

**OIL EXPLORATION AND SECURITY DYNAMICS IN KENYA:
A STUDY OF LOKICHAR OIL EXPLORATION SITE, TURKANA
COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree or diploma in any other university, college, and institution or for any other purpose.

Signed: 

Date *September 28, 2020*

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

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Dedication

I dedicate this project to God, my strong pillar, my source of inspiration, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. To my parents, Charles and Margaret, thank you for inspiring me when I thought of giving up.

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Abstract

This study aimed at exploring the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya. To achieve this objective, it posed the research question: In what ways have oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya influenced security dynamics? The central assumption of this study was that oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya had influenced local security dynamics. This study collected primary and secondary data. Personal interviews were used to collect primary data while secondary data was collected through documentary analysis of relevant documents and related literature on Oil exploration and its relationship with security. It was established that oil exploration activities in Lokichar sub-county in Turkana county had aggravated localized resource-based conflicts, as well as triggered displacements of local communities and the emergence of community vigilante groups. Equally, the government had expanded police establishment in Lokichar due to oil exploration-related activities. This study recommended that the government adopts a multiagency approach in addressing emerging security challenges associated with oil exploration activities. Besides addressing pre-existing drivers of conflict, study findings recommend leveraging on county government's participative governance structures like public *baraza* forums, ward, and village level stakeholder participation in decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana County. It is further proposed that the government reviews how it is responding to conflict emanating from oil exploration-related activities.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Many countries across the globe continue to rely on oil resources to meet their energy requirements, and thus contribute to a massive percentage of global commercial power demand. Bede (2006) argues that countries in the Middle East have for many years been major producers of raw materials for petroleum products being utilized to lay water-resistant coating on boats and linen baskets, as lighting fuel as well as medication. Enebeli (2012) observes that although fuelwood remains a major source of energy within Sub-Saharan Africa, he estimates petroleum products to be about sixty percent of regional energy production. In Africa, the exploration of petroleum products in Nigeria started in 1908 and has gradually progressed and arguably become the biggest producer of oil in Africa. Other African countries with enormous oil reserves include Gabon, Angola, Congo, and Equatorial Guinea. Meanwhile, Tullow Oil PLC (an Anglo-Irish oil exploration firm), expects to soon start full commercialization of oil exploration in Uganda (CSCO, 2010). Discovery of commercially viable oil within the East Africa region was pioneered by Uganda in 2006 and has since been accelerated in the last ten years to whereby about thirty-nine oil wells have since been discovered in the west of Uganda. CSCO (2010) estimates that at least three of these wells (which were initially thought to be dry) have the potential of producing about 350,000 barrels daily.

Countries endowed with resources have witnessed numerous internal conflicts in which militias, ethnic movements, and smaller rebel groups are involved. In Africa, such groups have caused localized and regionalized instability that has seriously undermined security and development (Douglas, 2004). This has resulted in undermining human security in affected areas and manifested in issues like displacements of populations, increased crime, calamities, human rights violations, and loss of lives among others. Militias linked to natural resource discoveries in Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda have been cited to be participants in ethnic, religious and political conflicts (Human Rights Watch, 2001). In Kenya, many media and study reports continue to demonstrate tensions and sporadic insecurity incidences associated with oil exploration activities in Turkana county (Eliza, et al. 2015; Agade, 2017). These conflicts have reportedly aggravated other localized security issues and created tensions between the local communities, their leaders, and the national government. However, despite the growing literature and studies on this emerging issue, there is still insufficient empirical information in Kenya to illuminate attendant dynamics. The rationale for this study partly draws on the fact that the possibility of oil exploration activities in the Lokichar sub-county in Turkana county is of concern to both policymakers and research fraternity. It is therefore imperative to delve into exploring the influence of oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya. Such insight is critical in appreciating the context and nexus of oil exploration and security.

This study sought to gather empirical data to shed light on the relationship between oil exploration activities and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County. It is believed that the findings contained and presented herein could inform the formulation of evidence-based policy actions on security problems in Kenya and related contexts. If unaddressed, oil exploration activities could aggravate other inherent historical and current conflicts, and tensions with the likelihood of full-blown violent conflicts in the area. Studies on oil exploration in Turkana, indeed alludes that the problem, could evolve into ill-famed resource curse which could adversely impact local communities in Turkana or elsewhere in Kenya (Eliza, et al. 2015; Johanness, et al. 2015, Cordid, 2015, etc.). Conflicts and fear associated with insecurity significantly distort the functioning of political, socio-economic, and development structures in the society. This study therefore sought to answer the research question: In what ways have oil

exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya influenced security dynamics?

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Wealth resulting from oil discovery and other minerals, often fail to reduce poverty levels due to institutional weakness culminating into security failure within nations (Esteves et al. 2012). Further to this, a report by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) recognized natural resource as a source of internal clashes (World Bank, 2012). This report cited the Netherlands and its coastal waters concerning the problems that were occasioned by oil discovery and natural gas, otherwise termed as the *Dutch sickness*. This incident and its problematization symbolize the extent to which oil and gas exploration can be a source of struggles for respective parties involved. Thus, policymakers may question whether existing tools, policies, and laws are still effective for countering today's evolving security concerns arising from the extraction of such natural resources, especially, in African contexts like Kenya with rather weak security and loose local-government systems.

In particular, Bede (2006) argues that even though African states have been endowed with oil and mineral resources, the continent lacks sufficient and proper requisite structural, regulatory, and commercial frameworks to manage them. This has created avenues for corrupt dealings through vague exploration contracts and elusive proceeds accruing from such discoveries. Whereas the oil-conflict nexus has been widely acknowledged globally, a little attention has been given to the influence of oil exploration on security dynamics. This is, particularly evident in Kenya within the context of the new governing dispensation under the Constitution of Kenya 2010. However, recently there has been a surge in studies on the impact of oil exploration and security in Northern Kenya (e.g. Agade, 2014). In particular, extant studies on security and conflict issues within Turkana County have largely been leaning towards resource-based competition (mainly communal water and pasture for livestock) due to habitation of pastoral communities.

It is against this background that this study sought to explore holistic details of the influence of oil exploration on security in the Lokichar sub-county in Turkana County, Kenya. The study factored in the intervening role of variables analogous to governance structures of both national

and subnational governments and how these shape or direct oil exploration and security dynamics in the area of study. It also considered the topography of socioeconomic and political structures regarding oil exploration vis-à-vis concerns with security in the area of study. This allowed for a broader analysis of security concerns in Lokichar sub-county in Turkana County by delving more on the role of contextual variables like societal expectations, social representation, institutional responses, and relationships towards oil exploration activities, one the one hand, and security dimensions, on the other hand. A focus on the Lockichar oil exploration site was selected based on many media reports and a growing number of studies that continue to highlight the plight of local communities over sporadic security incidences and simmering conflict associated with oil exploration activities in Turkana County (e.g. Johannes, et al. 2015; Schilling, et al. 2018). Based on the extant literature and accessible reports, oil exploration activities in the Turkana county, and Lokichar sub-county for that matter are believed to be instrumental in aggravating or redefining dimensions of localized conflicts in the area. It is for this reason that a focus on Turkana County was considered to provide a context for exploring the relationship or the alleged influence of oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to explore the influence of oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. Beyond the enunciated question, it interrogated the changing security phenomenon in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, particularly its interface with oil exploration.

Specific objectives of the study were;

- i. Assess changes in security dimensions associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County,
- ii. Determine government structures that can be used to promote security situation in Turkana County.

1.4 Research questions

The study sought to answer the question:

What is the relationship between oil exploration activities and security dynamics in Lokichar Sub County in Turkana County,?

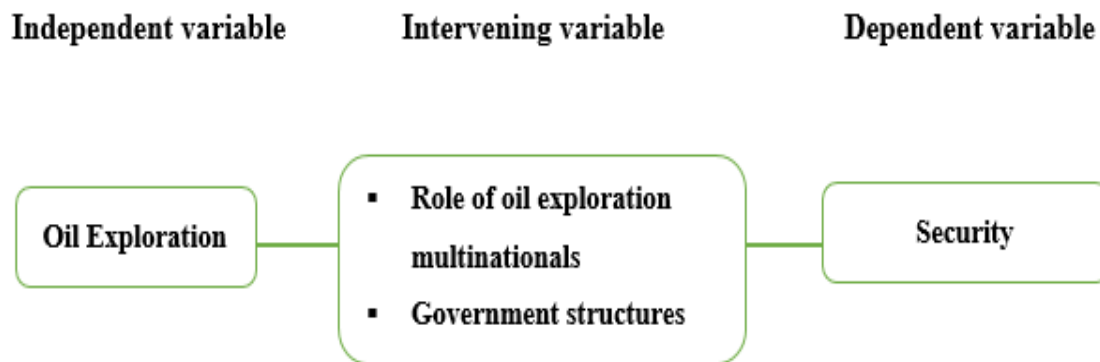
Specific research questions were;

- i. What changes in security dimensions are associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub County in Turkana County?
- ii. Which structures of county governments can be used to promote security situation within Turkana County?

1.5 Variables of the study

Oil exploration and security were the independent and dependent variables of the study respectively. Intervening variables were the role of oil exploration multinationals and government structures. Figure (1) below illustrates the relationships between the independent and dependent variables of this study.

Figure 1: Illustration of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables



Source: Author's presentation

1.6 Operationalization of terms

Conceptualization and operationalization of terms help in clearly defining the agreed meaning of terms as used in a study, thereby properly situating and focusing it. This study viewed oil exploration as a spectrum of search activities for prospective hydrocarbon underneath the earth by geologists, drilling, processing, and eventual marketing of petroleum products. Security is a contested concept. Buzan et al (1998) view security as the social construction of threats. Using this conceptualization, this study constructed security to mean instances of violent confrontation, destruction of properties, injuries, deaths, anarchy and unrest, criminal activities, displacement of population, and environmental degradation associated with oil discovery and exploration in Lokichar Sub County.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study will help in the formulation of dynamic policies that support the ever-changing security environment arising from oil exploration activities in Kenya. It will be particularly significant to the Kenyan government in helping it understand factors and security issues emanating from oil exploration activities in Turkana County and how to overcome them. Equally, this study will be of interest to government bodies and agencies like the Ministry of Petroleum and Mining, Energy Regulatory Commission (ERC), and National Police Service (NPS) in playing their critical facilitative, regulatory and maintenance of law and order roles within the oil sub-sector. The county government of Turkana will also find this study useful in informing the formulation of its development agenda.

Equally, this study will be of interest in enhancing the extraction and commercialization process of oil exploration activities especially monitoring and evaluating ensuing security ramifications. With a better understanding of how oil exploration activities are influencing local security, oil exploration companies and stakeholders like Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) can determine actions required, who needs to do what and when to effectively achieve desired results. They can identify their strengths and weaknesses and chart out a path for future progress and improvement. This measurement and evaluation help to promote peaceful coexistence and coherence amongst various stakeholders involved, especially host communities. This study will also provide a benchmark for other similar studies. It will, therefore, aim to make contributions

towards filling existing gaps in the availability of sustainable literature on the relationship between oil exploration and security. This study will stimulate and provoke further studies and debates among academicians and researchers working in oil exploration on security. It will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the influence of oil exploration on security and related topics.

1.8 Limitations of the study

This study did not cover all facets and aspects of oil exploration but was limited to those aspects of oil exploration that are potentially related to security dynamics in Lokichar Sub-county. Further, it did not delve into other issues of oil exploration other than those that influenced security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. This study solely covered areas within Turkana County boundaries. Due to constraints of time and budget (finance) constraints, the study did not extend beyond the aforesaid scope. Turkana County was chosen due to the prevalence of security challenges linked to oil exploration activities as reported by many media reports. This study collected data from 25 March 2019 to 22 May 2019.

1.9 Theoretical framework

The literature on oil exploration and security presents pluralist views. There is a collection of different independent theories and frameworks which have been used by various studies to explain and analyze oil exploration and security. Many attempts by scholars and researchers to correlate oil exploration with security, political, and socio-economic development are indicative of the complexity of the relationship between oil exploration and security, putting into consideration the intricacies presented by the context such as the synergic role or effectiveness of social and political factors. Thus, the bulk of the existing literature is inconclusive and inconsistent. To achieve its objectives, this study was informed by structural functionalism theory.

The structural functionalism theory was proposed by Talcott Parsons in 1951. The theory emphasizes that when studying society, it is critical to examine its constituent social institutions, and how they relate to each other. As such, the theory views the society as a system or a network comprising of various units that work both independently and collectively to ensure the system

remains functional (Lane, 1994). The theory thus hypothesizes that when studying a society, the interrelationships and structures among the social units/institutions and their roles should be considered. It is through these interrelationships that society can meet the needs of the units within it. Some sociologists believe that structural functionalism theory explains the cause of social conflicts or harmony and advocates for social synchronization. In this regard, the importance of the structural-functionalism approach to the inter-relatedness of several parts of society highlights the fact that a change in one part of society, whether intended or not, has an impact on other parts of society. Whereas oil exploration in Turkana County has attracted diverse types of investments that range from small to medium businesses, it has been associated with negative outcomes including loss of ancestral and grazing land, economic exclusion like inaccessibility of jobs by locals, insecurity as well as environmental degradation.

