province arid Upper Eastern sub-province emphasized on the need to consolidate peace through supporting livelihood and natural resource based projects. Communities and or groups that had voluntarily surrendered illicit small arms and maintained peace were supported with projects such as micro-credit and rehabilitation/construction of water facilities (sand dams, wells and boreholes).

The hypothesis of this project was that by consolidating peace and addressing issues that might cause conflict, people will feel secure hence voluntarily surrendering illicit firearms. A mid term evaluation of this project in 2010 found out that areas that were relatively peaceful such as Garissa were able to surrender higher number of illicit firearms compared to troubled areas like Isiolo³. This finding further corroborated the importance of peace as a precondition for successful disarmament.

The mid term evaluation also found out that many people, especially the youth in pastoralists areas, resort to armed violence and cattle rustling as they can't find meaningful income generating engagements or lack support to engage in other income generating activities Like small scale enterprises. With more youth group supported to undertake income generating activities, the review noted that levels of armed violence will inevitably go down in the pastoralists Northern Kenya and this is what this new 3 year programme is seeking to build on.

³ AIRMP II and UNDP, 2010, Mid Term Review Report, Armed Violence and Small Arms Reduction Project, a joint UNDP and GoK Initiative. Report available at ALRMP II office, Nairobi.

Building from successes of its peace supported projects in the country and recommendations from project evaluations it commissioned in 2009, UNDP Kenya consolidated its peace building and conflict management projects into one strategic and coordinated programme. The new three year programme, christened Consolidating the peace process for a successful political transition in Kenya 2010-2013 programme, which seeks to consolidate the peace process and speak to one programme output as the country moves closer to 2012 General Elections and the transition thereof.

In this programme under the coordination and leadership of National Steering Committee on conflict management and peace building (NSC), a number of implementing partners, based on their comparative advantages, are involved in its execution. Due to its historical advantage, operational structures and presence in arid and semi arid districts as well as leveraging its own resources in its anticipated third phase, ALRMP plays a critical role in implementing the output 6 i.e. Area-based interventions in rural and urban areas to target armed violence (service Delivery) of the programme. In synopsis and doing what it knows best, ALRMP is providing leadership in implementing the peace dividend component of the programme in its areas of operation.

Due to the limitation of the resource envelope, ALRMP will continue consolidating its work in 5 counties in North Eastern and Upper Eastern regions. This will bring Ijara to the fold and with resources permitting, will extend to Samburu, Turkana and West Pokot Counties).

The peace dividend component seeks to consolidate the gains made in North Eastern and Upper Eastern regions by demonstrate that resources could be channeled to development projects when there are no conflicts. This is anticipated to encourage communities in relatively peaceful areas to continue embracing peace in order to enjoy increased funding for tangible, long lasting and bicomunal projects with cumulative results being community buy-in (peace process). The peace dividend and livelihood projects are also designed to demonstrate that the youth

and women can engage in "licit" livelihood and income generation activities and do not necessarily need to engage in illicit livelihood activities. Finally, the peace dividends seek to address issues to do with access to and control of natural resources e.g. water and pasture that have been known to precipitate armed violence in pastoralists' areas in Kenya. Investments in water facilities (sub surface dams, boreholes and rock catchments) could ensure that conflicts over such resources are greatly reduced and prevented.

2.0 Conceptual Framework

Conceptualizing peace dividends as the positive proceeds of peace especially in societies emerging from conflict or war is not necessarily a new phenomenon but has gained currency in the recent past, especially in pastoralists' Northern Kenya. Peace dividend or defines peace dividend as the reallocation of spending from military purposes to peacetime purposes, such as housing, education, and social projects. Based on this broad definition, Peace Dividends could basically be understood as the social, economic, political and environmental benefits accrued after a considerable period of peace following cessation of hostilities and or ending of major conflicts.

The free online encyclopedia, Wikipedia, notes that the concept peace dividend is a political slogan that was popularized by US President George H.W. Bush and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the early 1990s, purporting to describe the economic benefit of a decrease in defense spending⁴. The concept is also traced to the end of cold war era, when western countries significantly cut their military spending. With cut in military spending, it was believed that more resources could now be made available to other sectors of economy and more specifically social spending and infrastructure development

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_dividend

with net result being improved economy and living standards of the citizenry.

The underlying assumption here is that the resources that had been expended to the conflict either by the state or communities for the case of local-level conflicts will now be channeled to productive sectors of the economy that has the capacity to benefit a large section of society. The resources here could mean even the human capital itself. Energies that had been expended to war could now be used in farmlands to increase crop production and also in the livestock sector. The common denominator here is that societies or countries that have emerged from war or those that have leaved peacefully for quite a while are likely to enjoy improved living conditions compared to their counterparts still trapped in protracted conflicts or wars.

While analyzing the existence of peace dividends in real economies, using the "before, during and after" analysis of conflict-affected countries model, a team of researchers at International Monetary Fund (IMF) found out that ending conflict and terrorism and restoring security can result in a substantial peace dividend, freeing up fiscal resources that a country can use to lower its deficit, reduce taxes, or raise the allocation for proper spending⁵.

