

"Ethnic Conflict and National Security in Kenya"

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A research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in International Studies, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi

October 2011

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other University.

Signed.......... Date..........

MOSE KODECK MAKORI

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

Signed.......... Date..........

PROF. MAKUMI MWAGIRU

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my precious mother Peninah Gesare who worked tirelessly with a desire to ensure that I make a giant first step into the academia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCSFR	Cabinet Committee on Security and Foreign Relations
DSIC	District Security and Intelligence Committee
GOK	Government of Kenya
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
KISM	Kenya Security and Intelligence Machinery
KPA	Kalenjin Political Alliance
LU	Luhya Union
MUF	Mwambao Union Front
NSAC	National Security Advisory Committee
NSC	National Security Council
PEV	Post Election Violence
PSIC	Provincial Security and Intelligence Committee
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
THA	Taita Hills Association
UMA	Ukambani Members Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
YKA	Young Kavirondo Association

ABSTRACT

The end of the Cold War brought about new dimensions in relation to international security. As the cold war ended, there emerged new nationalist ethnic and religious conflicts in the world. Virtually all regions of the world experience some sort of ethnic conflict with varying degrees of intensity. As communities engage in ethnic conflicts, there are prices to be paid by the same communities in terms of issues relating to their own security. This study analyses the historical background of ethnic conflicts, internationalization of ethnic conflict and actors and issues in ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Further the study analyses Kenya's national security with a focus on the evolution of national security and Kenya's national security strategy. On ethnic conflict and national security, the study analyses the effects of ethnic conflicts on national security and how conflicts interfere with human security in Kenya. The methodology used in the study is qualitative analysis. This methodology is advantageous as it allows the researcher to find out underlying issues linking ethnic conflicts and national security. This is arrived at by using in-depth inquiries and interviews. The study findings include the need for the development of a comprehensive, national security strategy that will be key in addressing Kenya's security threats and vulnerabilities. The approach given in this study follows the realist tradition of interpreting and linking conflict to security. The security that is taken into account is that of the citizens as opposed to the traditional state-centric notion of security.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study

The scramble for Africa in the 1880s by the European powers and the resultant sub-division of Africa into spheres of influence created territories that did not take into account the settlement patterns of the various ethnic groups in Africa. The territories that emerged from the scramble placed communities which were otherwise independent nations, under one country and thus under one administration and state structures. Nyasani puts this more clearly when he argues that we are a *sui generis* case of a nation in that we count as a nation in a nation.¹

During the struggle for independence, the ethnic groups in the territory that became Kenya at independence, formed ethnic based parties and movements for the liberation struggle. Although the movements had the common goal of attaining independence, the independence they had in mind was that of the ethnic group. However, with some exceptions, as Horowitz notes, ethnic differences tended to be muted until independence was achieved.²

At independence the goals changed and as some ethnic groups took over political power from the colonialists, others felt that their independence had not been achieved. This set in motion the wheels of ethnic conflict which accelerated and became more violent in the post-Cold War era. Quite often the ethnic conflicts have threatened Kenya's national security. The central issues and questions to be examined in this study include ethnic conflicts in Kenya and its

¹ Nyasani, J. M., "The Meaning and Implication of Ethnicity," in Tarimo, A. and Manwelo, P., (eds.), *Ethnicity, Conflict and the future of African States*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2009), pp. 14-22:17

² Horowitz, D. L., *Ethnic Group in Conflict*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 4

national security concerns. Further the study examined the challenges, risks and threats posed by ethnic conflict to Kenya's national security.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Ethnic conflict and national security are topics of great concern to policy makers. Kenya, like many states in the world is multi-ethnic and ethnic groups in such states are mobilized by political elites in order to take up political control and the governance of a country as a way of ensuring control of state resources for the benefit of the ethnic group. The result of such ethnic political mobilization is ethnic competition which often ends in ethnic conflicts. The conflicts have devastating outcomes ranging from violence that may lead to injuries, destruction of property and mass displacement of populations and sometimes deaths.

It is the responsibility of the state to protect its citizens both from internal and external aggression. However, in the process of protecting one ethnic group from the aggression of another, the state finds itself participating in the conflict as the decision makers are themselves members of ethnic groups in the state. Looked at from the point of view that violent ethnic conflict can disrupt life, cause deaths and displacement of persons and destruction of property, ethnic conflict can be classified as a major threat to Kenya's national security. Such conflicts may spill over to neighbouring states thereby taking an international dimension and threatening regional and international security.

1.3 Objectives

- i. To examine the historical background, the actors and issues in ethnic conflict in Kenya.
- ii. To investigate Kenya's national security challenges and concerns
- iii. To explore the effects of ethnic conflicts on national security in Kenya.

1.4 Literature Review

A wide range of literature is analyzed to inform the study on ethnic conflict and national security in Kenya. The literature has been divided into three thematic areas. The first theme covers literature on ethnic conflicts in Kenya and is primarily concerned with the analysis of ethnic conflict as an aspect of human interaction. The second is on the challenges and concerns facing Kenya's national security. The third theme covers literature on ethnic conflict and national security with a focus on the threats posed by ethnic conflict on national security in Kenya.

1.4.1 Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

According to Laue conflict is defined as an escalated natural competition between two or more parties about scarce resources, power and prestige. Parties to a conflict believe they have incompatible goals and their aim is to neutralize, gain advantage over, injure or destroy one another.³ Likewise, Brown defines ethnic conflict as a dispute about important political, economic, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities.⁴ While making a distinction between conflicts and disputes Mwangi, says that since disputes are about negotiable interests, they can be negotiated or arbitrated. Conflicts on the other hand are all about needs which are non- negotiable. Needs are inherent in human beings and their non-fulfillment leads to conflict.⁵

Ethnic conflicts have generated theoretical debates such as that between primordialists and instrumentalists. The first scholar to offer comprehensive survey of these theories was Smith. He concluded that the subjective character of ethnonationalist identity depends on meanings, memories, myths, symbols, sentiments, values, attitudes, and perceptions to mobilize people for

³ See Burton, J. and Dukes, F., *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, (London: Macmillan Press, 1990), pp. 256-257

⁴ Brown, E. M., (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 5

⁵ Mwangi, M., *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006), p 42

ethnopolitical action.⁶

The central argument for primordialists is that people have strong attachments to their ethnic groups and they respond vigorously if they are called on for unity, defense or aggression. This is because, first, human beings classify themselves and others in accordance with national identity, as this is almost always the most powerful source of identity, it strongly affects their behaviour. Second, this identity is often exclusionary and contains misperceptions about one's own nation and other nations. Third, ethnic conflict stems from a cause deep within the nation and is directed against other nations, although their exact explanations are different. In turn, this means that ethnic conflict is not principally caused by external forces (such as economic conditions or political ideology) but rather by a force found within the nation.⁷