Structural functionalism theory assumes that since social institutions are considered to be functional; they cannot be changed or abolished without endangering the system. Worth noting is that resource extraction processes and the anticipation of revenues that accrue from such processes usually affect the governance dynamics of both the localities and the host countries. The structural functionalism approach gained prominence amongst sociologists in the 19th century. They viewed society as an organism to understand its needs (Durkheim, 2019). Others used structural-functionalism framework to analyze interrelationships, adaptation, and consequences of parts within a system.

In the context of this study, this theory is essential in understanding the potential roles of cultural or social structuration of the relationship between parties concerned in the oil exploration vis-à-vis cumulative effects and incidents of security in Lokichar. There are social organizations such as the traditional ways of life, namely, pastoralism, economic expectations both locally and nationally that surround issues of oil exploration (Cordaid, 2015). Understanding how these interact in oil exploration activities and on matters of security can be partly captured by the lenses of structural-functionalism theory. Although, to also understand immediate responses to issues of oil exploration that may have less connection to social, political, and cultural issues, frustration-aggression and resource-curse theories were found to be useful.

1.10 Chapter outline

This study adopted an outline arranged in seven Chapters.

Chapter One introduces the study. It outlines the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions, variables of the study, study objectives, justification of the study, the scope of the study, and the proposed chapter outline. This lays the foundation for subsequent chapters.

Chapter two focuses on the review of the literature. It reviews relevant literature by other scholars in the same field of study, which is related to and consistent with the objectives of the study. This forms a critical analysis of published sources and materials on the relationship between oil exploration and security by summarizing, classifying, comparing, and evaluating the literature.

Chapter three sets out the theoretical framework underpinning this study. It situates the theory of structural functionalism in exploring the effect of oil exploration on security in Turkana County. This chapter also highlights key theories used by other similar studies, including; Frustration – Aggression Theory and the “Resource curse” framework.

Chapter four discusses the research design and methodology. In this chapter, various steps that were adopted to respond to the research problem, along with the logic behind them are discussed. It also describes and explains the research design of this study, sample selection, procedures used in choosing and designing instruments and data collection procedures, and procedures used to analyze data.

Chapter five presents oil exploration and changes in security dynamics in Lokichar Sub-county. It analyses and discusses data on oil exploration and changes in security dynamics in Lokichar Sub-county, as was established in the field. It addresses the first objective of this study; assessing changes in security dimensions associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County. It is organized into six thematic sections.

Chapter six highlights government institutions, oil exploration, and security in Lokichar Sub-county. It responds to the second objective of this study; determining government structures which can be used to promote security situation within Turkana County as was established in the

field. This chapter is divided into three thematic sections; the role of the national government, the role of county government, and participative management and decision making.

Chapter seven concludes this study. It presents a summary, conclusion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to explore the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. This section focuses on a review of relevant literature. It offers a critical analysis of published sources and literature on the influence of oil exploration on security by providing a summary, classification, comparison, and evaluation. The section is thematically organized into five sub-sections; understanding security, oil exploration, nexus between oil exploration and changes in security dimensions, governance of oil resources, and managing emerging security issues associated with oil resources.

2.2 Understanding security as a concept

Security is a contested concept. A clear conceptualizing of security is important for both legal and policy purposes. Although security is difficult to define, it can be understood through its various attributes. Classical realism perceives security as a physical absence of threats to the state (Fuller, 1972). It focuses on state survival; state as referent object. State-centric conceptualization of security construes security threats to be from outside state boundary and hence such threats can be dealt with militarily (Morgenthau, 1952). The end of the cold war ushered in a new security era which necessitated new thinking on security. Duffield (2001) argues that security threats are no longer mainly external, but also from within the state.

The emergence of new security threats that could not be addressed through state-centric lenses meant that conceptualization of security needed to be widened and deepened. Widening meant expansion of analytical horizon beyond the military sector to include a whole range of issues including economic, environment, human rights, and migration, while deepening implied a shift from state-centric perspectives to include individuals (humanistic approach). It implies that security does not only mean physical existence and survival of a state but also promoting socio-economic welfare as well as human dignity and human rights. Issues emanating from oil exploration in the Lokichar sub-county can be examined within this purview; the focus is on individual security as opposed to state security.

Individual security is human security. The idea of human security came to the fore in 1994 vide a report by United Nations Human Development (UNDP, 1994). The report outlined seven thematic issues including; economic, environmental, health, food security, political, personal, and community security. This means threats that affect a person have to be considered as matters of national security. This is a contemporary conceptualization of security.

The other school of thought conceptualizes security as an outcome of social processes rather than an objective condition. Buzan et al (1998) view security as the social construction of threats through a process described as securitization. In the context of this study, security is what victims of oil exploration activities deem it to be. It means instances of violent confrontation, destruction of property, injuries, death, anarchy, civil unrest, criminality, displacement of population, and environmental degradation associated with oil exploration activities in the Lokichar sub-county. This study adopted this conceptualization to theorize and review emerging intricacies from oil exploration activities in Turkana.

2.3 Oil exploration

Literature posits that the oil industry comprises upstream and downstream activities. The former entails prospecting and production of oil resources, and later involves the refining and processing of crude oil and gas products, distribution, and marketing (Steinmetz, 1992). In the context of this study, oil exploration is thus conceptualized as all activities geared towards the search for prospective hydrocarbon deposits beneath the earth's surface by petroleum geologists and geophysicists, drilling, and selling of oil (Rosenberger et al, 2015). Oil exploration involves a

search for rock formations associated with oil or natural gas deposits and involves geophysical prospecting and/or exploratory drilling. This includes the collection and analysis of information required to exploit opportunities for these resources.

Multinationals companies in the oil industry operate globally in prospecting and exploring the viability of an area before actual exploitation and commercialization of resources. They study geological history and quantify likely the presence of hydrocarbons. Most multinational companies in the oil industry are fully integrated: they have both upstream and downstream interests. However, a multinational may choose to concentrate on a particular sector like exploration, production, refining, or marketing. Due to the huge financial and technical expertise required in oil exploration, many states have engaged the services of these oil exploration multinationals. Singer et al (1981) have questioned whether trends of increased oil exploration in many countries are in the national interest of local populations.

2.4 Nexus between oil exploration and changes in security dimensions

Many studies have cited the discovery of oil and gas as a mixed bag of fortunes in many countries (World Bank 2006). The discovery of oil and gas reserves gives hope and expectation that proceeds realized from such reserves would assist in developing local communities and countries. However, this dream has remained illusory. The discoveries have triggered conflicts and the destruction of local communities. It is argued that the majority of local communities in the global West derive more benefits from oil discoveries than those in the global South. For instance, Norway was one of the poorest countries in Scandinavia in the 1960s. However, it became one of the wealthiest countries by the 1990s courtesy of oil discovery in 1969.

The discovery of oil resources in most developing countries has plunged them into anarchy and conflict. In 2009, a report by the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) linked the exploration of natural resources like oil to cases of violent conflicts (UNEP, 2009). It cited occurrences of armed conflicts in Angola, Cambodia, DRC Congo, Sudan, and the Middle East. These conflicts were either confined to a specific territory or regionalized. The issues underlying these conflicts include inequalities in the allocation of oil revenues, displacement of population, and environmental degradation. In most cases, local communities are disadvantaged. In Nigerian's Niger Delta, insurgency, attacks on oil installations, and kidnappings deteriorated as

exploration activities boomed (Umejesi and Akpan, 2013). Niger Delta became a chaotic haven of armed gangs, kidnapers, and daily violence. These intricacies are seen to be fueled by the proceeds of oil.

Whereas some studies have suggested that there is no grand explanation or a universal predictor that oil exploration is intertwined with criminality and conflict, there is a consensus that certain factors associated with oil exploration seem to increase the vulnerability of conflict, and certain forms of crime. Mkutu et al (2014) contend that such factors include biased revenue-sharing formula between host communities and governments, neglect/dilapidated infrastructures in areas with oil resources, lack of public participation/involvement, corruption, and health/environmental concerns. These issues are precursors of conflict and criminality. According to Esteves and Barclay (2011), many countries are now increasingly accelerating efforts to support host/local communities to take part and maximize opportunities in the exploitation of these resources, particularly minerals, oil, coal, and gas among others. They argue that such initiatives could cure issues that can trigger conflict, besides uplifting the economic wellbeing of host communities thus address a country's poverty issues.

Countries like the US and West European states are progressively realizing the importance of strategically developing other regions to boost the security of oil supplies, due to limited options in sources of energy, and occasional intrigues ensuing from oil extraction activities (Cherp et al, 2011). Forced resettlement has also been cited as a major challenge commonly associated with the discovery of valuable natural resources. An average Turkana dweller's source of income is linked to animal stock. Relocation has been found to inhibit the nomadic lifestyle of other people in developing countries that centre on this lifestyle (Vasquez, 2013). Implementing a relocation plan should lessen any possibility of conflict between varied communities in Turkana. It is important to ensure that there is maximum communal participation if there is going to be an agreed transition plan (Kibor, 2017). Lack of pasture and water is one of the primary reasons for conflict in the region. Reducing probabilities of violence originating from relocation processes and de-escalating security levels should entail increased capacity for participation by locals.

The search for energy security seems to be linked to these challenges. It suggests that there's a direct correlation between discoveries of natural resources and an increase in the level of conflict. Lifan (2015) argues that many global conflicts have a direct link to oil discovery or

other highly valued resources. Irrespective of whether conflicts are regional or national, the common denominator is that local governments fail to enforce measures that restrict negative outcomes of corrupt elements in the governing system. In Nigeria, oil exploration has resulted in undesirable experiences, especially by Nigerian women. Cases of rape, defacement, and further exploitation by Trans-National Companies (TNC) have been reported. Similarly, the Turkana region is highly linked with human rights concerns that can be traced to localized constant conflicts (Agade, 2017). Notably, TNC companies introduce diverse factors like alliances with local stakeholders, ultimately increasing the possibility of human rights abuse. This can thus be considered to be a security concern as it allows for the introduction of adverse experiences by local communities concerning the exploration process, which can, in turn, impede the effectiveness of processes.

In Sudan, under Khartoum authorities, there were no guidelines or laws to check social and environmental issues. Local leaders wanted oil quickly. The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) in 2005 provided a guideline to mitigate destructive effects on the environment. However, it was very little to achieve a sustainable and constructive impact. Local communities residing within oil areas claim that they are yet to benefit from a 2% share in revenues of oil. South Sudan gained independence in 2011. Since that time, it has been confronting many oil-related conflicts (Natsios, 2012). These entail battles among authorities and rebel groups. The country is also engrossed in conflict with its neighbour at Abyei (Savage, 2015). The disputed region is rich in oil resources. Over 90% of Nigeria's earnings are from oil. It is estimated that 231 billion dollars were earned in profits between 1970 and 1999. However, this has not impacted on poverty levels in the country (Enebeli, 2012). Despite exporting massive volumes of oil, Nigeria continues to import fuel, which is high-priced with unending shortages. It is estimated that about seventy percent of the populace living within oil-producing regions (Delta) are remarkably impoverished (Enebeli, 2012). Some scholars have also linked oil exploration in Nigeria with the emergence, rise, and spread of the Boko Haram terrorist group.

Duffield (2001) observes that environmental/ecological degradation, smuggling (black-market activities), distortion of economy, industrial unrest, and erosion of societal morals are associated with oil exploration. Instances of criminal gangs attacking, kidnapping, or holding hostage civilians or employees working in oil exploration companies in areas where there is oil discovery

and exploration activities have also been reported (Ufot, 2014). Unfortunately, in cases where rights of host populace/civilians are concerned, State sides with oil exploration companies (Balouga, 2012). For instance, in 2013, a peaceful protest by members of the public who were opposed to an oil pipeline project targeting to pump fuel to Dar-es-Salaam turned violent and ended up in massive civilian injuries, vandalism, and colossal destruction of properties estimated to be about a million dollars.

Although oil exploration has been exciting, it has increasingly been associated with an upsurge of concerns linked with conflict, criminality, and social ills. As a result, there are reservations among security analysts on the relationship between oil exploration, security and socio-political development. They have therefore called for restraint and setting up appropriate institutional, legal and governance mechanisms to address these concerns. Savage (2015) argues that oil manufacturing in South Sudan in 2014 amounted to 99% of exports and about half of GDP. Yet, between 1990 and 2003, people within oil-rich areas were inhumanly displaced. Oil sales led to civil wars.

2.5 Governance of oil resource

Institutions like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) play a key role in establishing production systems and price structures in the oil industry which have helped manage relations between various stakeholders within the oil sector. However, the systems are inadequate in addressing pre-existing conflicts. For instance, if the oil is discovered in an area where there is volatility as a result of border conflicts, chances are that it will worsen the conflict situation. Kenya being a developing country it will need to have a way out to address anticipated problems that are linked to the oil exploration process (Runci, 2015).