Economies of many countries emerging from major internal or external conflicts seem to corroborate the finding by the IMF team of researchers. A country like Northern Ireland that was involved in decade old internal strife was able to demonstrate clear signs of measurable economic improvements during the peace process. First, the unemployment rate decreased from once seventeen percent to less than six percent in 2003. Secondly, the emigration rate was reversed, making Northern Ireland for the first time after the war experience net immigration a remarkable achievement for an area that suffered a long time from emigration⁶.

⁵ Sanjeev Gupta, Benedict Clements, Rina Bhattacharya, and Shamit Chakravarti (2002), "The Elusive Peace Dividend", in Finance & Development, a quarterly magazine of the IMF. This report is also available online at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2002/12/gupta.htm>

⁶ Klenzle, Benjamin, 2003, Northern Ireland Five Years after the Good Friday Agreement; Again at the Crossroads?

Opponents of the concept peace dividends have been quick to point out that the economic improvements in Northern Ireland after the end of the conflict mirror also the larger trends into the same direction in the United Kingdom. During the said period, the economy of the United Kingdom, including its net immigration, was more or less similar to the conditions obtaining in Northern Ireland. But in all fairness, it is highly questionable if this had been the case in Northern Ireland without the peace process⁷. In other words, the socio-economic development and growth tends to thrive in generally peaceful environments.

To back this argument, prior to the unprecedented post election violence in Kenya, the economy was growing at an impressive 7% in 2007 but come 2009, a 2.9% growth was registered⁸. Since the return of normalcy in Kenya, the economy has continued to register impressive growth rates, again justifying the fact that socio-economic growth and development are linked with peace.

Apart from the post election violence of 2007/2008, Kenya has not suffered a major internal or external conflict in comparison to her neighbours such as Somalia, Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia. It was only the shifta war that can pass as a major protracted civil strife that largely disrupted livelihoods and socio-economic development of North Eastern Kenya. To illustrate the impact of conflict on economy of North Eastern Kenya and also the peace dividends accruing from the ending of the conflict, the shifta secessionist movements in North Frontier Districts (NFD) that lasted between 1963- 1968 could pass as an ideal example.

IGADI. Available online at <http://www.igadi.orR/arguivo/odf/te se07/tel9 7 095benjamin kienzle us.pdf>

⁷ Mac Ginty, Roger and Darby, John, 2002, Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process, Palgrave publishers, Houndmills.

⁸ Furphy, Claire, 2010, "Kenya's Economy: Infrastructure development and structural change to drive accelerated growth in the new decade", Consultancy Africa Intelligence, Pretoria.

Albeit the pastoral economy in Northern Kenya has been on the decline due to a number of factors and mainly weather vagaries, the shifta war in particular marked a period of heightened decline in the number of livestock in the areas that were affected by the war. Using the number of livestock to argue this assertion, Richard Hogg estimated that between 1963-1970, camel populations in Isiolo district decreased by 95%, small stock by 90% and cattle by 7%. Similarly, Garissa recorded an overall drop of 30% of its livestock population during the said period⁹.

The statistics for Isiolo are higher simply because it was regarded as a shifta hotspot,¹⁰ and as such, government machinery against the Shifta menace were concentrated on this part of the area that was then known as North Frontier District (NFD). Although the estimates by Hogg are debatable, one clear thing is that such declines in numbers of livestock could not be solely attributed to weather vagaries or livestock diseases. Practice has shown that during drought, it is the cattle that are most affected and easily decimated. Small stock and camels have been known to withstand effects of drought so when an area loses up to 95% of its camels and only 7% of its cattle in a given period, drought should be struck out as a possible cause of such losses. This squarely puts the blame on the shifta war, a vindication that conflict only serves to heighten economic decline even in a period of general economic decline. To reverse such a trend, peace has to be given a chance and any positive outcome of such a reversal should be conceptualized as peace dividends or proceeds.

In the education sector, improved school enrollment, retention and completion rates tend to mirror the prevailing security situation. During relatively peaceful times, the education sector records impressive growth

9 Hogg, Richard, 1986, "The New Pastoralism: Poverty and Dependency in Northern Kenya", in *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol 56, No. 3

10 "Whittaker, Hannah, 2008, "Pursuing Pastoralists: The Stigma of shifta during the shifta war in Kenya 1963-1968", in *Eras*, Edition No. 10, 2008, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

but the same points to the other direction during war or conflict with some schools closed, deserted or destroyed as a result of the conflict. For instance, in 2001 after the signing of Modogashe peace declaration¹¹ that ended the remnants of shifta war and inter-clam/community conflict in Northern Kenya, there were only 35 girls enrolled in secondary schools in Isiolo district. By 2003, this figure had jumped up to 833 girls enrolled in secondary schools within the district¹².

From the foregoing, it can be convincingly argued that there is a conspicuous correlation between developments in its entirety with peace in many parts of the world, Kenya included. Causes of underdevelopment could be many but what is clear is that security or lack of it plays an important role in the socio-economic and political development of a country or a particular region therein.