Modernists on the other hand view ethnic conflict as resulting from contemporary forces. Brown and Evera, classify the causes of ethnic conflict into either proximate or underlying. Relying on this classification, modernists have no reason to buy the "primordial attachments" or other arguments concerning ineffable ties or connections to the nation that may or may not result in ethnic conflicts.⁸

In trends found in Africa, "leaders of a dominant ethnic group gain office and then use state institutions to distribute economic and political benefits preferentially to their ethnic brethren."⁹ In Kenya as in many African societies invidious inequalities are not usually a matter of explicit public policy. Rather they result from the use of state power and repression from one

⁶ Christie, K., (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict, Tribal Politics: A Global Perspective*, (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998), p.18

⁷ See Thayer, B. A., *Darwin And International Conflict on The Evolutionary Origins of War and Ethnic Conflict*, (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), p. 228

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235

⁹ Richardson J. M. and Sen, S., *Ethnic conflict and Economic Development: A policy oriented analysis*, (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1996), p. 3

communally based political groups to advance its interests at the expense of others.¹⁰

In many African countries there have been conflict over allocation of resources and Oucho notes that instances of the triggering- igniting effects of resource centered rivalry have occurred in Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya where agrarian and allied resources and the same resources and oil in Sudan and pasture in the Horn of Africa are at the heart of national struggles.¹¹

Nyukuri sees ethnic conflicts as having emerged during the period of the struggle for independence and he laments that “it was unfortunate that the early political parties in Kenya that championed the nationalist struggle against colonial establishments were basically distinct ethnic unions. The Kikuyu, for instance, formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), the Akamba formed the Ukambani Members Association (UMA), the Luhya formed the Luhya Union (LU), the Luo formed the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the Kalenjin formed the Kalenjin Political Alliance (KPA), the Coastal tribes formed the Mwambao Union Front (MUF), Taita formed the Taita Hills Association (THA), in that order of ethnic conglomerations.¹² These political entities set the Agenda for ethnic politics in the country.

Writing about conflict and growth in Africa, Azam argues that the “only systematically organized violence in Kenya arose in the Shifta wars of the 1960s when the people of the North who had voted in a referendum in the early 1960s to secede and join Somalia, took up arms against the state. The region has a long history of conflict among its people fighting mainly over territory (water and pasture), livestock raids assertion of dominance and retribution.”¹³

¹⁰ Pitsch, A., “Political Rivalry and Communal Vengeance in Kenya,” in Gurr, T. R., (ed.), *Peoples versus States Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2000), pp. 261-265:262

¹¹ Oucho, J., *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 21-28

¹² Nyukuri, B. K., *The Impact of Past and Potential Conflicts on Kenya's Stability and Development*; USAID, 1997

¹³ Azam, J. P., Development Centre Studies, Conflict and Growth In Africa: *The Sahel*, Vol. 1, Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development, (1999), p. 27

Kimenyi and Ndungu have argued that ethnic conflict is caused by three main factors namely; deep ethnic cleavage, conflict over land distribution and political competition. They see ethnicity as the most common cause of ethnic violence in Kenya. They attribute this to the tribe and kin group as being the most powerful levels of socialization and social identity.¹⁴ On the issue of conflict over land rights, the two scholars indicate that this is at the centre of ethnic conflict in Kenya: “violence was directed at members of minority ethnic groups in specific regions of the country with the intent of expelling them from those areas.”¹⁵

While agreeing with Kimenyi and Ndungu, Brown indicates that in 1991, a new phenomenon erupted onto the Kenya scene: ethnic clashes. In the Rift Valley province and several adjoining districts in neighboring provinces, members of Kalenjin and sometimes Maasai communities forced members of other ethnic groups to abandon their land, livestock and belongings. Those who resisted were physically attacked, raped or killed. In late 1997, similar violent attacks took place in the Likoni-Kwale area of the Coast Province, resulting in hundreds of deaths, and displacing people. Renewed ethnic cleansing took place in parts of the Rift Valley in January 1998, causing over 100 deaths and displacing several thousand, while flare-ups have more recently occurred in the Tana River District, Wajir District and along the Gucha/Trans Mara border.¹⁶

According to Ondimu, cattle rustling and banditry among pastoralist communities have for long been causes for communal conflicts in Kenya. He argues that traditionally cattle raiding was done seasonally as a rite of passage to adulthood, to obtain cattle for bride price and was a means of restocking after calamities such as prolonged droughts. Even in the face of such raids

¹⁴ Kimenyi, M. S. and Ndungu, S. N., *Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why has Kenya not Experienced a Full-blown Civil War*. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Press, 2005)

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127

¹⁶ Brown, S., *Deteriorating Human Security in Kenya: Domestic, Regional and Global Dimensions* (Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 2005), pp. 3-4

communities in the North rift notably the pokot, Turkana, Marakwet, Tugen and Keiyo constantly raided each other but lived harmoniously until the onset of multiparty politics in the 1990s when the raids eventually acquired belligerent and criminal tendencies. As the practice gained political character raiders disregarded the seasonal aspect of cattle theft.¹⁷

In Kenya, ethnic based violence has been attributed to existing cultural differences by government officials for own selfish political end. Ethnic conflicts are deliberately fomented by government or opposition leaders or groups that play on existing communal tensions to entrench their power, forcibly acquire territory, or advance a political agenda.¹⁸ In support of this argument Kratli argues that “within the context of ethnic based politics.... attacks can be timed so that the voters of the opposing ethnic group flee the constituency before the election leaving only the supporters to vote.”¹⁹

1.4.2 Kenya's National Security

The concept of national security emerged with nation states and their interest in national survival which ultimately made national security a major concern for the nation state. Wolfers observed that “national security is an ambiguous symbol that may not have any meaning at all.”²⁰ Buchan while agreeing with Wolfers wrote that “security is a word with many meanings.”²¹ There is a tendency by most authors to equate security with the absence of military threat or with the protection of the nation from external attack, ignoring completely the internal threats by communal rivalry.