According to Kituu (2016), the presence of international companies in Kenya popularly referred to as Multinational Companies (MNCs), can spark conflicts in Turkana. Companies have been known to cash in on resources discovered in developing countries. Based on this, there is a possible correlation between conflict and how natural resources like oil are explored and managed including in areas like Turkana in Kenya. The effect of conflict stemming from exploitation by MNCs tends to result in grave harm particularly in the lives of those participating in the reconciliation process (Kituu, 2016). For this reason, avoiding this eventuality is necessary

and can be achieved by embracing community participation in the oil exploration process. It has also been established that human rights abuse is usually extreme where there is an oil exploration, more so in developing countries.

Corruption has been associated with oil discoveries in developing countries. Earnings from oil tap into the natural greed of their leaders. In this regard, Kenya is a developing country that is susceptible to corruption. Corruption has a way of escalating insecurity in any region. Recurrent problems in Turkana like draught and perennial conflicts have ensured that corruption has a place in governing regional systems. It is thus projected that participating groups will take advantage of an increase in financial incentives to further corruption (Runci, 2015). Worth noting is that where there are corruption and less governmental approach to leadership, certainly there will be a sharp rise in insecurity.

2.6 Managing security issues associated with oil

Owing to the significance of oil, many countries have been accelerating the establishment of governance structures to advance their optimal extraction and commercialization. In most jurisdictions, governments bear the responsibility of the conduct of petroleum operations within many countries including licensing, exploration, and production. However, many governments have been sidelining critical shareholders like local communities (public participation) when making significant decisions about such resources. Conversely, advocacy/awareness has prompted locals and other stakeholders to demand a say in the management of oil resources. As a result, the management of petroleum resources especially has increasingly become a source of conflict pitting governments, investors, non-governmental organizations, and local/host communities.

Agyemang (1992) argues that the emerging challenges are largely technical, political, security, regulatory, environmental, social, and economic. For Kenya, it could be said that the government and local community are yet to settle on an agreeable revenue-sharing formula, and the stalemate remains a rife threat to the commercialization of oil. This is further exacerbated by perceptions of marginalization of the Turkana community, where oil resources have been discovered.

Revenue-sharing between government and Tullow Oil has also been embroiled with secrecy and controversy. Accordingly, each term in the model contract is subject to negotiations including

those revolving around government participation. Nevertheless, while this flexible approach has favoured the country in efforts towards attracting oil explorers in Kenya, this is not sustainable in the long run. There are concerns that oil exploration companies could have a field day at the expense of government, especially given that the investor has stronger bargaining power. For that reason, such pacts need to be judiciously executed to avoid uncertainties and potential protracted legal tussles. Agyemnag (1992) observes that many counties have weak legislative frameworks to address emerging challenges in oil exploration like attracting huge investment required in oil exploration and proposes overhaul/review of relevant policies.

Lately, Tullow Oil Plc has been reaching out to the local community by offering some jobs, education scholarships, and initiating Programs/Projects geared towards improving locals' welfare. However, oil exploration is primarily mechanized and requires a highly skilled workforce, thus naturally disadvantaging the locals. There are also hopes that Tullow will rehabilitate road infrastructure in the area which would eventually change prospects of Turkana county. Besides, projects like Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transit (LAPSSET) traverse through Turkana county. There is optimism that it will further open up the area for investment.

However, there are concerns that areas could soon flood with unscrupulous speculative investors aiming at taking advantage of the changing fortunes at the expense of locals. Other fears include continuous disruption of grazing patterns and potential environmental hazards e.g oil spillage, gas flaring, and toxic effluents/wastes. Oil exploration activities in most countries are characterized by deficient legislative frameworks and policies, and weak institutional capacities that are deficient to address emerging challenges within the oil exploration subsector. Furthermore, the oil sector has not received sufficient research attention aimed at ascertaining oil exploration challenges that possibly threaten the security situation of respective areas and thus propose recommendations for improvement. There is a need for sustainable literature along this line to gain more insight into this field. Investigating the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Subcounty in Turkana County in Kenya is a logical progression. It is a step towards developing a body of knowledge for research and policy.

2.7 Conclusion

Much has been written on oil and security. However, little is known about the relationship between oil exploration and security in Kenya. The reviewed literature points to a consensus that there is no grand explanation that oil exploration is intertwined with criminality and conflict. However, there is a general agreement that certain factors associated with oil exploration seem to increase the vulnerability of conflict, and certain forms of crime.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to explore the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. This chapter outlines the procedures used to study the research problem and also describes the logic used in selecting the procedures. The chapter describes the research design, study context, target population, characteristics of respondents, data collection methods, reliability, validity, and data analysis.

3.2 Research design

This study utilized a descriptive research design. It emphasized on exploring and understanding meanings that individuals attached to social or human problems of oil exploration and security in the context of the study (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Perspectives on the variables of the study, namely, oil exploration and security in Turkana county were investigated in viewpoints and the meaning that stakeholders ascribed to them. The researcher deemed this design appropriate to investigate perspectives on the relationship, mainly, the alleged relationship between oil exploration and security dynamics in Lokichar in Turkana County. This was because the issues being investigated required exploration of meanings and insights in the given situation.

The study involved an in-depth and descriptive investigation of oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub- County and their relationship with security. It sought to address the questions of

“what”, “where” and “how” of the research phenomenon (Yin, 2015). This enabled a better understanding of the research problem and its interpretation. The qualitative approach adopted by this study also helped at deriving hypothetical generalizations by placing the findings within broader theoretical and empirical inferences (Yin, 2015) on the relationship of oil exploration with security in similar contexts both within and outside Kenya.

3.3 Case study approach

Cooper and Schindler (2011) argue that a case study approach enables an understanding of the reasons why certain issues happen, how they happen, and their implications. A case study approach gives one opportunity to conduct a detailed analysis of the research context. This enabled an intensive exploration of issues being investigated. A case study of Lokichar Sub County, therefore, assisted in obtaining comprehensive information about the research objective. This information was used to draw findings and inferences. It allowed for judgment on the research problem, given the similarity manifestation in other parts of the country. This study was conducted in Lokichar Sub-county within Turkana County. Tullow Oil Plc was actively carrying out oil exploration activities in this area. The county is geographically positioned laterally North-West of Kenya, adjoining Ethiopia, Uganda, and Southern Sudan, and is estimated to be about 77,000 squares kilometres (KNBS, 2010). The County’s terrain is generally barren-to-arid/semi-arid, with a relatively fragile environment suitable for pastoralism. Further, the Report by KNBS estimates that the majority of its inhabitants are pastoralist Turkana, who have close ties to about 900,000 Jie and Karamojong of Uganda (KNBS, 2010) and are generally spread and occasionally migrating in search of food, pasture, and water. The Report classifies Turkana as one of the poorest counties with 94.3% of its population rated to be living in poverty. Few locals are informed about oil discovery in Turkana. In Kenya, prospective oil reserves are found in northern, eastern areas and coastal regions.

3.3.1 The study sites

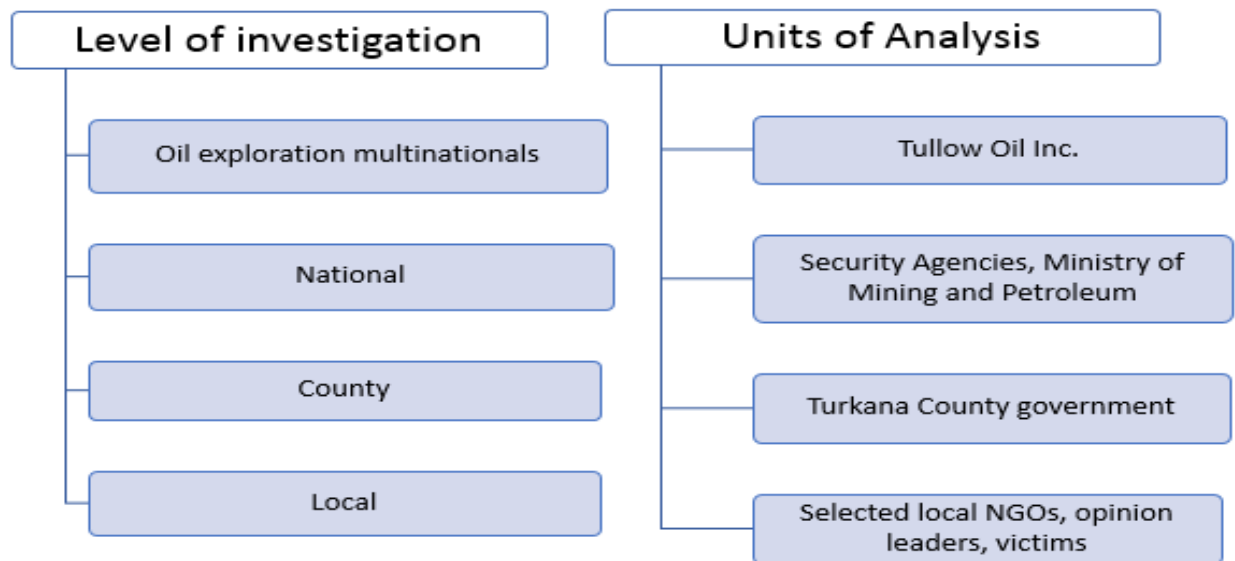
Oil discovery in Turkana county was formally announced by the government in 2011. From that time, exploration activities have intensified. Tullow Oil, an international oil exploration company struck initial petroleum deposits at the Ngamia One petroleum exploration site in Turkana County in 2011. The pronouncement was greeted with great enthusiasm that Kenya was now on

the edge of realizing her socio-economic aspirations through proceeds from the mining of petroleum. Notably, the oil discovery has been happening concurrently with the advent of the devolved system of governance. This has created great economic optimism in the country. It has also necessitated counties to adjust their organizational and administrative structures. By 2014, Tullow Oil PLC estimated that the value of discovered reserves by then was about 600 million dollars.

3.3.2 Units of analysis

Units of analysis are entities that frame what is being investigated or analyzed in a research study (Yin, 2015). It is within the units of analysis where the factors of causality and change exist. This study took cognizance of the fact that oil exploration activities and the attendant security issues are complex endeavours that involve many players and actors. For this study, the researcher mapped out four main spheres which were framed units of analysis. They include; Tullow Oil Plc in Turkana, Turkana County Government, Security agencies, and the local community. The relationships of the units of analysis for this study are represented as shown in Figure 2 below;

Figure 2: Units of analysis



Source: Author's presentation

For this study, rationale and specific descriptions of the above units of analysis are represented as shown in the table below:

Table 1: Description of units of analysis

Unit of analysis	Description
Tullow Oil Inc	Tullow oil Inc is the company that is carrying out oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana county. Its activities have generated factors of causality and change within the oil exploration areas. These include displacement of population, environmental degradation, employment/business opportunities, and sharing of revenues accruing from oil exploration. These issues have also fused with other localized resource-based conflicts and unresolved historical conflicts, and vigilantism.
Security Agencies	Security agencies within Lokichar Turkana county include conventional National Police Service (NPS), National Police Reservists (NPR), and private security firms. Like other arid areas in the country, NPR is the main security force in the Lokichar sub-county. It is detached from NPS and is made up of volunteers operating within given localities. NPRs are armed by the government state to supplement NPS in the provision of security in areas with low police presence. In Turkana, NPR handles local security concerns such as protecting the community from ‘external’ threats including hostile neighbours, protecting cattle from raids, etc. In the context of this study, security agencies are instrumental in protecting and pushing for interests of the local communities in matters like displacement, environmental degradation, employment/business opportunities, and sharing of revenues accruing from oil exploration. Security agencies are also at the centre of settling localized resource-based conflicts and unresolved historical conflicts.
Ministry of Mining and Petroleum	Kenya’s Ministry of Petroleum and Mining provides policy direction in the management of the extractive sector. Its role entails formulating policies to govern the petroleum and mining sectors. It also provides a legal and regulatory framework for sectoral investments and capacity building. It is thus responsible

	for the formulation and strengthening of institutional, policy, legal, and collaborative frameworks of the extractive sector in Kenya. Contracts between oil exploration companies like Tullow Oil Inc are negotiated and overseen by the Ministry of Mining and Petroleum.
Turkana County Government	This study focused on oil exploration and security in Turkana. As such, its geographical reach falls under the Turkana county government. Devolved system of governance in Kenya aimed at enhancing the participation of locals in development. It was expected to minimize competition over national resources which were characterized by ethnicity and violence. It was expected that devolution would capacitate marginalized regions to catch up with other developed areas. This included addressing historical grievances.
Local NGOs, opinion leaders, and victims	<p>Non-governmental organizations at the grassroots in Lokichar sub-county play a crucial role in bridging the gap between government and local communities. They promote popular participation on one hand and challenging the excesses of the state on the other on issues related to oil exploration. Interest groups like religious leaders, civil society, and non-governmental organizations operating in the area have also been raising advocacy on various issues revolving around oil exploration and security in the area.</p> <p>Local opinion leaders in the Lokichar sub-county entails the indigenous community living within the area affected by oil exploration. The community also includes interest groups like religious leaders, civil society and non-governmental organizations operating in the area, specifically with interest in oil exploration and security issues. The general host community has directly been affected by displacement, environmental degradation, employment/business opportunities, and sharing oil revenues. These issues have also fused with other localized resource-based conflicts and unresolved historical conflicts, and vigilantism.</p>

Source: Author's presentation

3.4. Target population

The target population refers to units, individuals, or groups with observable characteristics of interest to the researcher (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2012). For this study, the researcher targeted to collect data from a total of forty (40) respondents. The respondents were drawn from selected employees of Tullow Oil Plc in Turkana, Turkana County Government, Security personnel, and individuals from the local community. Within organizations with formal structures (namely Tullow Oil Plc, Turkana County Government, Security agencies), respondents were judiciously stratified from within the various management levels.