Although the underdevelopment of Northern Kenya could also be blamed on Sessional Paper no. 10 of 11865 on African Socialism and its Application to Development in Kenya that erroneously noted that *one of our problems is to decide how much priority we should give in investing in less developed provinces. To make the economy as a whole grow as fast as possible, development money should be invested where it will yield the largest increase in net output. This approach will clearly favour the development of areas having abundant natural resources, good land and rainfall, transport and power facilities, and people receptive to and active in development*¹³. It could still be argued that even with the best of policies and development plans, all will

11 This was a community peace agreement signed on 29 August 2001 to end conflicts in North Eastern and Upper Eastern regions of Kenya. A copy of the agreement is available at National Steering Committee on peace building and conflict management (NSC)

12 Keriga, Leab and Bujra, Abdalla (Prof), 2009, *Social Policy, Development and Governance in Kenya: An Evaluation and Profile of Education in Kenya*, Development Policy Management Forum, Nairobi.

13 Republic of Kenya, 2010, "Draft Sessional paper on National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid lands", Version 6, 28 April 2010, Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands, Nairobi. Available online at http://www.northernkenya.go.ke/images/downloads/Draft_Sessional_Paper_for_ASAL_Final_28April_2010.pdf

become a cropper in the absence of peace. This Sessional Paper could have played its part in the underdevelopment of this part of the country but the absence of peace worsened the situation. Areas that were also categorized as low potential" alongside Northern Kenya such as Masaal and that enjoyed long spell of peace is more developed than Northern Kenya. So the idea of peace dividend could not be underrated.

This is perhaps why legislators from Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALs) and top security chiefs in Kenya, in numerous gatherings and fora, have argued that development in ASALs will not be realized without peace and vice versa. While committing themselves to promoting peace in their areas that have been ravaged by decades-old inter-communal conflicts that have mainly been manifested as livestock rustling/raiding, the said leaders agreed to develop and implement an honours and award system that rewards peace makers and communities through commendations and peace dividend projects¹⁴.

This paper tends to borrow heavily from this last description of peace dividends, with the additional understanding that peace dividend projects are not necessarily designed to reward "peaceful" communities or constituencies, but also to help consolidate peace after signing of a peace agreement¹⁵, deepen the culture of peace and tolerance in communities or groups that were once in conflict and also to help address issues, especially natural resources, that might lead to eruption of conflict.

In Dukana, Marsabit County, the Armed Violence Reduction Project gave a grant to Gubarnasa women group to construct a social hall. The groups composed of women drawn from the Gabbra and Borana communities,

14 NSC, *Consultative Forum on Peace and Security for Members of Parliament from Arid and Semi-arid Lands: Naivasha II Report*, Government Printer, Nairobi.

15 The peace agreement need not be a formal written document but could as well be a customary ritual to mark end of hostilities and the beginning of peaceful relations or the African oral peace agreement. The bottom-line here is that conflict has ended and people are willing to coexist

were running a lodge only. Since the construction of the social hall, the lodge has attracted a number of seminars, workshops and meetings, in the process increasing the income of the group and further deepening trust between them and healing the scars that were inflicted by the Turbi massacre of 2006.

Broadly understood, peace dividends for the purposes of this paper refers to projects and assistances that are geared towards consolidating peace and building local capacity for sustaining peace. It can be a school that brings together pupils from different communities that had a history of conflict but are now rebuilding their relations, rehabilitation or construction of a borehole in a dry-season grazing area that had been abandoned by different communities due to insecurity, a revolving fund for youth or women groups in a conflict prone area to demonstrate and encourage licit livelihoods instead of banditry and other crimes committed ostensibly to earn a livelihood or a major road project to integrate an otherwise marginalized region into the national economy.

3.0 Peace Dividend Projects

Peace dividend projects are many but the most important thing in the design and execution of such projects is the demonstration of a clear nexus between the project assistance and peace. A development project and assistance (including technical assistance or capacity building) could be considered as a peace dividend if it seeks to promote, consolidate peace or prevent occurrence of conflicts. Some projects by default could be considered as peace dividends if it will in one way or another contribute to consolidation of peace even when the designers of such projects never had peace in their thoughts while designing the same.

Construction of a health facility in an area accessible to more than one community to improve health services could also become a

peace dividend when it will start connecting the different communities accessing and using it and so is schools build under the same circumstances. The common utilization of a social project could build bridges; restore relations and audit stereotypes, prejudices and misconceptions that may have contributed to hostilities in society. For the purposes of Consolidating peace for a successful political transition in Kenya 2010-2013 programme, the following are some of the projects to be considered and supported as peace dividends.

3.1 Livelihood Restoration Projects

A significant feature of war or protracted conflict in many parts of the world is that in its wake, it often creates chronic poverty for many households¹⁶. It then follows that for meaningful and sustainable peace to be realized and most importantly to demonstrate the benefits of peace, attempts must be made to rebuild such devastated livelihoods. Livelihoods and household incomes remains the nerves of the well-being of any society and as such, rebuilding the same can be achieved in a number of ways such as but not limited to the following activities.

3.1.1 Micro-credit/enterprise development projects

Conflicts in Northern Kenya often leave affected communities with little or no livelihood opportunities. Most of them might have lost their only source of income, their livestock, and often drop out of pastoralism altogether. Some of them are willing to restart their livelihoods again as livestock keepers but for the majority, and mostly women and youth, they try to eke out a living from other livelihood options like starting small scale trading enterprises. However, and for those who opt to start some small business enterprises, they do not have the means to venture into such economic livelihood opportunities that are increasingly becoming success in North Eastern province of Kenya¹⁷

¹⁶ Orero, et al, 2007, "The Impact of Conflict on the Intergenerational Transmission of Chronic Poverty: An Overview and Annotated Bibliography", CPRC Working paper No. 71, CPRC Annotated Bibliographies No. 4, Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Manchester.