¹⁷ Ondimu, K. N. *Child Exclusion among Internally Displaced Populations in the Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces of Kenya*, (Addis Ababa: OSSREA, 2010), p. 9

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6

¹⁹ Kratli, S, and Swift, J., *Understanding and Managing Conflict: A Literature Review*, (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, 1999), p. 7

²⁰ Wolfers, A., *Discord and Collaboration: Essays in International Politics*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), p. 147

²¹ Buchan, A., *A World of Nuclear Power?*, (New York: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. 24

Chapter fourteen of Kenya's constitution defines national security as the protection, against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace stability and prosperity and other national interests. The constitution further identifies three national security organs whose primary responsibility is to promote and guarantee national security. The three organs include the Kenya defence forces, the national intelligence service and the national police service. The organs are established for the purpose of dealing with both internal and external threats to the country's security and stability.²²

Weltzer agrees with Kenya's constitution by arguing that, the security sector of a state is that cluster of organs with direct responsibility for domestic order and external defense is a states inner core, the locus of its ultimate power. Included within this inner citadel of state power are the intelligence services, the military, the police, specialized security units and the commanding heights of decision making within the executive branch.²³ Ayooob indicates that in the literature on international politics, the term security has traditionally been defined to mean immunity (to varying degrees) of a state or nation to threats emanating from outside its boundaries.²⁴ Manniruzzaman in trying to expound on the concept of security, observes that "security means the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation political independence and territorial integrity."²⁵

Nye while agreeing that security means safeguarding political self determination of a state he recognizes the fact that the definition of security should go beyond military terms and

²² *The Constitution of Kenya 2010*, Government Printer

²³ Weltzer, J. R., *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflicts and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe*, (Berkeley: University of California press, 1990), p. 3

²⁴ Ayooob, M., "Security in the Third World: The worm about to Turn," in *International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No.1, (1984), pp. 41-51:42

²⁵ Haftendorf, H., "The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline Building in International Security," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No.1, (1991), pp. 3-17:3

suggests that “a certain minimal expected enjoyment of economic welfare” should be part of the criteria for defining national security.²⁶

The definition of national security from a military point of view is embedded in the realist and state-centric perspective derived from Thomas Hobbes’s theory of the politics of fear. According to Hobbes, states were founded to defend people from invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another and thereby to secure them in such sort as that by their own industry and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly.”²⁷ Scholars who view security from an international perspective focus on international security rather than national security. To these scholars the international system provides ground for the struggle of states against each other because the system of states lacks a central government to enforce international law. At the international level diplomacy and war are the prominent actions to further national interests. It is this perspective that led Clausewitz to make his famous remarks that “war is the continuation of diplomacy by other means.”²⁸

The proponents of the system approach to security further argue that “the security of the parts of the system is inextricably intertwined with that of the whole.”²⁹ They view security from an idealist point of view as was theorized by Emmanuel Kant. Kant proposed a scheme of perpetual peace as a moral norm to be followed by sensible men.³⁰ Kant was convinced that the national interest of the nation state system can be restructured through a political process to create a community of mankind. Kant, therefore, foresaw a situation where nation states would

²⁶ Haftendorn, H., “The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline Building in International Security,” *International Studies Quarterly*, op. cit., p. 3

²⁷ Magnold, P., *National Security and International Relations*, (London: Routledge, 1990), pp.1-2

²⁸ Haftendorn, H., “The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline Building in International Security,” *International Studies Quarterly*, op. cit., pp. 5-6

²⁹ Ayoob, M., “Security in the Third World: The worm about to Turn,” in *International Affairs*, op. cit., p. 42

³⁰ Ibid.

find reason to subsume their national interest under the rule of international law as the rational insight and the moral commitment of individual citizens to a community of mankind.³¹

Security at the international level is sometimes seen as being synonymous with the security interdependence of states. Haftendorn is one of the scholars who see the concept of 'international security' as based on mutual interest in survival under conditions of nuclear deterrence and recognition that an adversary will be deterred from attacking out of its own self interest. In contrast to national security, international implies that the security of one state is closely linked to that of other states, at least of one other state."³² Likewise, Grotius describes international politics in terms of a society of states. The states are bound in their conflicts with one another by common rules and institutions.³³ This line of reasoning presupposes that states are bound by the rules and institutions they form, in dealing with one another.

The ideas presented by Hobbes, Kant and Grotius form the key elements of the concept of security. According to Bull, Hobbes prepared the ground for the realist tradition in political theory, Kant appealed to the moral impetus of man and his desire for a better world and his ideas are the guiding principles for the liberal tradition. Grotius bridged the gap, between the Hobbessian and Kantian ideas, through his efforts to further the rule of law by institution building.³⁴ To explain the 'self-help' condition of states in an anarchical world, Herz used the term security dilemma. Traditionally the security dilemma is not applied to sub-state actors like ethnic groups but to the international system where there is absence of a central government. However, writers like Posen, Jervis, Synder and Waltz have joined Herz in taking "a concept

³¹ Haftendorn, H., "The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline Building in International Security," *International Studies Quarterly*, op. cit., pp. 5-6

³² *Ibid.*, p. 9

³³ Bull, H., *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 26

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 24-40

from international relations and applied it to the concept of civil wars and ethnic conflict. As one group makes unilateral efforts to make oneself more secure, it leads others to do the same, ultimately leaving all less secure. The challenge is that the translation from the international context to the domestic one has been problematic."³⁵

The relation between sub state actors within a state where a government is in existence is different from that of the international system where there is no central government. The security dilemma becomes a problem because the government naturally has in its possession a monopoly of the legitimate use of force and to wield it so that individuals and groups refrain from engaging in serious conflict. More importantly, the state must be assertive enough to protect any group but not be seen as too favourable towards anyone or else groups will compete to gain control of the state, creating apolitical security dilemma.³⁶

The political security dilemma arise out of a situation where attempts to control the state by one group will make it unable to protect all groups and deter threats directed at other groups. The inability to protect and deter leads to counter efforts to control the government. This reinforces the initial instincts of the first group, leading to a spiral of competition, ultimately reducing the ability of the government to deter conflict.³⁷ The universally accepted principle for occurrence of ethnic conflict is that security organs at whatever level cannot prevent ethnic groups from fighting and thus cannot guarantee individual ethnic groups their security. Consequently, in states where anarchy prevails, individual ethnic groups must defend themselves from any form of hostility. These groups fear for their physical safety and survival, especially when groups are more or less evenly matched and neither can absorb the other politically,

³⁵ Saideman, S. M. et al., *Intra State Conflicts, Governments and Security; Dilemmas of Deterrence and Assurances*, (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 2

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

economically, or culturally collective fears of the future arise when states lose their ability to arbitrate between groups or provide credible guarantees of protection for groups.³⁸

The government of Kenya has identified many security challenges and has classified them into global, regional and national challenges. Among those classified as global are terrorism, drug trafficking, human trafficking, and money laundering and cyber crime among others. Under the regional category is listed the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the instability in neighbouring countries. The national category of challenges include organized criminal gangs, conflicts, drug trafficking and substance abuse, transnational crime, ebbing confidence in Kenya's security youth unemployment and negative ethnicity.³⁹