The researcher also interviewed selected local opinion leaders, surviving victims of oil exploration-related security/ issues- related with oil exploration, and personnel selected from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) operating within Turkana County who were considered to be conversant with the information that was being sought. This is because the kind of data sought required much insight into the realities of security issues emanating from oil exploration, and these were the right respondents to provide the information. The table below shows the constituents of the targeted population and the proportion for each segment.

Table 2: Segments of the target population

A segment of the Target Population	Number of Respondents
Tullow Oil Plc	10
Turkana County Government	10
Security Agencies	10
Local Community	10
Total	40

Source: Author's presentation

3.5 Characteristics of respondents

The study interviewed forty respondents within Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, who were drawn from the four segments of the target population namely; Tullow Oil Plc, Turkana

County government, Security agencies, and Local community. Ten respondents were selected and interviewed from each segment. Distribution among the gender was as shown in the table below. Although male respondents were more compared to females, the spread was valid enough for the study since from the findings, there was no bias towards either gender.

Table 3: Gender and age bracket of respondents

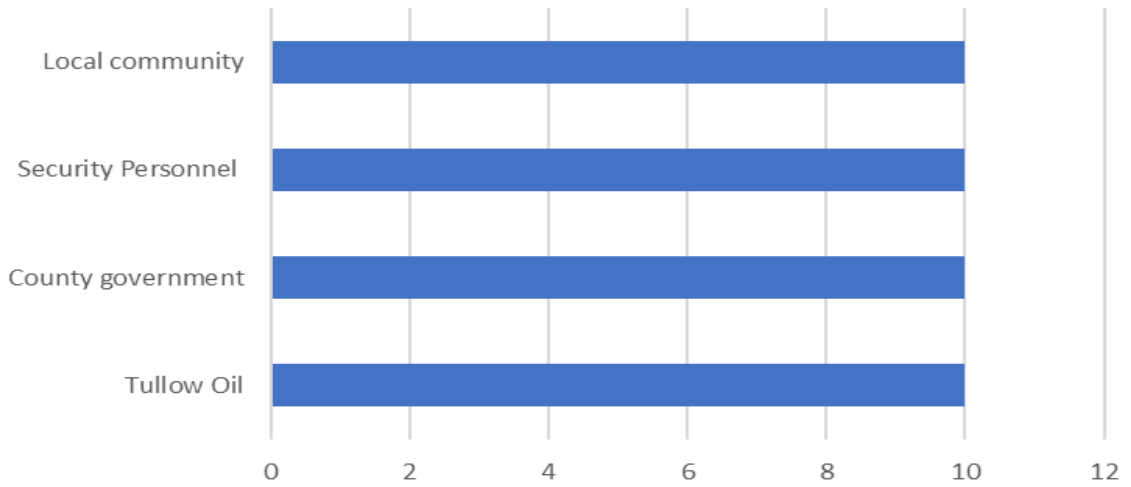
	<i>Gender</i>		Total
	Male	Female	
Below 30 years	3	2	5
30 -39 years	9	4	13
40 - 49 years	5	5	10
50 years and above	10	2	12
Total	27	13	40

Source: Author's presentation

Out of the forty respondents, only five were below thirty years. This indicates the respondents were old enough to have had experience with the influence of oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana. In terms of gender, twenty-seven respondents were male while thirteen were female. The researcher deemed this gender representation to be fitting since the objectives of the study had no prejudice to either gender. The age spread and gender representation were therefore valid and met the objectives of the study.

Meanwhile, respondents were evenly distributed among the four segments of the sampling frame namely; Tullow Oil, County government, Security Personnel, and Local community. As such, ten respondents were selected from each segment.

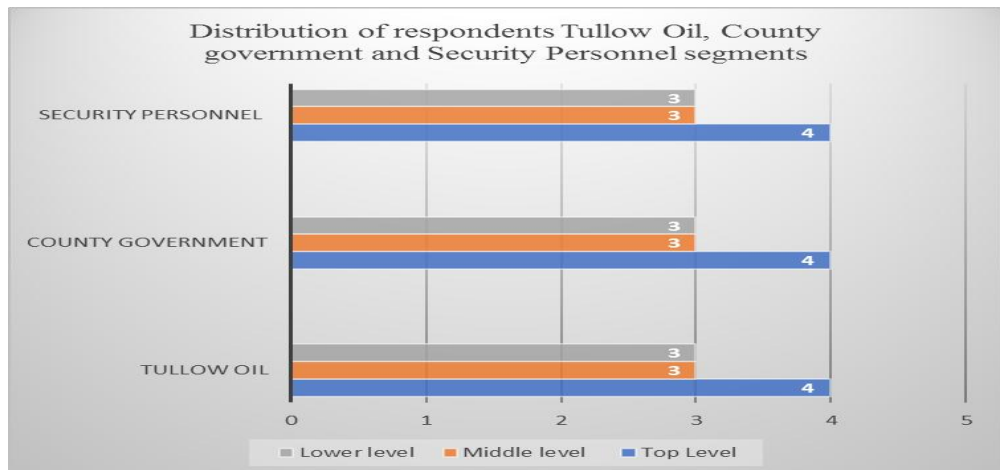
Figure 3: Number of respondents per segment



Source: Author's presentation

To meet the objectives of the study, the study segregated each segment into three sub-tiers. Tullow Oil, County government, and Security Personnel were segmented into the top, middle, and lower management levels. For each segment, four respondents were selected from top-level management. Three respondents were selected for each of the other two sub tiers.

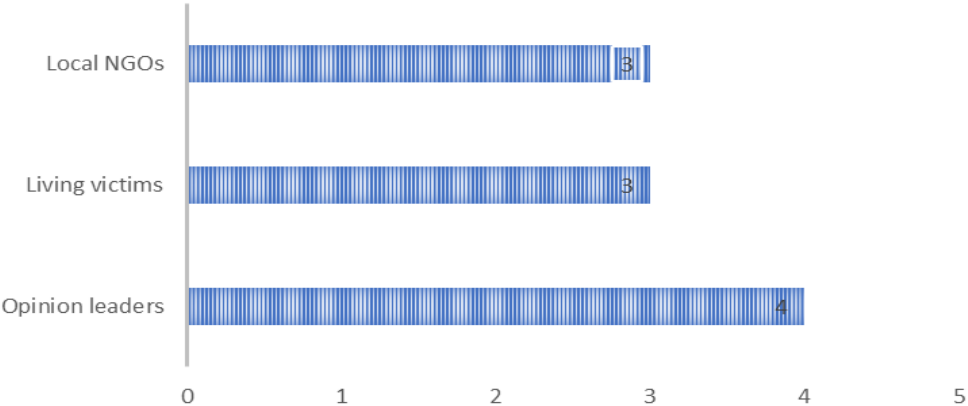
Figure 4: Distribution of respondents in Tullow, County Gvt & Security



Source: Author's presentation

The Local community segment was segregated into sub tiers dubbed Opinion leaders, Living victims, and Local NGOs. The researcher then selected four respondents from Opinion leaders and three respondents for each of the other two sub-tiers in this segment.

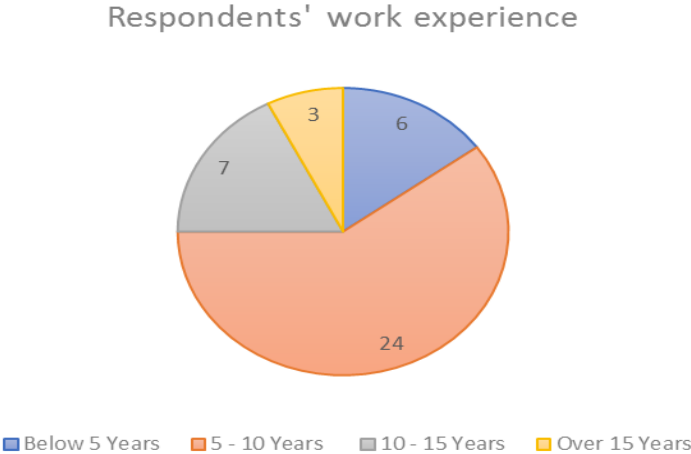
Figure 5: Distribution of local community respondents



Source: Author's presentation

The majority of the respondents reported that they had work experience and know-how in the subject matter for over five years. The figure below shows the relative distribution of the work experience in years.

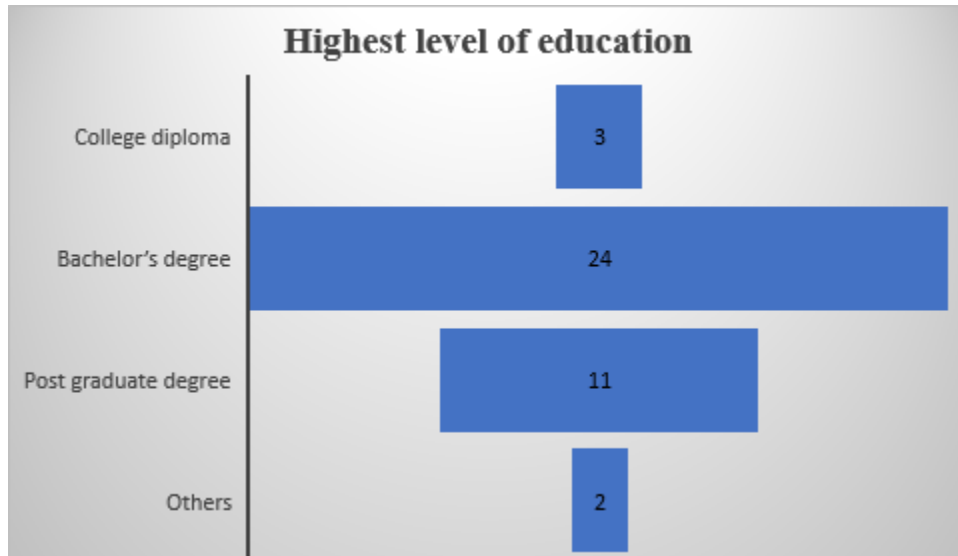
Figure 6: Respondents' work experience



Source: Author's presentation

The summary of the level of education for the respondents is shown below. The category on other qualifications comprised of certificates holders forms four leavers and those who had dropped out of school before attaining a diploma.

Figure 7: Level of education



Source: Author's presentation

3.6 Data collection methods

The research utilized both secondary and primary data. It used personal face-to-face interviews to collect primary data. This mode of communication allowed the flexibility of data collection. It enabled better exposure to interviewees' perspectives, deeper thoughts, emotions, and ambitions (Creswell and Miller, 2000). Specifically, the researcher used informal conversations to get data from people deemed to have information being sought, thereby allowing for a vast amount of data to be collected. The researcher engaged the services of a research assistant and a local translator in the course of data collection. This helped in overcoming time constraints and language barriers respectively.

A face-to-face interview was preferred because of its ability to extract comprehensive information from respondents. It gave a better understanding of the research problem and the interpretation of results. This enabled the researcher to elicit and obtain up-to-date information that could be omitted by other data collection techniques. Unstructured interviews permitted the

unfolding of respondents' views rather than the predisposition of the interviewer (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2012). The researcher also held informal conversations with officials from the Ministry of Mining and Petroleum, sectoral commentators, and other pertinent local individuals who have a stake in oil exploration issues in the country. This helped the researcher in building a vivid detail, about the issues in context and understanding the narratives and accounts given.

The study adopted a non-probability sampling technique, specifically purposive (also known as judgmental sampling technique) in selecting the population sample from the target population. This technique involved the use of the researcher's discretion or judgment in selecting the individuals deemed to have the kind of data sought (Turner, 2010). This study necessitated interviewing certain individuals who had deep insights into the realities of security issues emanating from oil exploration. It thus necessitated judicious selection.

Due to limitations of resources and time, the researcher selected a sample size of 10 people from each of the four segments of the targeted population (i.e Tullow Oil Plc in Turkana, Turkana County Government, Security personnel, and individuals from the local community). The researcher deemed this sample size to be suitable, and within the limits suggested by Mugenda and Mugenda (2012). It enabled a broader understanding of the information being sought and insightful interpretation of results. The table below shows the distribution of respondents within the sample size.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents

Segment	Strata	Department	No. of Respondents	Total
Tullow Oil	Top-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administration • Customs Liaison and Freight Forwarding 	3	10
	Middle-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-Technical Planning and Integration Lead • Operations • Field 	4	
	Lower level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field services • Customs Liaison • Commercial 	3	
Turkana County Government	Top-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governor's office • County Executive Member Office • County Assembly 	3	10
	Middle-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peacebuilding and conflict management • Sub County Office 	4	
	Lower level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field • Ward Office 	3	
Security Personnel	Top-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • County Commander's office • County Commissioner's Office • Senior private Security officials 	3	10
	Middle-level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • County Enforcement Office • National Government Administration Office • Officer Commanding Station Office 	4	
	Lower level management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Police Reservists • Administration Police • Private security 	3	
Local Community	Opinion leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elders • Church leader • Member of County Assembly 	4	10
	Living Victims	-	3	
	Local NGOs	-	3	
Grand Total				40

Source: Author's presentation

The study collected secondary data via a comprehensive review of literature on oil exploration and security in Turkana County. Other pertinent documents and publications from the National Police Service, Tullow Oil Company, media publications, journals, and periodicals were also reviewed. This information was used to supplement the information gathered from interviews, and thus helped put the study into context. The study used document analysis to decipher the sought data from the relevant documents. It entailed interpretation of documents to give meaning on a given issue (Neuendorf et al, 2017). In this case, the researcher treated the documents like respondents who provided relevant information.