¹⁷ In North Eastern Province, majority of the residents

In 2010, the Armed Violence Reduction Project (AVRP) supported 5 community groups (BP1 WATER MELON, P11(OW TAWAKAL WOMEN, BUR ABOR SELF HELP, AL-FOWZAN WOMEN and NEW KARERI WOMEN groups) to Undertake irrigated farming along River Dawa In Mandera County.

The project procured Irrigation pumpsets for the groups to upscale their farming activities. During a regular field visit in January 2011, AVRP officer in Mandera County, Hussein Alio, found out that the groups are doing very well.

Groups like BP1, BUR ABOR and P11(OW TAWAKAL WOMEN have planted onions and watermelons in their farms while the other groups have planted fodder grass on their farms so that they can sale it to the pastoralist communities during dry spell. Currently and especially now that the river is full with water that is expected to last until December 2011, the groups are planning to Introduce other crops such as sukuma wiki (kales), tomatoes and beans, which have a ready market in Mandera township.

To such groups emerging out of conflict, Peace Dividend could also mean access to credit for economically disadvantaged communities or groups emerging from armed conflict. Peace Dividend, an online platform that facilitates direct lending by the Southern Sudanese Diaspora and other individuals to promising Southern Sudanese entrepreneurs who lack access to traditional sources of finance, believes that by promoting economic growth, they also promote sustainable peace¹⁸. This is what armed violence reduction project piloted in Northern Kenya by supporting women and youth groups to engage in meaningful micro-economic activities to

and maybe due to the influence from their counterparts in Somalia and weather vagaries that is impacting negatively on livestock keeping, most of them have embarked on small scale trading activities. That's why for instance along the roads in the province, it is a common sight to see women selling teas, other meals and miraa. On the same note and in many towns in Eastern Africa, it is now becoming a common sight to see young Somali men hawking watches and all sorts of goods. This means that business enterprises are increasingly gaining currency among this community and this new window of opportunity should be exploited further.

¹⁸ <http://peacediv.com/>

improve their household incomes, hence reduced tendencies of engaging in illicit livelihood options that normally involve banditry and livestock rustling menaces. Small grants to start small scale business as well as a micro-credit revolving fund could thus be considered by this programme as a peace dividend project or projects.

Nevertheless, the design of such projects as well as the beneficiaries needs to be carefully chosen. Most micro-credit projects in many parts of the country have failed maybe due to mismanagement or lack of entrepreneurship acumen. Nevertheless and as was found out by a mid term project review of the Armed Violence and Small Arms Reduction in pastoralists communities project in Kenya in 2010, women led micro enterprises have a higher success rate compared to those started by men. This may be the way to go in addition to supporting youth diversify their livelihoods for they have also exhibited the urge to succeed in business.

3.1.2 Agro -pastoralist Projects

ASALs have potential for dry-land farming as one way of complimenting livestock keeping as the mainstay of their economies. Although weather vagaries and conditions of the soils in ASALs make large scale commercial crop farming unviable, irrigation projects along the few rivers and swamps in Northern Kenya for instance could significantly increase the household incomes of the riverine communities especially those living along Rivers Tana, Oldo Nyiro and Dawa. Turkwel and Kerio rivers in North rift could also be put to similar use with cumulative result being increased livelihood options for people who have fallen out of pastoralism either due to livestock rustling or drought.

To harness such potentials and as peace dividend projects, communities could be supported through provision of high quality dry-land seeds, fertilizers and farm implements. Skills transfer on dry-land farming through trainings, demonstrations and exchange visits could also be considered as a support package to upscale dry-land farming in ASALs.

On the other hand, poultry farming could also be supported to compliment pastoral economy in the drylands of Northern Kenya and other arid areas. Poultry farming can do relatively well in arid areas and should be supported as an alternative to pastoralism, especially for those who have fallen out of pastoralism.

Poultry fanning does not require a lot of land with some poultry species fending for themselves further reducing production costs. It does not require specialized skills or training to undertake poultry farming and it's also not prone to conflict like cattle, goats or camels. It is a venture that needs to be seriously promoted in ASAL areas of Kenya as an alternative and complimentary economic activity and livelihood option, especially for groups that have lost their livestock to rustlers.

3.1.3 Restocking

It's often said that pastoralists should be supported to restart or strengthen their livelihoods with what they know best; livestock keeping. This is based on the understanding that already they are well versed with this mode of production, especially in climatically hostile environments like the ASALs in Kenya. They also have ready man-power and do not require any kind of training to embark on livestock keeping. As peace dividend project especially after hostilities have been ended and that threats for future conflicts in the form of livestock rustling have been eliminated with a degree of certainty, restocking could become a sustainable way of rebuilding the livelihoods of pastoralists and agropastoralists groups in ASALs.