In analyzing the state, Buzan makes it clear that the range of potential national security issues are wide stretching across the military, political, economic, societal and ecological sectors. In analyzing threats to national security it is worth examining the character of threats in each of the sectors in order to get a general sense of the legitimate security agenda.⁴⁰ Buzan classified threats by sector and indicates that military threats occupy the traditional heart of national security concerns. Further, he contends that political threats are aimed at the organizational stability of the state. Societal threats are often part of a larger package of military and political threats while economic threats are linked to economic capability on the one hand and military capability, power and socio-political stability on the other.⁴¹

According to Mendel, in the current era the perceived sources of danger to national security have significantly widened and emphasizing on sub national and transnational threats,

³⁸ Posen, B. R., "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael E. B., (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p.103

³⁹ Office of the President, *Strategic Plan, June 2010*, pp. 5-8

⁴⁰ Buzan, B., *People States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security: Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), p. 116

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp.116-126

such as the security challenges from sub national, ethnic strife and transnational terrorism; non-military threats such as that posed by Japan to the economic security of the United States and Western Europe; international criminal threats with political security overtones, such as drug trafficking. He concludes that identifying and responding to threats has become so complex that threat management should no longer be a major guide in thinking about national security.⁴² According to Aseka, the threat to security is caused by many factors including ethnicity. He further argues that the consequences of ethnicity carry profound security concerns as some of Africa's worst genocidal activities and military coups have directly been attributable to it.⁴³

1.4.3 Ethnic Conflict and National Security in Kenya

The paramount purpose of Kenya as a modern state is to protect its inhabitants from both internal and external threats. Accordingly, the primacy of national security among the responsibilities of government is commonly considered axiomatic.⁴⁴ Collins argues that state security is complex and is two sided. On one hand the state must sustain security against external threats such as other states and other international actors. On the other hand the state must also maintain security against internal threats to its character, rule, or territorial and demographic integrity.⁴⁵ While acknowledging the fact that states are mainly concerned about their security and survival, Collins further contends that state security contains four basic and important elements which he enumerates as "physical safety, autonomy, development and rule.

⁴² Mendel, R., *The Challenging Face Of National Security: A Conceptual Analysis*, (London: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 19-20

⁴³ Aseka, M. E., "Globalization, Intellectuals and Security in Africa," in Mwagiru, M., (ed.), *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*. (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004), pp. 20-29:28

⁴⁴ Weltzer, J. R., *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflicts and Internal Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe*, op. cit., p. 3

⁴⁵ Collins, A., *Contemporary Security Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2007), p. 14

In this connection states either defend themselves against threats or they threaten others as a way of determining or limiting any threats directed at their survival.⁴⁶

While trying to link ethnic conflict and national security, Paleri argues that human beings live in divided societies and alienated mental communes. While such ethnicity may have its violent overtures, it is the simmering discontent of the divided human that invokes national security studies springs up from all that contributes to the human divide that threaten the integrity of a nation.⁴⁷ The human divide in this case includes issues based on communal, cultural, national religious, racial and origin. The outcome of ethnic violence is private armies, militant leaders and violent political groups that may cause additional harm. Such violence will cause additional political groups that may cause additional harm. Such violence will be cause for separation, fragmentation and destabilization of a country in the long run. Ethnic violence can turn to secessionist wars.⁴⁸

1.5 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts realism to guide the investigation of the threats of ethnic conflict on national security in Kenya. Realists have a high regard for the values of national security and state survival.⁴⁹ Realist thinking assumes that human beings are primarily pre-occupied in things that promote their own well-being especially in their relation with each other which is characterized to be competitive. Human beings whether acting as individuals or in groups have a strong desire to control others. They however, do not wish to be dominated by others. Accordingly realists assume that, the desire of people to dominate others and to avoid the disadvantage of being dominated by others is universal in human nature.

⁴⁶ Collins, A., *Contemporary Security Studies*, op. cit., p. 14

⁴⁷ Paleri, P., *National Security: Imperatives and Challenges*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008), p. 329

⁴⁸ Ibid., 332

⁴⁹ Jackson, R. H. et al., *Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 60

Morgenthau observes that both domestic and international politics are a struggle for power modified only by the different conditions under which the struggle takes place. The will to power in men and women are more evident in politics. In his view, the tendency to dominate in particular is an element of all human associations from the family through fraternal and professional and local political organizations to the state.⁵⁰

Realism's great concern and assumption is national security and national survival. In this assumption, the state is "considered to be essential for the good life of its citizen."⁵¹ State provides security to all individuals and groups who live in it. It uses its security machinery to promote communal welfare and thus becomes the protector of its territory, of the population and of their distinctive and valued way of life.⁵² As ethnic groups in Kenya promote their well-being, they are likely to enter into conflict with other ethnic groups. This conflict is also likely to disrupt peaceful life in the country and thus the state has to use its power to protect all groups. In the process ethnic groups sometimes find themselves clashing with the state security machinery.

However, it must be noted that realism is not without fault. Scholars of the international society approach have criticized realism of not capturing all or most important aspects of international relations. First, they argue that realism is a one dimensional theory that is narrowly focused and second, they argue that realism overlooks, ignores or plays down many important facets of international life. It overlooks the cooperative strain in human nature. It ignores the extent to which international relations form an anarchical society and not merely an anarchical system. It ignores other important actors such as individuals and NGOs.⁵³

⁵⁰ Morgenthau, J. H., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New Delhi: Kalyani Publishers, 1991), p. 39

⁵¹ Jackson, R. H. et al., *Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches*, op. cit., p. 61

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 88-89

On the other hand emancipatory theory claims that the realist tradition of power politics is obsolete because security is now a local problem within disorganized and sometimes failed states, and at the same time is a cosmopolitan problem of people everywhere regardless of their citizenship. It is no longer primarily or exclusively a problem of national security and national defence.⁵⁴

The theoretical framework is significant in the analyses of the findings of this study because it helps to identify the common concepts and issues in ethnic conflicts and national security and provides guidance in the organization of the findings into an explanatory framework.

1.6 Hypotheses

In this study, it is hypothesized that;

- i. Ethnic conflicts are a major threat to Kenya's national security.
- ii. A broad definition of what constitutes Kenya's national security concerns is necessary for the proper management of both internal and external security threats.
- iii. The success of Kenya's national security strategy depends on a proper identification of the country's security threats.

1.7 Research Methodology

This section deals with the methods of data collection, sources of data and data analysis.