The process entailed coding of data into themes just like how focus groups and interview transcripts are analyzed. Neuendorf et al (2017) observe that documents should be assessed for their completeness; in other words, how selective or comprehensive their data is. In carrying this study, the researcher undertook a systematic document analysis process that started by identifying and gathering relevant texts and documents. From there, organization and management schemes were developed, and a backup was created. The researcher then assessed the authenticity of documents, agenda, biases, and background. At this stage, the study addressed questions about the author, purpose, time, and type of data. It then explored and exploited the content that met the criteria. Inferences were made through an interactive process of taking the emergent insights and adding existing knowledge from reliable data and developing a conclusion by integrating them.

3.7 Data analysis

This study used thematization, explanation building and descriptive statistics to analyze the data collected on the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County. In undertaking the thematization process, the researcher judiciously deduced general themes and statements among the collected data. This enabled grouping of the collected data into various groups for easier analysis before being presented in continuous prose. The analysis commenced when the researcher sought to familiarize with the data collected (both primary and secondary). At this stage, it read transcripts and extracts to decipher meanings, patterns, trends, and themes according to the objectives of the study.

The researcher then **coded**, processed, and systematically organized data according to emerging themes (i.e. thematic analysis). This study took cognizance of the sensitivity of the topic and the attendant ethical implications. It took necessary measures to ensure confidentiality, privacy, and security of respondents and information provided. To this end, to preserve anonymity, verbatim excerpts by respondents in this report were coded in the format “TRK. XX”.

Subsequently, the researcher evaluated how the initial themes generated by the data collected fitted together into a theme. This was done through reading and re-reading data associated with each theme. It then assessed whether these themes are supported by data. The study then evaluated the coherence and distinctness of each of them. It made inferences through systematic identification of messages. The same approach was used to relate trends. After ascertaining the essence of each theme, they were refined and analyzed. This entailed probing each theme to say, existence subthemes, and how they interact with other themes. The study judiciously deduced general themes and statements among the collected data. It used these themes to address the research question. Lastly, **thematization analysis** entailed compiling a research project report. Through its application, the researcher was able to analyze the data collected on the relationship between oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County.

The other analytic technique used to analyze the data collected on the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County was **explanation building**. It analyzed the case study by building its explanation (Yin, 2015). From the data collected, the researcher explained the phenomenon of the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county and stipulated the emergent causal links about it. Specifically, the researcher first made initial theoretical propositions about oil exploration and security dimensions in Lokichar Sub-county. These prepositions were later refined and developed by comparing them against the evidence gathered by the study and matching with theoretical lenses (**drawing theoretical inferences**). These explanatory prepositions were further built and revised by comparing them with other details of the case study. In this sense, the final explanations are as per case study evidence, which was examined, along with the revision of theoretical positions through an interactive process.

Lastly, this study employed descriptive statistics to present analysis and findings. It used **graphs, tables, and charts** to present data into an easily digestible form. After numerical data were

collected, the study described these data using descriptive statistics. This formed the foundation for later analysis and interpretation of the data collected. Specifically, **descriptive statistics** analytic technique was used to present the units of analysis for the case and the characteristic of the respondents of the study. Descriptive statistics were also used in presenting structures of county governments which can be used to promote security situations within Turkana County. The use of descriptive statistics enabled the researcher to provide a richer picture and enhanced representation, in which to examine the phenomenon of interest.

3.8 Validity

Validity denotes the accuracy of a study instrument. In qualitative research, it is about the suitability of tools used, processes, and data. These entail appropriateness of a research question, choice of methodology, design, sampling, and data analysis. They also include considerations regarding results and conclusions concerning the study sample and context. Three threats to validity have been identified in qualitative studies. They are researcher bias, reactivity, and respondent prejudice (Kirk & Miller, 2005). Validity can be considered in three dimensions including construct, internal and external validities.

3.8.1 Construct validity

To pursue construct validity, this study undertook meticulous member checking by verifying the authenticity of the responses by the respondents. The issues included changes in security dimensions in the area attributable to oil exploration activities, linkages between historical grievances and conflicts with the oil-related conflict, the context of the security/conflict and oil exploration in the area, and responses by state and non-governmental players to the situation. This study sought to corroborate the responses with three to four distinct sources. Specifically, it used member checking techniques. Here, the validity procedure shifted from the researcher to the participants. As argued by Kirk and Miller (2005), member checks are crucial for establishing credibility in an inquiry.

Accordingly, the study took data, interpretations, and findings back to participants. This was to enable them to confirm the credibility of information and narrative accounts. Participants were asked if themes developed like oil exploration and pre-existing/historical conflicts, public

participation, oil exploration, and vigilantism, made sense. The study also sought assessments of participants whether themes had enough evidence. It also asked whether the overall account was realistic and accurate. Subsequently, the researcher considered the participants' comments and reactions into the final narrative.

Constructs for Dependent variable	Constructs for independent variable
<p><i>Security Dynamics</i></p> <p>Constructs for security, included violent confrontation, destruction of properties, injuries, deaths, anarchy and unrest, criminal activities, displacement of population, and environmental degradation associated with oil exploration in Lokichar Sub-county.</p>	<p><i>Oil exploration</i></p> <p>This study viewed oil exploration as a spectrum of search activities for prospective hydrocarbon underneath the earth by geologists, drilling, processing, and eventual marketing of petroleum products in Lokichar Sub-county.</p>

Source: Author's presentation

3.8.2 Internal validity

For this study, the researcher used different recommended strategies internal validity (or for addressing *causality problems* in a social inquiry) so that the study addresses the "true" causes of the outcomes observed in the research study. Firstly, the researcher addressed reflexivity by way of the researcher self-disclosing her assumptions, beliefs, and biases which could have influenced the study. This enabled a better understanding and appreciation of the researcher's positions and suspending them as the study proceeded. At the same time, the study systematically identified the sample selection techniques and the instruments used to ensure that items in the interview questions measured the real-world situation or events that they were intended to measure.

The researcher enhanced internal validity through meticulous data verification, and constant comparison. The phenomenon under study was judiciously authenticated by accounting for the significant variables that emerged. For instance, to eliminate other potential causes of security dynamics vis-à-vis oil exploration, the study-related and compared multiple data types to support

or contradict the various interpretations derived. The researcher systematically compared incidents applicable to each category of the emergent themes as articulated by Glaser (1965). Each of these incidents was then coded in categories for analysis. This constant comparison generated the theoretical properties of the category. Other strategies used to address problems of causality included a detailed description of the methods and techniques used. It also entailed the disclosure of qualitative tradition that guided the study. This enhanced confirmability of the research study and audit trail.

3.8.3 External validity

External validity or generalizability is the extent to which or the ability to generalize study findings to other people and similar contexts. Kirk and Miller (2005) argue that qualitative researchers focus on more unique information and context-dependent. They hold that threats to external validity may emanate from the research population and its reactivity, and thus suggest that qualitative meta-analysis is one method that might help with external validity. Combining diverse studies that analyze the same subject area extends findings. It builds a case for the generalization of results. This study did not attempt to generate a universal proposition. It strived to form a working hypothesis, thereby, arriving at theoretical generalizability (Yin, 2015) that may be transferred from one context to another depending on the similarity of contexts. Accordingly, as per the tradition of a qualitative study, this study elicits theoretical or conceptual generalizability (Yin, 2015).

3.8.4 Reliability

Reliability refers to the replicability of a research process and its results. It is the extent to which the same research technique applied again to the same object/subject will give you the same result. This includes consistency, diligence, and honesty (Robson, 2005). External reliability is about independence. It probes whether the same themes and constructs would emerge in similar settings. This study endeavored to put appropriate practical measures during interviews and wording of questions. The study considered measures like establishing rapport with interviewees, and power relationships with the participants.

The researcher verified the accuracy of the data through the comparison of data with emerging themes. It entailed the synthesis of existing concepts, theoretical frameworks, and secondary data. This study also used an audit trail to provide clear documentation of decisions and activities. It gave evidence of the account. This was further enhanced by the use of the test-retest method, whereby, the researcher administered pilot interviews to 12 trial respondents drawn from the target population. For proper representation, each subcategory of the sampling frame had one mock respondent.

This study conducted two mock interviews. There was a break of two weeks between primary and subsequent administration. Through the use of the test-retest method, reliability was assessed by comparing results from two mock interviews, to determine how well the instrument consistently got the same results.

Table 5: A sample size of mock interviews

A segment of the Target population			
	Strata within segment	No. of mock respondents	Total
Tullow Oil	Top-level	1	3
	Middle level	1	
	Lower level	1	
Turkana County	Top-level	1	3
	Middle level	1	
	Lower level	1	
Security Personnel	Top-level	1	3
	Middle level	1	
	Lower level	1	
Local Community	Opinion leaders	1	3
	Living Victims	1	
	Local NGOs	1	
Grand Total			12

Source: Author's presentation

3.8.5. Ethical considerations

This study took cognizance of the sensitivity of the research topic and attendant ethical implications. The study sought **informed and voluntary consent** from all participants before interviews were conducted. Those who declined to be interviewed were respected for their views. Also, **permissions to collect data was sought beforehand** from the relevant institutions and government agencies. The study further took necessary precautions to guarantee **confidentiality, security and privacy of respondents or information provided**. No identification or photographs of the respondents were taken. No classified data was used in the research project. All data obtained were solely used for writing this research report and not any other purpose. The same is open for public inspection vide the University Library.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis and discussion of the research findings. The study aimed at exploring the influence of oil exploration on security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. Beyond the enunciated question, it interrogated the changing security phenomenon in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, particularly its interface with oil exploration. Data analysis, presentation and discussion are organized into two main sections, according to the specific objectives of the study. The specific objectives of the study were to; assess changes in security dimensions associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County, and determine government structures that can be used to promote security situation in Turkana County.

4.2 Oil exploration and changes on security dynamics in lokichar sub county

This section presents, analyses and discusses data on oil exploration and changes in security dynamics in Lokichar Sub-county, as was established in the field. The section seeks to address the first research objective of the study, specifically assess changes in security dimensions associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County. It outlines six themes that are constructed from the intervening variables of the study, thus are caused by the independent variable, and themselves cause an effect on the dependent variable. This section is organized into six subsections namely; introduction; oil exploration and pre-existing/historical

conflicts; public participation; grievances, expectations, and demands by local communities; government response to grievances by locals; and conclusion.

4.2.1 Oil exploration and pre-existing conflicts/grievances

Although the study did not establish a grand explanation or a universal predictor of oil exploration and security challenges, certain factors were seen to increase the correlation between oil exploration activities and security challenges. The study found that pre-existing conflicts, deprivation, and historical marginalization as factors that can explain emerging security challenges in Lokichar Sub-county. Local communities felt that successive governments had not addressed the plight of the local communities on issues poverty, insecurity and marginalization. A respondent indicated that;

For a long time, we have existed unnoticed by the government. We did not seem to be part of Kenya. As you can see there is no food, water, roads or any sign of government development like other regions. The same government now is here selling our resources (TRK. 23).

Oil exploration activities had also fueled localized resource-based conflicts, prompted the emergence of community vigilante groups, and displacements of local communities. This study established that oil exploration activities were linked to the upsurge of general crime and increased deployment of security officers in the area by the government. This finding reinforces conclusions by other similar studies. The exploitation of resources in developing countries like Africa has been associated with conflicts (Nest, 2010). In Kenya, Oloo et al (2010) have linked marginalization by the state to the emergence of militia and criminal groups. They attribute bad governance, structural inequalities, poverty, and other social disparities to the rise of militias like *Sungu sungu*, *Mungiki*, *Kamjesh*, and *Sabaot Land Defence Force*. These studies argue that resentment about inequality is exacerbated by ethnicity and class divisions.

Also, Patrick Asingo (2018) contends that individual perception of deprivation influences his/her probability to vote and protest in Kenya thus indicating the relationship between political attitudes and economic engagements in Kenya. This was evident in the way local communities and leaders could relate to the county and national governments. Thus, as further articulates by Asingo (2018) individual perceptions of deprivation were relative to oil exploration experiences consequently driving dissent and tensions between different players and the general security in Lokichar. It is clear from this that an interplay between the lenses of frustration-aggression and

structural-functionalism theories were essential in discerning change dynamics of security and oil exploration in Lokichar. Segments of the society in Lokichar were dissatisfied and hence deprived of certain things that they expected to have with the exploration of oil. That is, security dimensions could have partly changed in Lokichar as community members opted for unsanctioned avenues and acts for social change to ensure more representation in the oil exploration and from how the local leaders engaged them to ensure equal gain between the local and national governments. From such a viewpoint, Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2009) associated conflicts with scarcity stating that.