Supporting select communities (especially women-headed households) in ASALs with small stock to rebuild their livelihoods after the same had been lost to conflicts, that have now ended, could be another way of rewarding those communities that have embraced peace (peace dividends) and ready to restore relations with their neighbours and once again lead a productive livestock keeping economy.

Nevertheless, such a restocking programme should not be misunderstood as the normal drought response and mitigation projects that are being undertaken by humanitarian agencies but should be interpreted as peace dividends with the sole aim of consolidating the just gained peace and also establishing a framework for prevention of the recurrence of such conflicts in future.

3.1.4 Value Addition

Although development assistance in pastoralists' areas has tended to focus on finding alternatives to pastoralism, a better approach could be trying to fix the problems bedeviling this mode of survival¹⁹. Adding the value (value addition) of the products of pastoralism such as milk, hides and skins could be one way of addressing the failings of the pastoralism system rather than just focusing on alternative livelihoods. In the lenses of peace dividends, supporting groups to process, package and sell livestock products such as camel milk could be considered.

Hides and skins, honey, wax processing and packaging, carvings and promotion of marketing of these drylands products could also be considered as peace dividend support. In a nutshell, communities emerging from conflicts and are struggling to rebuild their livelihoods should be supported to "add value" on some of the products they already have or can easily get access to. Linking such groups or communities to markets that offer better prices as well as to credit facilities to expand and maximize on the potentials of their products and natural resources is also another peace dividend support.

3.1.5 Skills Training

Equipping men and women with skills and competencies needed to earn a living in this rapidly changing world is another viable and sustainable peace dividend undertaking. In particular and for considerations, youths (both male and female) emerging out of

¹⁹ Bevan, James, 2007, between a rock and a hard place: Armed Violence in African Pastoral Communities, Conference Background Paper, Government of Kenya, UNDP, Small Arms Survey and Swiss Confederation, Nairobi.

conflict or those who have surrendered their illicit SALW could be trained on carpentry, masonry, mechanics, welding, tailoring, new farming methods, value addition etc to not only enable them earn a living but also as a way of rehabilitating and re-integrating them into society.

With such practical skills, the beneficiaries will be introduced to totally new way of earning livelihoods having in mind that the start-up capital for such enterprises might be minimal. What you need is the technical skills to do it and not necessarily huge capital. By selling a goat or two, a reformed warrior could easily start up a hair-dressing (business) business or open up a welding? carpentry business enterprise

Women groups could also be trained on baking (confectionary) in order to take advantage of the huge markets for bread, cakes and other confectioneries in their localities, which cannot be serviced by conventional bakeries mainly due to poor road networks and the fact that such goods are perishable especially when the markets are far away from the main bakeries. In Somalia region of Ethiopia, aid agencies supported a women group, Halgan Cooperative, to establish a bakery and earn incomes. As a start, five cooperative members were trained in bakery construction and bread making. The bakery was built with project finances and materials supplied by the community²⁰. The project was a success as the women group was able to tap and service the huge markets in areas around Halgan. Such projects are some of the things that should be considered as peace dividends in ASALs as well as in other rural areas in Kenya.

3.2 NRM Projects

In pastoralist areas, research after research has pointed out that competition over access and control of the dwindling natural resources such as pasture and water are the main precipitating factors of conflicts between

²⁰ Oumer, Sead et al, 2007, "Small Business Development In Somali Region". In Ridgewell, Andrew and Flintan, Fiona, eds., Gender & Pastoralism Vol. 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia, SOS Sahel Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

different ethnic groups or communities²¹. Apart from banditry, most conflicts in ASALs in Kenya are about these resources or informed by historicity of the competition over the said resources.

In Moyale, AVRPP constructed a water pan at El-Bor, a dry-season grazing area that is normally accessed by the Borana and Gabbra communities. Since its construction in 2010, the water pan has managed to serve over 100 households with their livestock. Located at the border of Sololo District (mainly inhabited by Borana) and Chalbi District (mainly occupied by Gabra), the sharing of this water resource has improved the relations between the two nomadic groups that once used to clash over grazing rights and resources.

In most cases, peace agreements brokered are based on a socially and culturally acceptable and mutually beneficial way of sharing these resources. This is why rehabilitation of water facilities destroyed during conflicts or putting in place measures to ensure that communities access such facilities that had been previously abandoned due to insecurity should be prioritized as peace dividend projects in such contexts. Alive to this reality and for the sake of preventing occurrence of violence, peace dividend projects are also designed to relieve the pressure of communities sharing resources²². In such circumstances, provision of additional resources such as water pans or boreholes could be provided to relieve pressure on existing resources that if unchecked, might lead to conflict or its recurrence. Helping pastoralists grow grass during the wet season and build their capacity in hay making and storage could also ensure adequate supply of

²¹ See Vision 2030 (Economic and Political Pillars), Draft ASAL Policy, Ruto et al, 2003, Conflict In Northern Kenya, Sociology of insecurity in Northern Kenya, Terrorized Citizens: Profiling SALW and Insecurity In North Rift region of Kenya among others have all talked of competition over access and control of NRM as a cause of conflict in Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands

²² Pact Kenya, 2008, Peace II Participatory Community Processes: Strengthening African Capacities for Conflict Transformation, Pact Kenya, Nairobi

grass during the dry spell, especially for the most critical stock that are often left behind to provide milk to the children when men move with the rest of the herd to far-away places in such of pasture.