1.7.1 Data Collection

Data collection is an important step in any research. This is because adequate data is necessary and appropriate in dealing with a research problem. It is appreciated that there are several methods of data collection primary data for instance can be collected through various methods such as observation, personal interviews, questionnaires, interview schedules and even

⁵⁴ Jackson, R. H. et al., *Introduction to International Relations. Theories and Approaches*, op. cit., pp. 93-95

through telephone interviews. The most appropriate method of primary data collection for this study was through personal interviews with relevant Government officials. This method according to Kothari is carried out in a structured way where output depends upon the ability of the interviewer to a large extent.⁵⁵

To supplement data collected through personal interviews, the researcher also used interview schedule method. A carefully developed interview schedule was mailed to selected respondents with a request to complete and return to the researcher. The selected respondents included relevant Government officials and private citizens and people with specialized knowledge on the subject. The advantage of using personal interview method is that the researcher is able to get additional information which may not necessarily be covered in a mailed interview schedule.

Additionally the respondent may ask for clarification of the questions before responding. On the other hand, the interview schedule can be mailed to the selected respondent. However, it must be noted that while the respondent may have adequate time to respond to the questions, some respondents may take time to respond to the questions, some respondents may not be willing to respond. However, this hurdle was overcome, through follow up through telephone, with a request and appeal for completion of the interview schedule.

Secondary data on the other hand was collected through analysis and review of both published and unpublished materials and academic books, journals, newsletters and periodicals, Government publications and documents.

⁵⁵ Kothari, C. R., *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques, 2nd Edition*, (New Delhi: New Age International Publishers, 2004), p.17

1.7.2 Data Analysis

Raw data collected from both secondary and primary sources must be analyzed in order to make sense out of the data. Data analysis included steps such as cleaning, coding, and entering the data into a computer for analysis. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, in the pre-analysis of data stage, the mass of the raw data collected, must be systematically organized in a manner that facilitates analysis.⁵⁶

The approach of data analysis was qualitative. This is the preferred data analysis approach especially when dealing with case studies and historic studies among others. The information obtained from both secondary and primary sources was systematically analyzed in order to make useful conclusions. The essence in qualitative analysis is to try to establish patterns trends, and relationships from the information gathered.⁵⁷ The data collected, was categorized in terms of themes and patterns. The ultimate aim of categorizing data is to establish the relationship existing among the categories and themes.

A lot of care and emphasis was placed on coding of the data as this was extremely important and useful in generating the themes of the research. After organizing and interpreting the raw data into themes, the data was analyzed further and credibility, usefulness, consistency and validation of hypothesis.⁵⁸ It is however, noted that the qualitative approach to data analysis go hand in hand and is done simultaneously.⁵⁹ This actually means that the researcher collected and analyzed data, and wrote the report at the same time. Sometimes data analysis forms part of

⁵⁶ Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G., *Research Methods Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, (Nairobi: African Centre for Technology studies, 2003), p. 115

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 205

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 203

the report writing and to affirm this argument, one scholar said “that the choice of words and phrases as one writes the report is itself an analytical and interpretive act.”⁶⁰

1.8 Chapter Outline

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the topic by setting the broad context of the research study, the statement of the research problem, objectives, hypotheses, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology. Chapter two explores ethnic conflicts in Kenya from the time of the struggle for independence, when the first signs of ethnic conflict emerged through the independence period. It also covers actors, issues and interests in ethnic conflict in Kenya. Chapter three examines the overall national security strategy of Kenya and its threats. Chapter four investigates the relationship that exists between ethnic conflict and national security in Kenya. Of importance is the discussion on how and to what extent have ethnic conflicts is a threat to the country’s national security. Lastly, chapter five provides conclusions and recommendations.

⁶⁰ Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G., *Research Methods Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, op. cit., p. 205

CHAPTER TWO

ETHNIC CONFLICT IN KENYA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with ethnic conflict in Kenya. It covers the historical background of ethnic conflicts Kenya, internationalization of conflict, overview of ethnic conflict, and actors and issues in ethnic conflict in Kenya.

2.1 Historical background of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

Kenya has over forty ethnic groups, which have found themselves under one administration, thanks to the European scramble for Africa in the 1880s and the resultant subdivision of Africa into spheres of influence by the European powers. The subdivision of the African continent arbitrarily placed some communities which were otherwise independent nations under one administration and thus disregarded and interfered with the unity of the various communities. In similar cases some were placed in different countries as is the case for border communities. The first time ethnic conflicts took place in Africa was during struggle for independence from colonialism. The struggle for independence was a legitimate conflict whose main objective was liberation from oppressive and exploitative state system. Colonized people who could not achieve independence through peaceful means had to resort to armed struggle.¹ For the case of Kenya, the Mau Mau liberation struggle is a case in point.

In Kenya every ethnic community formed its own political movement to fight for its independence. Political organizations such as the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Ukambani Members Association (UMA), The Luhya Union (LU), The Young Kavirondo Association

¹ Mpangala, G. P; *Conflict Resolution and Peace Building in Africa as a Process: Case Studies of Burundi: and the Democratic Republic of Congo*, (Golden TULIP, the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Foundation in collaboration with University of Venda for Science and Technology, South Africa, April 2004), p.3

(YKA), The Mwambao Union Front (MUF) and the Taita Hills Association (THA) emerged to fight for ethnic independence. The early political organizations had a common goal of attaining independence, but the political leaders of each of the political movements thought of their ethnic based independence. The political movements and parties that finally achieved independence for most African countries, were not fully inclusive of all ethnic groups. Accordingly, Harowitz notes that, the movements that sought independence from the colonial powers were not wholly representatives of all the ethnic groups in their territories, but with some exceptions ethnic differences tended to be muted until independence was achieved.² Nyukuri agrees by arguing that the early political parties that championed the nationalist struggle against colonial establishment were basically distinct ethnic unions.³

At independence, most African countries, inherited from the colonial government underdeveloped socio-economic and political structures. The scramble for the scarce national resources and facilities intensified and ethnicity became the main vehicle through which the dominant ethnic group preserved power and resources. Indeed, political leaders in post colonial Kenya have often relied on ethnicity to remain in leadership positions or settle disputes with their perceived enemies.⁴ Pitsch arguing along the same lines as Harowitz and Njukuri remarks that “during the transition to independence, the Kikuyu and Luo gained power through their control of the country’s dominant party at independence, and after independence, its only legal party.⁵ Pitsch narrates how the two ethnic groups shared out political offices for the benefit of members of their ethnic groups while excluding other ethnic groups. Things changed when President Jomo

² Harowitz, D. L; *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985), p.4

³ Nyukuri B.K; *The Impact of Past and Potential Conflicts on Kenyas Stability and Development*, USAID, 1997.