[‘] scarcity is linked to conflict via two mechanisms: it may trigger [the] marginalization of powerless groups by elite scrambling for resource, and it could have a debilitating effect on processes of social and economic innovation (resulting in an ingenuity gap)’ (p. 654).

Other studies have acknowledged the resource-conflict nexus which also came out in the study of the relationship between oil exploration and security dynamics in Lokichar. The argument is that the exploitation of extractive resources in developing countries is linked to dynamics of conflicts. Accordingly, it was established that before oil exploration activities in 2012, the area mainly suffered from intra-community tensions between indigenous communities, intercommunal conflicts with neighboring communities over pastoral resources, confrontations with government security machinery, and resource-based conflicts. The study established that following the discovery of oil and subsequent exploration activities, there emerged new forms of conflicts and security challenges (Agade, 2014). These were characterized by aggravated localized resource-based conflicts and the emergence of community vigilante groups among others, which also amplified the pre-existing conflicts.

The study learned that in Turkana county, there were confounded problems of livestock theft and banditry. A respondent recounted that in 2013, about seven hundred cattle were stolen near oil exploration sites in Lokichar. The raiders had also killed twelve people. Locals complained that security officers were unreachable. This prompted locals to mobilize themselves to pursue raiders to recover the animals. Before 2010, Lokichar, which is about 550 kilometers north-east of Nairobi, was a neglected backwater of Turkana livestock-based pastoralists with a populace of less than 1,000. The study found that oil discovery and exploration in Turkana County were potent of exacerbating pre-existing conflicts and grievances. Eliza et al. (2015) held that the

discovery of oil in Turkana could exacerbate tensions and pre-existing conflicts. They noted that oil exploration had brought to the fore the plight of the locals. This study found that when pre-existing conflicts, feelings of deprivation, inequality, and historical marginalization are manifest in a society, the segment of the society that is aggrieved may result in the consolidation of philosophical and ideological platforms of mobilization to liberate themselves. Such liberation mostly interfaces with culture, politics, and economic-related agitations. The ‘liberations’ are based on platforms of social change such as generational change, economic or regime change, etc. According to Mitullah (2003) crimes of material desperation occur. For instance, those that suffer poverty may choose violence instead of legal and social systems, and the same could be said of Lokichar following oil exploitation and trends that have emerged since then concerning security dynamics in the area.

4.2.2 Public participation

The study established that most respondents first heard about oil exploration in Lokichar sub-County in the 1980s. It was reported that over the years, especially in the early 1990s interest in mining activities within the area grew and it also became increasingly publicized. Respondents reported that actual oil exploration activities began at around 2012. At that time, Tullow Oil Plc and Africa Oil drilled Ngamia-1 well. It was the first oil discovery site in the area. The study established that other than Tullow Oil Plc, two other companies were engaging in oil exploration in Turkana County. They are Adamantine Energy Limited (US) and CEPSA (Spanish), in Turkana-North and Turkana-West Sub respectively.

The study established that the discovery of oil by Tullow Oil Company had begun opening up the area for better prospects especially the area towards Uganda-South Sudan border. However, decisions regarding oil exploration activities were dominated by national government and oil exploration firms. Local communities and other non-state actors like non-governmental organizations in the area were not involved in the oil exploration decision-making processes as demonstrated below by a respondent: *We are not consulted or involved in oil exploration matters. We just see things happening. Everything is done in Nairobi* (TRK. 34).

It was found that the governments had sidelined critical stakeholders like local communities when making significant decisions about oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county. The

majority of the respondents indicated that oil exploration in the area did not have the consent of local communities [...] *we don't know them (oil multinationals). They have invaded our ancestral land and they are now stealing our resources. The government has kept us in the dark* (TRK. 12).

Land in Turkana county is communal. Its ownership is held in trust by the county government. Communally owned land is a shared resource among the local communities; there is no private or individual land ownership. In Turkana county, communally-managed land is the backbone of the pastoralist livelihood and production. The study established that this communal land management in arid areas like Turkana County provides strategic grazing zones and water sources as the local communities can share the resource by freely migrating from one locality to the other during the dry seasons in search of food, water, pasture and areas fit for human habitation. As such, there is no restriction of movement/migration by the local communities within their communal land; their territory/land. One of the major issues relates to the “privatization” of erstwhile communal land which was turned/ ‘taken over’ by oil multinational firms, fenced into private lands, and local communities restricted from accessing the same.

The study established that about one thousand square kilometers of land had been carved off from community land for oil exploration activities. Such land had considerable drought reserves for the local communities as well as cultural value as traditional ceremonial sites. As the study found out, the local communities were infuriated by this ‘invasion’ of their land by oil exploration multinationals. These developments brought a flurry of issues like confrontational agitation for the restoration of communal land or compensation for the same. Further, it was found that following the discovery of oil, the government allocated land (oil blocks) in agreements with investors without involving the locals.

Consequently, some local community pastoralists were displaced from their grazing sites, water sources, and migratory routes. The study established that this resulted in livelihood difficulties on the part of the affected communities, thereby raising anxiety. The local communities construed the government to be enforcing oil exploration activities within their land against their wishes and consent. It was found that local communities within Lokichar Sub-county had violently responded to the ‘forced’ oil exploration activities in their areas. The study established

that the communities had regrouped and formed vigilante groups for self-protection, citing exploitation by the government in collusion with oil exploration companies.

The groups mobilized and organized numerous public protests, road blockages, attacks, demonstrations, and violent incidences in the area as locals protested the invasion of their communal land. A respondent averred that;

Until now we have not seen the benefits of these people (oil multinationals). The government is also only keen in sending police to protect oil fields and the foreigners. We have decided to defend ourselves and our resources by mobilizing our youths to use any means in the protection of what is rightfully ours (TRK. 31).

However, as the study found out, these vigilante groups in the long run adopted criminal tactics and could become a security burden to society. It was established that the vigilante groupings were gradually transforming into mafia-like modus operandi and characterized by extortion and violence. Both locals and non-locals citizens who are unable or unwilling to comply with the demands of these groupings risk being tortured or even killed. Meanwhile, the police were reported to shun areas that were deemed to be dominated by these vigilante groups, thereby worsening the insecurity as communities are left without a choice but to follow the dictates of the groups.

This study established increased incidences and activities by vigilante groups and local communities like road blockages and attacks on non-locals working with Tullow. These developments had raised concerns about the institutionalization of violence in society to address grievances. Widespread use of force by government mercenaries and criminal groupings had exposed citizenry to vicious violence. It also typified loss of state monopoly on the use of violence. Kirsch and Gratz (2010) argue that violence may be normalized in societies where people are exposed to brutality. It may be tacitly accepted as a legitimate way of settling disputes, particularly where the government continues to be viewed as incompetent, corrupt, or biased.

According to police records, about 22 public protests, demonstrations and violent incidences had been witnessed in Lokichar Sub-county since 2012 when oil exploration activities began to end in April 2019. To this end, a respondent asserted that; *There are times things become very bad here when locals decide that oil is not going to be trucked out of this place. They barricade the roads, kill, maim, and destroy properties.* (TRK.23). The study further established that in 2013,

violent confrontation and attacks by locals against Tullow Oil Plc's site forced the latter to suspend operations for at least 3 weeks and evacuate non-local staff from the area. Equally, in early 2015, incessant demonstrations and road blockade took place within the Lowerengak area which lasted for 4 days. The study established that such incidences resulted in deaths, injuries, and destruction of property. For instance, during confrontations between locals and Tullow oil officials in October 2013, locals vandalized perimeter fence and looted in Tullow offices. Police response to the chaos left about 25 locals nursing injuries.

4.2.3 Grievances, expectations, and demands by local communities

The study established that tension between the local communities and investors was also fueled by expectations and demands for community compensation (revenue sharing), tenders, and job opportunities to locals. A respondent said that

People from other places are coming in large numbers and settling here. Some have been employed in the oil fields and others have pitched businesses here yet our own are being ignored (TRK. 33).

The local communities also feared environmental impacts emanating from oil exploration activities. They reported that the government was silent on the inevitable destruction of sensitive ecological zones in the area. These grievances fueled hostilities among the local community towards Tullow Oil Plc. They had very high expectations and felt that oil discovery in their land should solve all their socio-economic problems. The study established that these grievances were engrossed and amplified by other pre-existing deprived social-economic circumstances in the areas.

It was also established that some local politicians, civil societies and non-governmental organizations took advantage and amplified the issues raised to pursue partisan interests. These dynamics exacerbated the situation. Collier (2013) observes that even when local communities vent their grievances, there is danger if the grievances are not genuine. It was also found that local communities often intimidated non-locals working with Tullow Oil Plc, on grounds of invading their resources. Such intimidations prompted some non-locals to leave the area for fear of attacks especially because local communities had started forming localized vigilante groups to guard their interests from oil exploration activities. This aggravated the security situation in the

area bearing in mind that the Turkana pastoralists are heavily armed and ready to guard their resources as illustrated below;

It is (oil resource) ours. We want and have to be compensated and paid before any oil leaves this place. We are well prepared to use any means to protect our oil and any benefits that come with it (TRK 35).

The study established that oil exploration activities in the Lokichar sub-county were linked with certain negative security outcomes including; loss of ancestral and grazing land, economic exclusion like inaccessibility of jobs by locals, insecurity as well as environmental degradation. Respondents attributed their current social-economic hardships and challenges to the oil exploration related activities;

We do not have food, water for domestic use and our animals; health facilities, or improved roads and some of us are struggling to rebuild our shelters after we were pushed away from our land. We depend on well-wishers (TRK. 36).

Another one stated that;

The local communities here are not happy about the proposed revenue sharing formula. They want to have a bigger share of the oil proceeds. They also want the priority of employment and business opportunities to be given to locals. That is why they are chasing investors and people from other areas (TRK. 16).

The ‘xenophobic behavior’ against investors or non-locals who have come to the area because of oil exploration seems to have changed security dynamics in Lokichar lending to other isolated security concerns. Even though this relationship could be complex, there are suggestions of a positive relationship between oil exploration and changes in security dynamics in the Lokichar sub-county.

4.3 Government structures, oil exploration, and security in Lokichar sub county

This section seeks to respond to the second objective of this study, specifically determine structures of county governments which can be used to promote security situation within Turkana County. The section will therefore present, discuss, and analyze data on structures of county government that can be used to promote security in Lokichar Sub-county, as was established in the field. It is divided into three subsections namely; introduction, the role of the

national government, the role of county governments and institutions, and participative management and decision making.

4.3.1 Role of the national government

Respondents indicated that the national government had responded to the emerging security challenges in Lokichar Sub-county by increasing the number of National Police Reservists (NPRs) and Police officers in the area to provide security around oil sites. NPRs are quasi-security officers who play a critical role in boosting the security of host communities, particularly those predisposed to cattle rustling. Membership to NPR is voluntary.

Until now we have not seen the benefits of these people (oil multinationals). The government is also only keen in sending police to protect oil fields and the foreigners. We have decided to defend ourselves and our resources by mobilizing our youths (TRK. 31).

Actions by the government perceived as only focused on guarding the oil have made the local community feel vulnerable thus resorting to “self-defense” mechanisms by mobilizing themselves into vigilante groups to steer the interests of the community. The police were also reported to shun areas that were deemed to be dominated by anti-oil exploration groupings. This worsened the insecurity as communities were left without a choice but to follow the dictates of the law of the jungle as shown below;

The government has refused to address the issues raised by these people. It (government) only sets up GSU camps and sends police to force people to accept the situation as it is. This has infuriated the people hence the confrontations (TRK 39).

The study also established that the response of the government to the security dynamics associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar had not been very effective. The government had responded to the emerging security dynamics in the area through authoritarian approaches. In support of this, a respondent indicated that;

In the circumstances, we had to ask for security reinforcement in areas with exploration activities. We increased the number of police units in these areas to contain the situation. We could not just sit and allow them (local communities) to paralyze exploration activities (TRK. 26).

This study found that the national government responded to the emerging issue by use of force. This implied dealing harshly with offenders to deter similar choices in the future. The

government did not consider the root causes, grievances, background, or circumstances surrounding issues in contention. As a result, the authoritarian response by the government to locals' grievances and security challenges has only served to instill bad habits in the security services, as well as prompt harsh countermeasures by locals. The already stretched security machinery seems to be overwhelmed. This is further complicated by corruption allegations where state officials like the police are accused of colluding with private investors to fleece the locals.

This has seriously undermined democratic governance and respect for human rights. It has also generated hostility by locals towards the government. This is worsened by inadequate efforts to reconcile the parties. This explains the emergence of community vigilante, self-defense, and competition for resource control in the Lokichar sub-county.