Other nature based resources to be exploited in ASALs include bee keeping, aloe Vera and resins. All these resources could be harnessed commercially to improve income of communities residing in areas they are abundantly found. Beekeeping has many advantages as it is cheap, easy to start up and manage, is self-reliant and the technology involved is both simple and generally locally available, though improved hives may need to be imported. It requires no land, so those with few assets can take advantage²³.

On the other hand, gums and resins that are widely available in pastoralists areas could also be exploited, in a sustainable manner, to boost pastoralists incomes, especially during the dry seasons, when livestock are fetching little prices in the markets. For instance and in Somali Region of Ethiopia, collection takes place twice a year during the two dry seasons. This makes gum resins excellent products for livelihood security, as they are available at times when forage and grain are scarce and many pastoralists need alternative incomes to supplement the direct pastoral economy²⁴²⁵. Sometimes what the people need in order to maximize their incomes from natural resource based products might only be training on how to harvest and store these resources and linking them to markets. This is why peace dividend initiatives should consider supporting such groups to commercially exploit such opportunities in order to improve their incomes and consolidate peace.

In Mandera County, AVRPP constructed an underground water tank at Atiabi Bar

²³ Flintan, Fiona, 2007, "A Sharing of Past Experiences", in Ridgewell, Andrew and Flintan, Fiona, eds., Gender & Pastoralism Vol. 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia, SOS Sahel Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

²⁴ Mama, Getachew and Ridgewell, Andrew, 2007, "Emerging Markets for Dryland Resources", in in Ridgewell, Andrew and Flintan, Fiona, eds., Gender & Pastoralism Vol. 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia, SOS Sahel Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

in 2010. Because of its centrality, the water facility is accessible to the Garreh, Murulle, and Dogodiya communities. A joint water management committee comprising representatives of the three communities was put in place and since late 2010; the communities have been sharing the water resource and coexisting peacefully

3.3 Social Infrastructure

During conflicts, social facilities such as schools and health centres are abandoned and or destroyed. Even those social facilities that are not used over a long period of time (after it is abandoned) are likely to go to waste due to lack of routine maintenance. As such and as a way of rebuilding social relations between communities that may be accessing and using similar social facilities, rehabilitation and or expansion of such social infrastructure may be considered for support as peace dividends.

On its part, UNDP has found out that in many post-conflict countries, reconstruction / rehabilitation of schools and the return of children can be one of the most effective ways to demonstrate a peace dividend to the local population and to help the government rebuild the social contract²⁵. When children from previously hostile communities learn in the same schools, they are likely to develop a better understanding of each other's communities, shed stereotypes and prejudices they may have on the other and most importantly realize that they are the same people confronted by the same challenges.

Even for those still in the bush fighting or the bandits, they will not attack schools or social facilities used by their people for you may end up killing your own son, daughter, brother or sister. In other words, social infrastructures that are used by more than one community stand a better chance of deepening relations and fostering peace.

²⁵ UNDP, 2008, Crisis Prevention and Recovery Report 2008: Post-Conflict Economic Recovery. Enabling Local Ingenuity, UNDP/BCPR, New York

Where necessary, two mutually complimenting and beneficial peace dividend projects could be considered for support in locations where the communities that used to conflict inhabit different but adjacent areas. One community could benefit from an education project (school) with the other benefitting from a health project (dispensary) with the understanding that in the long run and to continue benefitting from the two "peace dividend" projects, the communities will have to continue co-existing peacefully. This is an approach that has been used in some select cross-border areas in Kenya Somalia border with significant success in encouraging joint utilization of resources as a way of deepening peace between cross-border communities.

There could still be other projects to be considered for support as peace dividends. The onus is on the demonstration of the linkage between the project or initiative being supported and consolidation of peace and prevention of occurrence/recurrence of conflicts.

4.0 Peace Dividend Project Selection

The process of identifying and selecting a peace dividend project is the most important thing in as far as peace dividends are concerned. The most important thing is to make the process as participatory and inclusive as possible and from the very beginning communicate the tenets and objectives of such undertakings.

The following are some of the criterion and things to be considered in the design, execution, monitoring, evaluation and handing over of the peace dividend projects and more so those to be supported by funds from UNDP Kenya.

4.1 Criterion of Peace Dividend Projects

As a general criterion, peace dividend projects should be chosen in participatory manner, demonstrate its contribution to consolidation of peace, at least be bi-communal, conflict and

gender/age sensitive. The target beneficiaries as well as other stakeholders should be involved in the design and execution of peace dividend projects to enhance its community ownership and its peace building ideals. The following are some of the criterion to be used in identification of peace dividend projects.

4.1.1 At Least Bi-communal

A peace dividend project should play a critical role in restoring or rebuilding relations between at least one community or group in society. It should also be used as a bait to encourage other communities or groups in similar situations to embrace peace in order to benefit from peace dividend projects.

The primary aim of such projects is to unite communities that once fought or were in conflictual relationships so the peace dividend should cut across or equitably benefit the communities or groups in questions investing in one community or group in the name of peace dividend will only drive a wedge between the said communities or groups for politics of favoritism will encroach and thereby start planting seeds of discord in society.