⁴ Oyugi, W.O; *Politicised Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya: A Periodic Phenomenon, Paper Presented to USAID*, (Addis Ababa, 2000)

⁵ Pitsch, A; *Political Rivalry and Communal Vengeance*: in Gurr. R.T; *People Verses States; Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, (Washington, United States Institute of Peace 2000) pp.261-262.

Kenyatta and vice president Jaramongi Oginga Odinga parted ways in 1966 coupled with the assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969. The relationship between the two ethnic communities has been marked by conflict ever since the exit of Jaramongi Oginga Odinga from the government of Jomo Kenyatta. The conflictual relationship between the two ethnic groups turns negative during election time except in 2002, when both communities supported the candidature of President Mwai Kibaki.

In the 1960s, the Somali community in the north eastern part of the country, inspired by Somali nationalism attempted to secede and join neighbouring Somalia. Azam argues that the only systematic organized violence in Kenya arose in the shifita wars of the 1960s when the people of the north who had voted in a referendum in the early 1960s to secede and join Somalia, took up arms against the state.⁶ The Shifita war was by and large the most significant ethnic conflict which had taken the form of an armed struggle against the newly independent state of Kenya.

The last years of Kenyatta's reign saw the emergence of ethnic nationalism manifested in politics to change the constitution in order to stop Daniel Arap Moi, a Kalenjin from succeeding Kenyatta as president in the event that Kenyatta died. The politics only created latent tension among Kenyan communities and after the death of Kenyatta, Moi succeeded him in 1978 as President. On becoming president, Moi consolidated power through a series of ethnic manipulation to exclude the largest ethnic groups from Government.⁷ Another significant event in Kenya's history happened in August 1982 when a section of the Kenya Air force attempted a military coup against the Moi Government. The coup failed but was blamed on the largest

⁶ Azam J.P: *Development Centre Studies, Conflict And Growth In Africa: The Sahel Volume 1; Organization Of Economic Co-operation And Development* 1999 p.27

⁷ Pitsch, A: *Political Rivalry and Communal Vengeance in Gurr, R.T; People Verses States; Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington, United States Institute of Peace 2000) p. 261

communities. This intensified exclusionist policies towards the leaders of the ethnic communities perceived to have participated in the military coup resulting in ethnic political dominance reflected by community representation in government. The fact that the Kikuyu and Luo, who make a third of the country's population had only two members in Moi's twenty five member cabinet in the early 1990s.⁸ Majority of the members of cabinet were from the president's ethnic community.

The end of the Cold War brought with it changes that affected the conduct of politics in the international system. Western countries led by the United States supported democratic political changes in the Third World. This brought about political pluralism which saw the emergence of opposition political parties in the early 1990s that were ethnic based. The ruling party KANU also turned to the support of the President's ethnic group with support from friendly ethnic groups. Political competition led to ethnic tension and between 1991 and 1993 armed bands of Maasai and Kalenjin repeatedly attacked and banned villagers killing some fifteen hundred and prompting some three hundred thousand to flee. Most of the victims were Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya or Kisii.⁹ The intention was to intimidate the targeted communities to support the ruling party if they wished to continue staying in Rift Valley.

2.2 Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict

According to Frank Pfetsch and Christoph Rohlf, an internal conflict can reach international dimensions when the conflict escalates with the help of foreign weapon imports or one party is politically and diplomatically supported by a foreign power or the issues of the conflict become the cause of a dispute in another country or a foreign power intervenes with

⁸ Pitsch opcit p.262

⁹ Pitsch opcit p.263

military action.¹⁰ Amoriko, writing about internationalization of conflict in the former Yugoslavia indicates that these conflicts resulted in violent actions of ethnic groups towards one another revealing long buried hatred and political rivalry resulting in ethnic cleansing, vast flows of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who present serious security threats to neighbouring states. Some outside actors may pursue their self interest in conflict regions while others are concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the conflict.¹¹ All these dimensions of outside concern contribute to the internalization of conflict. In Kenya the shifta conflict for instance had the backing of the Somalia government in the early 1960s. The conflicts of the early 1990s also attracted international actors as the ethnic cleansing in the Rift Valley was condemned by western countries.

Internal and external migrations also play a major role in the internationalization of ethnic conflict. Violent conflicts become internationalized when forced migration increases competition over scarce resources and causes escalation of social conflict in the country of a asylum.¹² Kenya's ethnic conflict in 2008 generated the highest number of internally displaced persons, while a few others fled to Uganda. Scholars of internationalization of ethnic conflict have also identified the security interests of outside actors as another factor in the internationalization of ethnic conflict. "This factor draws attention to such issues as human rights violations ethnic cleansing and genocide. It calls for minority protection emergencies, raises international financial support and political means of influence.

¹⁰ Pfetsch, F. R. & Rohloff, C; *National and International Conflicts, 1945-1995; New Empirical and Theoretical Approaches*, (London Routledge, 2000), p 28.

¹¹ Amoriko, T. L; *The Internationalization of Conflict in the Transcaucasia and the Former Yugoslavia*. in Schnabel, A. (ed) *South East European Security Threats; Responses and Challenges* (New York, Nova Science Publishers, inc 2001), pp.105

¹² *Opcit*, pp 112

2.3 Overview of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

Although Kenya is considered to be peaceful, a closer scrutiny reveals an unprecedented wave of cross border and internal conflicts. In Kenya, people have strong attachments to their communities, espousing different values and compete for access to and control over resources hence creating acrimony and divisions. The country has thus continued to be divided on the basis of ethnic, socio-cultural, regional, political and economic aspects. There is evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict has emerged in Africa, there have always been political machinations behind it. Politicization of ethnicity often takes place in a situation characterized by inequitable structure of access.¹³

The dawn of multi-party politics in Kenya brought it new dimensions of conflict. Communities were divided along political and ideological lines, which gave rise to protracted and institutionalized waves of ethnic clashes. Ethnic and political conflicts in Kenya have become more evident during elections as reflected during the 1992 and 1997 general elections. The post election violence of 2008 and the form it took revealed that when differences arise, Kenyans are more inclined to retreat into their ethnic groupings rather than forge ahead as a nation with a common destiny. If left unattended could degenerate into complete national disintegration.¹⁴

2.3.1 Ethnic Conflict in Western Region of Kenya

Western Province is home to the Luhya, an amalgam of different linguistically close tribes some of whom detest their inclusion in the composite group which was coined by the colonial government after the second World War. The other groups in the province are the Teso,

¹³ Oyugi, W. O; *Politicized Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*. A period phenomenon, (Addis Ababa 2000), p. 6.