4.3.2 The role of County structures and institutions

This study established that governance and decision-making processes on oil exploration and resolution of emergent security issues were dominated by national government and oil exploration multinational companies. The impact of this was that there was little ownership of security measures that could be completed by the existing informal or societal structures to strengthen the formal security arrangements. This created some security gaps leading to instability and tensions that became exacerbated by the low participatory structures in local government. As illustrated by a respondent below, county and national government structures reportedly alienated other crucial grassroots players like host/local communities and county government.

They (locals) are not opposed to the project. If everybody here was involved in the processes, things could work smoothly. Locals here and the county government know very little about these things (oil exploration activities). (TRK. 38)

It was found that government structures on oil and resolution of related conflicts within Lokichar Sub-county have centered on Kenya gazette notice Vol. CXX-93 of August 2018 (Kenya Law Review, 2018). The Notice established Turkana Grievances Management Committee (TGMC) and the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Escalation and Support (IMCES). As the study learned, in August 2018, the national government established TGMC which comprises of Turkana

community leaders, national government representatives, Turkana county political leaders, Tullow Oil Plc, and faith-based leaders to resolve emerging security issues related to oil exploration activities. TGMC was tasked with identifying emerging concerns and causes of tension or hostilities which could affect oil exploration operations. Besides TGMC, IMCES had also been formed at the national level, for referral and escalation of unresolved issues from TGMC. Nonetheless, the two committees lacked support and goodwill from the grassroots namely; from local communities, NGOs, and county government, thus deficient in addressing emerging conflicts related to oil exploration activities.

Our interests are not represented in the newly formed committees. Locals wanted a people-driven process, where they are represented by their elders. What we have now are just the same officials of national government perpetrating atrocities against us pretending to address our concerns (TRK. 33).

It was established that stakeholders in the oil exploration sector can leverage on structures of the devolved system of governments to promote good governance on oil exploration activities, security, and peace in the affected areas. Indeed, the objective of devolution was to institutionalize and decentralize decision making. This meant that citizen participation was core in governance. It sought to entrench efficiency, accountability, equity, and eradicate marginalization in sections of society. This could be done through county-organized public participation barazas/forums, ward, and village level forums in Lokichar Sub-county.

We have no problem with the foreign investors in the oil issues. The problem is that we are not involved in all these, yet we are their leaders. How do we convince them to embrace what we ourselves know little about (TRK. 12)

The provision of security is a function of the national government (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). It is also acknowledged that devolution introduced new variables that affect its management. As put by Mkutu et al (2014);

[...] mineral wealth has usually failed to benefit most people at both national and local levels. Conflicts between locals and investors and/or governments over perceived lack of local opportunities and negative impacts like environmental degradation are common..... devolution should allow citizens more opportunity to participate in any decision that they feel will affect them (chapter 11 article 171) and protect and promote the interests of minorities and marginalized peoples (p.497).

County governments do not have a direct mandate to provide security. However, they set an agenda in local peace and development programs. This impacts directly on drivers of insecurity

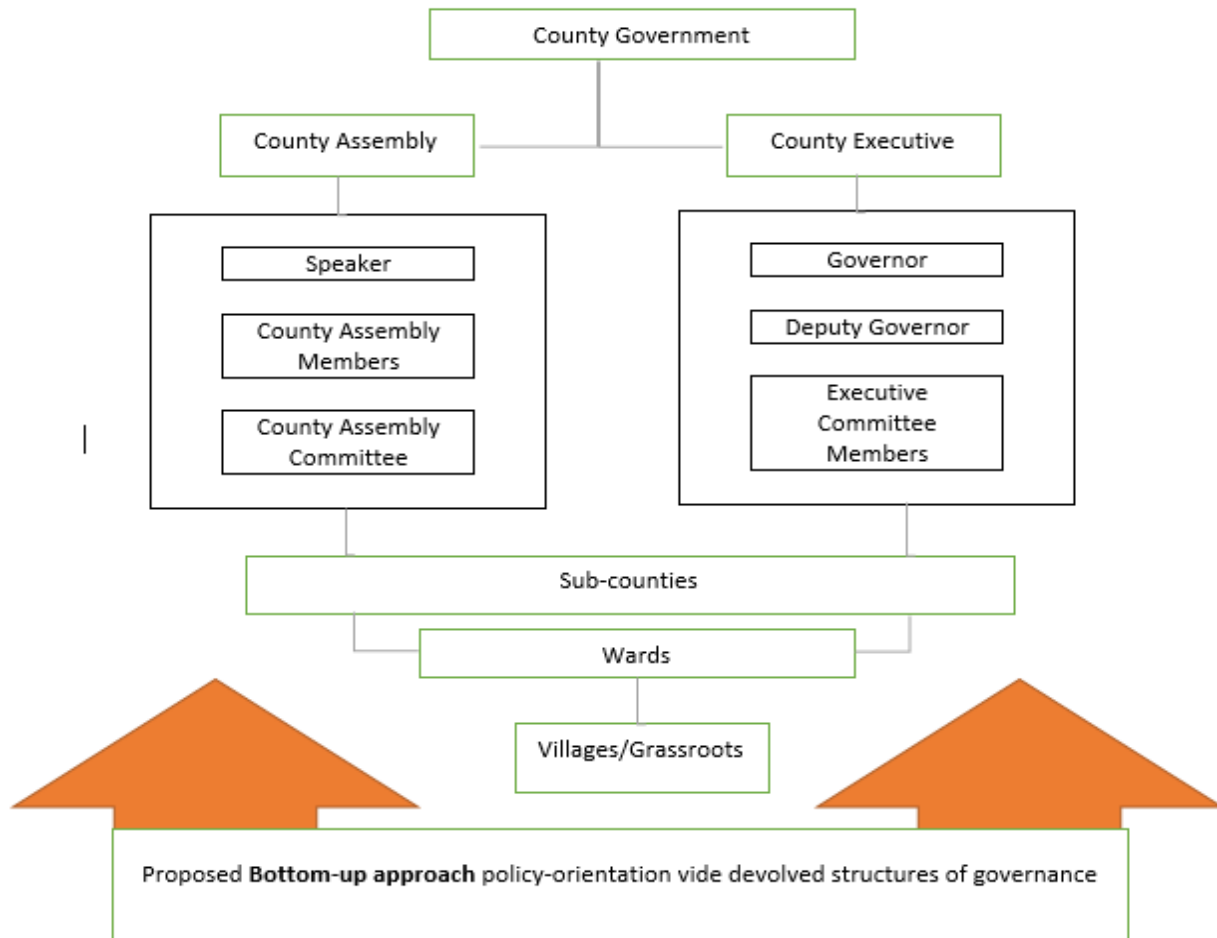
like unemployment, inequality, and land disputes. Structures of county governments are therefore inextricably weaved with security. From this perspective, security is emerging as a concurrent function of both national and county governments. They co-share the security concerns of the locals.

National security concerns emerge at the grassroots level. It is that level where they crystallize and are responded to. This conceptualization addresses itself to the contemporary interpretation of national security, which is based on a multi-dimensional approach. From this viewpoint, county governments are inseparably intertwined with security management and governance, despite the absence of clear overarching constitutional provisions. This heralds innovation regarding security governance. Emerging issues in national security stemming from linkage with county governance is a critical policy question. As observed by a respondent,

They have no forum to vent their concerns and views on the project. It is the people who should drive the policy agenda by suggesting their priorities which they want their political leaders, investors, and government to address, and not the other way round (TRK. 3).

The study established that a bottom-up approach policy orientation is at the core of the devolved system of government. Devolution sought to bring governance closer to the people. It means county governments are at the center of dispersing political power and economic resources at grassroots. This study established that the national government needs to capitalize on the local community's leadership especially clan elders at the village in solving resource-related conflicts, intelligence gathering, and information sharing with security agencies in affected areas. This research, therefore, proposes a bottom-up policy approach in dealing with oil exploration in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County.

Figure 8: Structures of county government which can promote security



Source: Author's presentation

4.3.4 Participative management and decision making

The study found out that critical players within the Lokichar sub-county among them Turkana County Government, local communities, and non-state actors were playing a little or peripheral role in both governance and monitoring of oil exploration-related activities, as well as in addressing the emerging conflict-related with oil exploration activities. The study established that decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Turkana County were also dominated by the national government and Tullow Oil Plc.

It was established that the county government, the local community, and other non-state actors were not involved during the decision-making process regarding granting land for oil exploration

activities to investors. This lack of participation of critical actors had precipitated an environment of suspicion, animosity, and conflict revolving around oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county. A respondent demonstrated this as follows;

The locals and us (county government) are normally not involved or engaged in discussions on these things (oil exploration). All the planning is done elsewhere and they only come here to implement. (TRK.13).

Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2009) argue that participative management entails shared leadership, stakeholder empowerment, and involvement. This implies participative decision making, transparency, and dispersed leadership. It engenders inclusiveness and completeness in decision making. This may increase commitment to final decisions because each stakeholder has an opportunity to share their perspectives to improve efficiency.

We (non-governmental organizations) and the local communities don't have a stake in the decision-making processes here. There are no forums where we can air our complaints on emerging issues. (TRK. 38)

However, as the study found out, oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county had isolated some crucial players. At the same time, the study established that emerging conflicts related to oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county were being addressed on an ad hoc basis. This suggests that there were no structures to address the emerging conflicts or that they were deficient. Accordingly, in support of this, a respondent commented that; *it is total rule with an iron fist. Our views don't matter. People in Nairobi have already auctioned our ancestral land to foreigners* (TRK. 33).

Though the national government had already established Turkana Grievances Management Committee (TGMC) to address emerging security concerns related to oil exploration activities, and an Inter-Ministerial Committee on Escalation and Support (IMCES) for referral and escalation of unresolved concerns from TGMC, both committees are yet to be embraced by the local community because they are viewed as extensions of the national government tactics as underscored below by a respondent;

Our interests are not represented in the newly formed committees. Locals wanted a people-driven process, where they are represented by their elders. What we have now are just the same officials of national government perpetuating atrocities against us pretending to address our concerns. (TRK. 33)

The study established that citizens particularly the local communities affected by oil exploration activities in Lokichar sub-county had no direct voice in decisions making relating to oil exploration activities. The study attributed a lack of effective public involvement and participation on issues revolving around oil exploration activities to lack or loosely structured participation frameworks. This study resonates with findings by Onyango (2020), who reckons that the public involvement is poorly structured or absent since county government structures are hardly settled or not yet stable to enhance participative practices, norms, and behaviors in decisionmaking. He argues that institutionalization enhances participation, contextualizes needed processes, and broadens scopes of decision-making, which were still lacking in Turkana county to enhance regulatory mechanisms needed in oil exploration and security.

That said, citizen participation inevitably influences the dimensions of security and decision-making processes on oil exploration activities in Lokichar. Citizen interaction with government institutions is central to evaluating the quality of government services. It enhances the content of the policy, the capacity of governmental institutions, impartiality, and public trust. This study found that like other county governments in Kenya, the structures of the Turkana county government were nascent and not yet stable to enhance participative practices, norms, and behaviors in decision making. As the study found out, the government was circumventing this challenge by excluding or minimizing public participation on oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county, citing cost and time constraints as indicated below by a respondent.

We involve them (public) but we can't be able to consult and reach everybody due to budget and time constraints. As you can see, the area is big with all these people having diverse views and demands about these things. (TRK. 8)

DeSario and Langton (1987) argue that successful citizen participation is integral to planning. It enables working within the available time, personnel, money, and responsive to citizens. The study also argues that government response to security challenges could have some variables that may be potential grounds for exacerbating the same security challenges. These variables include; the politicization of security issues, authoritarian government response, political manipulation on the youths, inability to address unemployment to the youths in the population, and weak institutions that lack adequate capacity to administer affairs of the society.

Indeed, structural functionalism theory underscores the importance of scrutinizing the constituent social institutions in a society and how they relate to each other. The theory views society as a network comprising of various units that work both independently and collectively to ensure the system remains functional (Lane, 1994). It, therefore, emphasizes interrelationships and structures among the social units/institutions and their roles. Whereas oil exploration in Turkana County has attracted diverse types of investments that range from small to medium businesses, it has also been associated with negative outcomes including loss of ancestral and grazing land, economic exclusion like inaccessibility of jobs by locals, insecurity as well as environmental degradation.

4.4 Conclusion

This study found no grand explanation or universal predictors of oil exploration activities and security, but that certain factors associated with oil exploration do seem to increase security vulnerability. The study views certain content variables on oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county to be precursors of conflict and security in the areas. These variables include pre-existing/historical conflicts; public participation; grievances, expectations, and demands by local communities and government response to grievances by locals.

The study established that there was a lot of excitement and expectation following reports of the discovery of potentially viable oil deposits in Lokichar Sub-county. The locals hoped that the development would solve their social-economic challenges like hunger, water, poverty, and generally uplift their economic conditions. On the contrary, local communities became a major casualty of oil exploration activities in terms of internal displacements, deaths, disruption of livelihoods, human rights violations, rise in crime, and environmental degradation. The study, therefore, links oil exploration activities in Lokichar sub-county with certain negative security outcomes including; loss of ancestral and grazing land, economic exclusion like inaccessibility of jobs by locals, insecurity as well as environmental degradation. Local communities also cited an influx of both local, international tourists, and prospective investors.