But in very exceptional circumstances and where there is enough evidence to suggest that communities emerging from conflicts still harbor a degree of mistrust and covert hostility, it may be necessary to support the communities separately with different peace dividend projects so as to allow for healing, reconciliation and cohesion to take place. For instance and in Kosovo, the World Bank set aside 0 percent of the project budget of one of its CDD projects²⁶ for Serbian communities alone. The engagement of a Serbian engineer and contractors and of an NGO with mixed representation increased effectiveness in outreach to Serbian communities²⁷. This gesture, and with time, has the potential of easing tensions and hostilities between hitherto hostile communities; steps necessary for building a foundation for healing and

²⁶ Community Development Fund II 2004 -6 effectiveness in outreach to Serbian communities

²⁷ The World Bank, Community-Driven Development in the Context of Conflict-Affected Countries: challenges and Opportunities, Social Development Department, World Bank, Washington DC

reconciliation. However, such a gesture should be a temporary measure intended to build bridges before meaningful reconciliation can take place. As the ties between such communities continue to grow for the better, each could be supported with a project that the other would also need (as the case of Dispensary and school in the Kenya Somalia border undertaken by Pact Kenya) so as to promote mutual respect and co-existence.

In Samburu County, a school constructed by World Vision at Lelmolog to unite warring Samburu and Pokot communities .. remains largely underutilized. It is alleged that the project could not attract a sizeable number of pupils from the two .. communities. Since suspicion and mistrust still runs through. Maybe if the project was jointly prioritized by the two communities and preceded by a number of peace dialogues, the results could have been much better. Community participation in peace dividend processes is critical.

But as a priority, peace dividend projects should be bicomunal/group.

4.1.2 Conflict Sensitive

It would be unfortunate for a peace dividend project to cause more troubles than the good it was intended to achieve. As such, conflict sensitivity during the design and execution of peace dividend projects should be made a rule.

Often, regions or places emerging out of conflict are underdeveloped and devoid of jobs. This is the prevailing situation in Northern Kenya and it necessarily follows that the introduction of additional resources such as peace dividend projects generates competition, which may lead to further conflict. This is hinged on the understanding that in such contexts, the means for initiating and sustaining violence are often substantial, not to mention the prevalence of small arms and the networks for organizing and maintaining fighting forces or militias²⁸.

²⁸ Pact Kenya, 2010, Community contracting in War-Torn Countries: Handbook, a PEACE II program publication, Pact Kenya, Nairobi.

In 2009, the AVRIP supported the construction of a 800 m3 water pan at Hagar Jarer, Garissa County. Hagar Jarer is made up of two villages inhabited by the Abdwak (on the northern part of the village) and Autiyahan (southern part of the village) sub-clans of the larger Ogaden clan. The water pan was constructed in the northern part of the village that is inhabited by the Abdwak sub-clan.

The intention of the water facility was to benefit both communities possibly leading to harmony and close cooperation. The water facility instead ignited competition between the communities with the residents of Hagar Jarer South lobbying a number of other institutions to have their own water facility. After intense lobbying the community secured support from Northern Water Services Board, which constructed a water pan with a capacity of 1300 m3 - almost double the capacity of the Hagar Jarer North water pan. The situation resulted in construction of two water facilities less than a kilometre apart. If proper consultations were held prior to the commencement of the two projects, a lot could have been achieved in terms of promoting cohesion between the two groups.

A good conflict and stakeholder analysis will also ensure that peace dividend projects do not reinvent or rebuild flawed systems or institutions in society that were in themselves responsible for tormenting and or perpetuating the conflict in the first place. War-lords for instance should not win contracts for reconstruction for the proceeds of such peace dividend contracts may be ploughed back to precipitating violence in society. But carefully chosen such projects could also be used as bait when negotiating with contractors and or suppliers i.e. you promote peace we give you more work.

4.1.3 Gender/Age sensitivity

In society, priorities of men often differ from that of women. The situation is even more pronounced in highly patriarchal societies like Kenyan rural communities and more so

the pastoralists, where the needs of women are seldom attended to leave alone being highlighted.

It then follows that if women are not given a fair chance to contribute to the peace dividend selection process, chances of their needs or priorities making it to the community action plan are slim. In most cases, women would pay attention to projects such as water for domestic use or maternal health facilities and if the peace dividend selection process is not gender-sensitive, such priorities would be given a wide berth.

In some communities, youth are also not allowed to contribute in meetings or dare question the elders. Peace Dividend selection process should be wary of such eventualities and just like for women, ensure that the young people (both sexes) are given a fair chance to contribute to the identification and selection of peace dividend projects.

The same could also be applicable to special groups in society such as the deaf and others who are physically challenged. Every effort should be expended towards mainstreaming them in the peace dividend processes.

4.2 Selection Process

The overall success of the peace dividend enterprise depends on the selection process and procedures followed. A carefully thought selection process will ensure that the end product satisfies the purposes of peace dividend as a concept as well as the pull factors of social reconciliation. The following are some of the most critical peace dividend projects selection process that should be emphasized during the execution of peace dividend projects.