¹⁴ See Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence.

a nilotic group and the sabaot who belong to the kalenjin ethnic group.¹⁵ The Bukusu, and the Sabaot have had long standing conflicts over land and economic, political opportunities. The two communities lived in Bungoma district before the creation of Mt. Elgon district in 1993. The Sabaot claim that their marginalization has been the cause of their conflict with the Bukusus. They believe that their problems started during to the colonial period when the British colonial administration interfered with the Sabaot way of life. According to John Chepkwesi.¹⁶ The situation was worsened after independence when the Government failed to protect the minority Sabaots, in the Bungoma district, and instead displaced them and resettled Bukusus because the Sabaots belonged to KADU while the Bukusus belonged to KANU. Another Sabaot elder Peter Chemaswet¹⁷ indicated that the displacement of the Sabaots made them landless and this has culminated into a situation where there is constant hatred which fuel ethnic animosity between the Sabaots and Bukusus.

In a show of incompatibility of goals, the Bukusus argue that the Sabaots were driven by mere jealousy and resorted to violent means with the assistance of their Sebei brothers from Uganda to push out the Bukusu from land they legally acquired in Mt. Elgon through purchase.¹⁸ The conflict between the Sabaots and the Bukusus has recently been overshadowed by inter-clan fighting over land in the District. The inter-clan war pitted Sabaot clans the Soy and the Dorobo. This conflict escalated and saw one group organize under a group calling itself the Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF).

¹⁵ Oucho, J. O; *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*, (Leiden Brill 2002), p. 46

¹⁶ Mose, K. M; Interview with Chepkwesi, J; Sabaot Elder, Kapsokwony, September, 2011.

¹⁷ Mose, K. M; Interview with Chemaswet, P; is a Sabaot Elder from Kapsokwony, September, 2011.

¹⁸ Simiyu, R. R; *Militarization of Resource Conflicts: The Case of Land-Based Conflicts in Mt. Elgon Region of Western Kenya*, (ISS Africa, No.152, October 2008)

2.3.2 Ethnic Conflict in Coast Region

The Coast province is an area traditionally occupied by the Miji kenda, the Taita, the Taveta and other smaller groups.¹⁹ In the coastal region of Kenya ethnic conflicts exist between the Giriama and the Swahili and Arab ethnic groups. According to McIntosh, many Giriama believe that jobs currently in the hands of other ethnic groups would have to be given to Mijikenda, while up country tribes and Arabs would be required to relinquish their land. Giriama resentment towards Swahili and Arab land owners in Malindi and the heated wish by some Giriama to expunge them from the land has its roots in a century's worth of disenfranchisement.²⁰

Arguing in the same line as McIntosh, Oyugi says that ethnic nationalist sentiments have characterized relations between the indigenous groups and the immigrant groups mainly the Luo, Kikuyu and Akamba at the coastal town of Mombasa. According to Oyugi, the indigenous groups have long complained of domination by "upcountry" communities in terms of economic opportunities.²¹ The coastal groups have used such sentiments to advocate for a federal system of Government which they believe can exclusively guarantee them economic opportunities in their region and also shield them from domination by the upcountry communities.

2.3.3 Ethnic Conflict in the Rift Valley

Rift valley province is the traditional home of the Kalenjin, the Maasai, the Turkana, the Samburu and the Pokot. Like the Luhya the Kalenjin is a composite group.²² Ethnic conflict in the Rift valley oscillates around land ownership and politics. The conflict is mainly between the Kalenjin and other migrant communities such as the Kikuyu, Luhya and Kisii. The most

¹⁹ Oucho, J. O., *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*, (Leiden Brill 2002), p. 51

²⁰ McIntosh, J; *The Edge of Islam: Power, Personhood and Ethno Religious Boundaries of the Kenya Coast*. (Duke University Press 2009) p.62

²¹ Oyugi W. O., *Politicized Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya: A periodic phenomenon* (Addis-Ababa, 2000), pp.11-16

²² Oucho, J. O; *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*,(Leiden Brill, 2002), p.50

pronounced conflict is between the kikuyu and Kalenjin. The Kalenjin and Kikuyu ethnic conflict emerged during the early 1990's in Molo in Nakuru district and Eldoret, Kaptagat and Burmt Forest in Uasin Gishu district.

2.3.4 Ethnic Conflict in Nyanza Region

Nyanza province is occupied by the Luo, the kisii and the Kuria. The predominant Luo occupied three districts, Kisumu, Siaya, and South Nyanza before their sub division into smaller districts since 1989. These districts have come to be known as Luo Nyanza, a term coined by a Nyanza provincial commissioner to drive a wedge between the Luo and the Gusii who lived in their own district until it was sub divided into three districts by 1997. The Kuria were part of south Nyanza until Kuria became a district.²³ Ethnic conflict in Nyanza oscillates around culture and politics and to a lesser extent on boundary issues especially between the Luo and the Kisii, the larger of the three communities in the province. The boundary issue is around the kisii migori border but has never escalated into a major violent conflict although there has been suspicion and tension between the two communities.

There has however been long standing conflict between the people of Nyanza and Rift Valley along the provincial boundaries. The best example is the conflict between the kisii and the Maasai along the boundary of Gucha and Transmara districts, The kisii and kipsigis along the Borabu Sotik border. This conflict is triggered by cattle rustling but the underlying cause is the disputed boundary of the districts.

2.3.5 Ethnic Conflict in Northern Region

North Eastern Province is an exclusively Somali speaking region. Communities in the region include the Ogaden, the Gurreh, the Degodia and the Hawiyah found in Garissa, Mandera

²³ Ibid, p.46

and Wajir Districts.²⁴ The other ethnic groups in the region include the Borana, Gabrah, Sakuye, Ajuran, and numerous other smaller groups. These groups have not always co-existed peacefully partly because of historical factors such as migration and the emergence of a complicated network of actors with diverse political and economic interests.²⁵ The most conflict prone area in the 1980s was Wajir district where ethnic animosity led to the Wagalla massacre of 1984 in which an estimated 300 people were killed.²⁶ The Borana and Burji provide another example of ethnic conflicts in northern Kenya. The conflict between the Borana and Burji has been quietly growing with the underlying causes being land and economic opportunities ignited by political incitement.

The Borana and Gabra conflict of 2005 is perhaps the most recent inter-ethnic rivalry. Ethnic conflict between the Borana and Gabra oscillated around the political differences and rivalry between the late Bonaya Godana a Gabra Member of Parliament for North Horr and the late Guracha Galgalo a Borana Member of Parliament for Moyale.²⁷ The two political leaders caused their communities to violently engage each other over issues regarding the boundary of their two constituencies. The conflict between the two communities became violent in August 2005 when some men from the Borana Community were killed in Gabra territory, near Forole a remote village to the west of Moyale. In retaliation the Borana attacked Turbi village in which they killed close to 100 people and took several hundreds of livestock.²⁸

²⁴ Ibid, p.46

²⁵ Baregu, M (ed) *Understanding Obstacles to Peace; Actors Interests and Strategies in African Conflicts*, (Kampala; Fountain Publishers, 2011), p.156.