As the study found out, these issues often culminate in rising frustrations and resultant rebellions by local communities against the government and private investors. The study raised concerns that during violent confrontations human security is compromised leading to deaths, injuries, and

destruction of infrastructure. It also limits the ability of the government to govern and provide services to the affected areas. This study established that oil exploration activities also had significant impacts on the local environment. It was reported that some locals had fallen victims of dust pollution, heavy smoke emissions, and other detrimental environmental effects associated with oil exploration activities. Similarly, lack of transparency and awareness on oil exploration issues had prompted locals to violently demand a say in its management.

Further, the study concludes that security challenges in the Lokichar sub-county are associated with oil exploration activities. Policy responses to these challenges can be conceptualized and framed within the context of the devolved system of government. It argues that conflicts at the grassroots and in villages can be better and speedily resolved by structures of county governments since they are well connected to the locals and understand their culture. They can easily promote peace and advice the national government on a lasting solution. It suggests leveraging on county government structures like public *baraza* forums at the lowest administrative levels namely ward and village levels to enhance stakeholder participation in the decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana County.

Structural functionalism theory explains that society is organized in the most natural, harmonious, and efficient way, deficient of friction. However, when a subsystem, section, or segment of society is dysfunctional, the stability of the entire system is affected. It was established that some key stakeholders were excluded in discourses on oil exploration in Lokichar Sub counties like local communities and other non-state actors. This study links the lack citizen participation in decision making on oil exploration activities vis-à-vis corresponding discord and hostilities leading to security challenges. The oil exploration-security complex system necessitates that all parts or sub-systems work together to promote solidarity and stability. Each part has a social function or consequence for the operation of the whole. Devolution and citizen participation in decision making on oil exploration activities is a crucial tool of decreasing tension and conflict over oil exploration activities in Lokichar. This approach may offer avenues and techniques for soliciting public input in public policy as indicated in several studies on policy change or policy reforms (e.g. Zittoun, 2009; Onyango 2020).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter outlines a summary, conclusion, and recommendations. The study aimed to assess the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana. Based on this objective, the study analyzed and discussed its findings. Foregoing is a summary, conclusion, and recommendations.

5.2 Summary of findings

This study established that oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County had aggravated localized resource-based conflicts, and triggered displacements of local communities and the emergence of community vigilante groups. It also found that oil exploration activities were being linked to the upsurge of general crime and increased deployment of security officers by the government.

This study suggests that the government needs to review how it is responding to emerging security issues emanating from oil exploration activities. It recommends that the government adopts a multiagency approach in addressing both pre-existing and emerging security concerns in the Lokichar sub-county. The government needs to assess the impact of oil exploration activities on host communities. This will go a long way in enabling it to formulate policies that are in

touch with emerging realities as well as leverage on county government structures such as public baraza forums, ward, and village level stakeholder participation in decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana County. This study emphasizes stakeholder participation especially the engagement of the local community in decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana county.

5.3 Conclusion

This study concludes that oil exploration activities influence a society's security, way of life, political, and socio-economic development. Oil exploration activities pose a great threat to the human security of host communities. Human security has become very significant in today's globalized world. Several studies have underscored human security as the key to stability, peace, and development. Ironically, human insecurity has been a major casualty of oil exploration activities. It has led to displacement, deaths, environmental degradation, disruption of livelihoods, crime, and human rights violations. This study also links unresolved pre-existing grievances to contemporary security challenges in Kenya, and, in county governments in particular.

The role of both national and county governments in formulating and implementing policies is very important in addressing emerging security challenges and grievances associated with oil exploration. The government needs to ensure that the learning and competences of its agencies are reinforced and make host communities feel part of society. This study points to an urgent need and reason to grow interested in critically interrogating and understanding emerging security challenges and grievances associated with oil exploration in Kenya. It further proposes that the government reviews how it is responding to these challenges and grievances. This should include an assessment of the impacts of oil exploration activities on the host society.

Addressing security challenges and grievances associated with oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county require a multidimensional approach with the attention of all social stakeholders. This study holds that future security challenges associated with oil exploration are likely to be complex as devolution and democratization take root. As democratic space grows and people's awareness of their rights dawns on them, the government may find itself violating or not upholding the rights of its citizens. The government should ensure the involvement of all

stakeholders; provide adequate resources to address perceived grievances that provide ground for emerging security dynamics. This will go a long way in enabling the government to formulate policies that are in touch with emerging realities.

5.4. Implications of study findings

This study gave empirical evidence that has implications for policy and practice. It finds that oil exploration activities influence security dynamics in varied ways. Like other countries endowed with oil resources, Kenya is challenged by emerging security challenges that are related to the exploitation of oil resources. Such developments put pressure on society as well as on government systems. There is also a history of injustices and marginalization of some segments of society that become pronounced with new developments, especially, those that are supposed to enhance immediate problems of poverty, and regional inequality like oil exploration in Kenya. Stakeholders need to endeavor to urgently address concerns of marginalization, historical injustices, and the plight of local communities with opportunities presented by oil exploration as other natural resources. One of the areas that require immediate adjustment and concentration is the structure and effectiveness of local governments in ensuring that participatory and additional regulatory mechanisms are in place. The study illustrates such structural deficits in the county government of Turkana while referring to possibilities of the same in other counties.

Addressing these security challenges in the face of natural resource exploration requires the work and attention of all stakeholders. First, locally and then nationally to create bottom-up policy processes that would guarantee a relative amount of effective accountability, responsiveness, and responsibility systems from the side of the local and national governments (Onyango, 2020). Government, civil society, and locals are all players in tackling emerging security dynamics. County governments and development partners need to step in and assist in alleviating precursors of emerging issues and security challenges. More importantly, those challenges like the lack of access to necessities and underdevelopment. This study implies that in practice, it would be prudent for the government to obtain the commitment and involvement of all stakeholders in promoting policies and development. It should be maintained throughout the policy formulation and implementation processes. All stakeholders need to have a thorough understanding of their responsibilities and roles in this process.

This study also implies that the exploitation of oil resources remains a key challenge for the government in Africa and Kenya, in particular. The findings of this study confirm the general difficulties that government agencies seem to have in dealing with emerging security challenges and implementing policies that rightly address threats emanating from oil exploration activities. Many factors seem to relay and amplify the nexus between oil exploration and security dynamics. They range from addressing historical grievances within society, re-looking at the efficacy of existing structures in managing emerging issues, and involving other stakeholders in the development of society. There is a need to relook at interests of local communities, decision-makers, and policy implementers. Nevertheless, very few researchers have investigated these links. Future studies must focus on interrogating how such factors affect successful policy formulation and implementation and how to overcome them.

5.5 Recommendations

Based on the above, this study recommends a multidisciplinary approach in addressing security challenges emanating from oil exploration activities. It emphasizes stakeholder participation especially the engagement of the local community in decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana county. This will potentially help in managing local communities' grievances, demands, and aspirations. Their input, contributions, and suggestions in policy are useful in proactively addressing potential areas of conflict stemming from oil exploration activities. The study proposes regular stakeholder engagement meetings be put in place to overcome security challenges related to oil exploration activities. This will greatly enhance coherence and comprehensiveness between policy formulators and people being affected by such policies.

Study findings further recommend advocacy, awareness, and capacity building programs amongst players charged with the responsibility of addressing security challenges in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana county. Strengthening these institutions and the development of efficient responsive policies will enable monitoring and analysis of emerging dynamics to assess whether policies are on the right track. To this end, the government needs to put in place data collecting and monitoring systems in place, analyze data that is being generated during implementation, and make any necessary changes to make policies meet development objectives. This is an

important agenda for addressing security challenges emanating from oil exploration activities in Lokichar sub-county, in Turkana County.

There are urgent needs and reasons to grow interested in critically interrogating and understanding nexus between oil exploration and security in Turkana County. This study also suggests that the government reviews how it is responding to security challenges emanating from oil exploration in the Lokichar sub-county. It should assess the impacts that activities of organized criminal groups have on the host society.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

Despite growing interest in research on resource-based conflicts among pastoralist communities in Kenya, there is a significant need for more detailed and comprehensive models related to security challenges emanating from oil exploration activities. Future studies can focus on developing focused models to examine relationships on oil exploration and security. Comprehensive frameworks in this area will guide practitioners and policymakers. Few authors have ventured into this territory. More insights to refute the traditional approach to security challenges as simply an adjunct to general crime is required.

This study made inferences after assessing the relationship between oil exploration and security in Lokichar Sub-county in Turkana County in Kenya. There is a need for similar studies to be conducted in other areas in Kenya where oil exploration or mineral mining activities are taking place. Comparison and cross-sectional analysis will provoke debate and sharing among academicians and researchers thereby enriching existing literature. This will also reveal critical issues and aspects brought about by replicative research in different contexts. Future research in other counties and/or other natural resources in the country seems to be a logical progression and will enable a wholesome understanding of the foci and issues discussed in this aspect.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letter of Introduction

Dear respondent,

I am a post-graduate student at the University of Nairobi doing research entitled, “*Oil exploration and security in Turkana County, Kenya*”. The research is part of the requirement for the award of a Master's degree in Security and Strategic Studies and aims at exploring the relationship between oil exploration and security in Turkana County, Kenya.

The information collected will be used only for academic purposes and will be treated in strictest confidence. Your name will not be mentioned in the report. A copy of the research report will be available at the University of Nairobi library.

Thank you in advance for your attention, assistance, and willingness to contribute to Kenya’s growing body of knowledge.

Yours sincerely,

Naomi Muchiri

Reg. No: C50/5228/2017

Appendix B: Research instrument

Oil exploration and security in Turkana County, Kenya

Dear Participant,

This is an interview guide on a study on the “*Relationship between oil exploration and security in Turkana County, Kenya*”. You have been identified to participate in this study because of your current exposure to oil exploration activities in Turkana County and their relationship with security. I am confident that your responses will go a long way in making this study a success. Your responses will be used purely for academic purposes and treated with strict confidentiality.

Do not write your name anywhere on this paper.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Please answer the questions appropriately by putting a tick, \surd against the appropriate statement or by filling the blank spaces provided.

1. Gender

Male [] Female []

2. Age Bracket

Below 30 years [] 30-39 years []
40-49 years [] Over 50 years []

3. What is your category as a respondent?

Tullow Oil staff [] County Government staff []
Security Personnel [] Other..... []

4. What is your position in this institution?

Senior personnel/staff [] Middle level personnel/staff []
Low level personnel/staff [] Other..... []

5. What is your work experience (in years) in this institution?

Below 5 years [] 5-9 years []
10 - 14 years [] Over 15 yrs []

6. What is your highest level of education?

- Bachelor's degree [] College diploma []
Post graduate degree [] Others (Specify.....) []

7. Which department/section/unit do you work in?.....

SECTION B: Background of oil exploration in Lokichar Sub County in Turkana County, Kenya.

- a. When did you first hear about oil exploration in Lokichar County?
- b. Where and when did actual oil exploration activities begin?
- c. Shed light on companies that are carrying out oil exploration activities in Lokichar Sub-county.
- d. Expound on details of the current number of oil exploration sites, and their status/stages regarding oil exploration activities.
- e. In your view, how was the reaction of the local community following initial reports of oil discovery in Turkana County?
- f. What is your assessment on the impact of the presence of oil exploration companies in Turkana County regarding infrastructure development, and the general prominence of Turkana County? Explain

C. Changes in security dynamics associated with oil exploration in Lokichar Sub-county, Turkana County

- a. Describe the general security situation in Lokichar Sub-county before oil exploration activities.
- b. How do you compare the trend/inclination of security problems in Turkana County before and after oil discovery? Elaborate.
- c. Have there been public protests, uproar, or violent incidences in Turkana County which are attributed to oil exploration? If yes, provide details and implications of such incidences on security in Turkana County?

- d. What grievances/contentious issues and concerns raised by locals relating to oil exploration in Turkana County? Expound.
- e. Are there families, pastoralists or communities who have been displaced due to oil exploration activities in Turkana County?
- f. Have there been criminal groupings who have emerged because of oil exploration activities? If so, elaborate on how it manifests.
- g. Are there people who have died, sick or disabled due to environmental issues linked with oil exploration activities? If yes, elaborate.
- h. How does Tullow Oil Plc hire workforce in its operations? Assess the number of locals engaged and the kind of jobs given.
- i. Are there non-local people who previously were working with Tullow Oil Plc and who stopped working due to intimidation by locals? Explain
- j. In your view, do you think locals have embraced oil exploration activities in Turkana? Explain.

D. Structures of county governments which can be used to promote security

- a. How does the local community resolve conflicts related to oil exploration activities?
- b. How has the Turkana County Government responded to emerging conflict-related with oil exploration activities?
- c. What role does the Turkana County government play in governance and monitoring of oil exploration-related activities?
- d. Who are the players and stakeholders involved in decision-making processes relating to oil exploration in Turkana County? Elaborate.
- e. Which structures can Turkana County government use to promote security?
- f. How has the national government responded to the emerging security issues in Lokichar Sub-county, Turkana County?

- g. In your view, how can the various stakeholders resolve emerging conflicts related to oil exploration activities?
- h. What other information would you like to share about the influence of oil exploration on security in Turkana County in Kenya?

END

Thank you for participating in this study