4.2.1 Training of Staff, partners

A starting point is to build the capacity of the personnel as well as partners/stakeholders by training them on the concept, its objects, types of projects to be considered and selection process. Training on participatory

methodologies is fundamental since the whole process is participatory.

Staff charged with execution of the peace dividend projects should be trained on the various participatory tools such as community relationship mapping, time/trend line, transects walks, seasonal calendars, pair-wise ranking, surveys, focused group discussions and key informant interviews²⁹.

4.2.2 Community mobilization

To commence the process of selecting the beneficiaries and type of projects to be prioritized by the communities, community mobilization is essential, especially ensuring that a good sample or representation of the community or communities concerned is identified. Once mobilized, the communities could be taken through the various participatory methodologies as alluded to i.e. community mapping, FGDs, key informant interviews, pair-wise ranking etc and where possible, the results of such processes be triangulated to get the best of priorities.

Using the said participatory methodologies, community mobilization should result in the identification and prioritization of peace dividend projects that clearly demonstrate the linkage between the project and consolidation/promotion of peace. One, two or three priority projects may be chosen out of the long "shopping list" for possible support. During this process, the community or communities should also identify and nominate those who are going to constitute project management committee.

4.2.3 Community Action Plaits

The project management committee, with the help of project support and other partners, would then be required to prioritize the best possible option from the list provided by the community/communities during community mobilization and develop a community action plan to execute the project. A typical community action plan (CAP) should capture the following information:

29 ALRMP has a Participatory Methodologies Training Manual, which covers most of these tools

Activity Timeline Responsible	Resources Stakeholders
party/person	needed

The community action plan is important as it clearly shows what needs to be done, the time-line for doing the same, the responsible party, resources needed and stakeholders to be involved. Where the CAP shows more than one priority projects, other agencies or development partners would find such information useful instead of stalling the community mobilization process again.

4.2.5 Contracting process (community contracting)

Pact Kenya PEACE II program defines community contracting as procurement by or on behalf of the community where a community is a group of individuals living close to each other and/or social groups, grassroots entrepreneurs or associations that identify a need and join together to address³⁰. Community contracting could also be understood in the lenses of community driven development (CDD), a model that ALRMP has perfected over the years. A study commissioned to look at community driven development in the context of conflict affected countries defines CDD as an approach that empowers local community groups, including local government, by giving direct control to the community over planning decisions and investment resources through a process that emphasizes participatory planning and accountability³¹.

The onus here is that community representatives (in this case the project management committee members) play an active role in the contracting process if the selected peace dividend project is to be contracted out. The same is applicable for goods and services to be procured and supplied. Community

30 Pact Kenya 2010, Community Contracting in War-Torn Countries: Handbook, a PEACE II program publication, Pact Kenya, Nairobi

31 The World Bank, Community-Driven Development in the Context of Conflict-Affected Countries: Challenges and Opportunities, Social Development Department, World Bank, Washington DC

participation in contracting and procurement services will not only improve transparency in the whole process but also ensure that the best of quality goods and services are offered at a reasonable cost to the community. Pact Kenya's PEACE II's programme has found out that where community contracting model is widely practiced, especially in war-affected countries, trust is likely to increase between groups³², culminating into improved inter-community or ethnic groups' relation, cohesion and safety in the region the practice is widely embraced. So community contracting is not just a check and balances measure to curb corruption and mismanagement but also a tool for peace building.

4.2.6 Implementation, M & E

Once everything is set, the community or communities, through their representatives in the project management committee, should play a critical role in the implementation of the peace dividend projects. They should be involved at every stage, let's say, of a construction project and ensure that procured goods are utilized for the project. They should also educate the communities on the importance of the project including its peace building purpose. At the completion of the project, the management committee is expected to monitor its usage and ensure that it is maintained and is accessible to the beneficiaries.

4.2.6 Hand-Over

At the completion of the project, the donor agency should officially hand over the project to the beneficiary community/communities and local administration. The "donor" should also ensure that capacity needs in as far as the usage and maintenance of the project have been addressed and if necessary a mitigation plan put in place before exiting the site. If it's an infrastructure project like a school, the local community and the school administration should be able to maintain it and if it's a dispensary, the government should ensure regular supply of essential drugs and

³² Pact Kenya, 2010, Community Contracting in War-Torn Countries: Handbook, a PEACE program publication, Pact Kenya, Nairobi.

personnel. If it's a borehole, the community should have identified a local technician who should be trained on the basic borehole maintenance and repair skills. With all these capacities in place, the community should be in a position to take over the project and mutually utilize it in a manner that it will, in the long run, consolidate and deepen peace in society.

5.0 Conclusion

The philosophy behind the peace dividend concept is that by supporting communities or groups that had a previous history of conflict with tangible projects and or resources that can be shared by them, they are more likely to appreciate each other, use the said assistance in a mutually beneficial fashion with cumulative results being improved inter-communal relations and a joint resolve to resist forces of conflicts. Such an initiative could also act as a bait in encouraging communities or groups that are often conflictual to resolve their differences in order to partake in the peace dividend cake. The common understanding is that even in peaceful communities, there is a need to consolidate the peace and ensure that things that are likely to precipitate violence are nipped in the bud before they unleash damage of unimaginable severity.

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