²⁶ Ibid p 156

²⁷ Ibid p 159

²⁸ Ibid p 159

2.4 Common Trends of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

Ethnic conflicts gained prominence in the international system after the end of the Cold War period. The rise in ethnic conflict is attributed to the attempt by groups and others who took advantage of the vast changes in political arrangements that accompanied the transformation of the post cold war world system. This is true of Kenya's ethnic conflicts which became more violent and lethal in the early 1990's at the reintroduction of multi party democracy as part of the global changes accompanying the end of the cold war period. Another trend noticed in ethnic conflicts is the fact that while other forms of conflicts were declining, ethnic conflicts were rising sharply because ethnic conflicts are suffused with non negotiable symbolic issues and are less susceptible to settlement or restructuring by warfare and, so, tend to persist and or re-emerge over time.²⁹

Ethnic conflicts are also known to occur in multi-ethnic states where communities or ethnic groups live almost exclusively in zones predominantly of one ethnic group but also in close proximity with other ethnic groups. Kenya falls under the category of multi-ethnic group countries and a close analysis demonstrates that administrative units and ethnic boundaries in Kenya's provinces and districts are largely coterminous which has fostered ethnocentrism or tribalism at all times.³⁰ There is evidence to show that ethnic conflicts in Kenya have been linked to politics and according to Oyugi the only distinct pattern that emerges from the ethnic clashes is that they appear to be connected to political tension in the body politic.³¹ This can clearly be explained by the fact that since the early 1990s, conflicts have emerged during times of high political activities as witnessed in 1992, 1997 and 2007. There is a general agreement among scholars of conflict that ethnicity is not a cause of ethnic conflicts but its politicization causes

²⁹ Ibid P 51

³⁰ Ouko, J. O; *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya*, (Leiden Brill 2002), p.51

³¹ Oyugi W. O., *Conflict in Kenya, A periodic phenomenon*, (2002), p 13.

conflict. Ethnicity is therefore not the driving force of African conflicts but a lever used by politicians to mobilize supporters in pursuit of power, wealth and resources.³²

2.5 Actors in Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

Actors to a conflict are the main parties that directly determine the dynamics of the conflict. Accordingly actors have been defined as all those engaged in or being affected by conflict. They include individuals groups and institutions that may be contributing to the conflict in a negative or positive manner.³³ On the same note Bercovich sees conflicts among individuals, groups or states as being persuasive and part of every process of interdependence that brings various actors together.³⁴ Actors, according to Mwagiru, differ as to their goals, and interests, their positions, capacities to realize their interests and relationships with other actors.³⁵ The actors in the ethnic conflicts in Kenya include the ethnic communities, together with their political elites, the state and non-governmental organizations, community based organizations and the faith based organizations. In order to understand their role and interests in the conflicts a brief analysis of each category of actors is necessary.

2.5.1 Role of communities in Ethnic Conflict

Communities are the main and visible actors in ethnic conflicts. The example of the Kikuyu, Kalenjin conflict in Rift Valley explains very clearly how ethnic communities are the most active actors in ethnic conflict in Kenya. The youth engage actively in violence as the women and elders provide logistical support through raising the alarm and blessing the warriors respectively. Other than being active actors in violent conflict, communities become very active

³² Apegnuo, C. M., *Misinterpreting Ethnic Conflicts in Africa*, (Washington DC National Defense University Press April 2010)

³³ United Nations Development Programme; *Conflict Prevention NHDR Thematic Guide Note; Bureau of conflict prevention and Recovery, final draft*, (August 2004), p 4.

³⁴ Bercovich, J., *Social Conflict and Third Parties Strategies of Conflict Resolution*, (Boulder, Colorado Westview Press 1984) p 142

³⁵ Mwagiru, M., *Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya*, (Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2003), p 11.

actors in conflict management processes. In Kenya communities engage in the peace process through the use of elders who are members of District Peace Committees (DPCs). While presenting a scenario on how communities are seen as both actors in conflict and conflict management. Baregu notes that, members of peace committees in Isiolo district were reported to be involved in igniting people to clash so that they would have work to do and could thus earn allowances. In contrast, the Peace and Reconciliation Committee in Moyale is an important actor in the District's peace building efforts.³⁶

2.5.2 Role of Politicians and Political Parties

Politicians can be visible as well as invisible actors in ethnic conflicts. In the early 1990's, politicians openly incited communities to violence. When the Government allowed multi party politics, rallies were held by ministers and political supporters to oppose multipartism and in the forefront were Kalenjin and Maasai politicians who advocated for a policy of majimboism, a form of federalism based on ethnicity and called for the expulsion of all non indigenous people in the Rift Valley.³⁷ Based on this majimbo campaigns and the call for expulsion of non indigenous people from the Rift Valley, armed bands of Maasai and Kalenjins repeatedly attacked and burned villages killing some fifteen hundred people and prompting some three hundred to flee. Most of the victims were Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya or Kisii.³⁸

While politicians are known to be key players in defining inter-communal relations they also play a role in conflict resolution. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (CIPEV) indicates that in parts of Rift Valley the advent of electoral violence in the 1990s was triggered by the role of political leaders in mobilizing communities for majimbo. The

³⁶ Baregu, M (ed) *Understanding Obstacles to Peace; Actors Interests and Strategies in African Conflicts*, (Kampala Fountain Publishers, 2011), p 148

³⁷ Gurr, T. (ed) *Peoples Versus States; Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, (Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace, 2000), p 262

³⁸ Ibid p 263

role of politicians in catalyzing the 2008 Post Election Violence has been the focus of multiple analyses and investigations.³⁹ A history of Kenya's political parties shows that the country started as a multi-party democracy at independence with two dominant political parties: KANU and KADU. The two parties merged giving KANU predominance over the political affairs of the country since independence to 1991 when multi party was reintroduced. The re-introduction of multiparty politics saw growing competition for political support and the parties in seeking for political power, the parties found the shortest route to bagging the most votes became the exploitation of ethnicity rather than the more laborious exposition of one's ideas and making these appealing to Kenyans. Hence Kenyan political parties tend to have ethno-regional strongholds.⁴⁰

2.5.3 Role of State Agencies

The state is another major actor in ethnic conflicts in Kenya. The state becomes an actor in ethnic conflict because it is the one that should guarantee security for all communities and is as such seen as the protector of both the individuals and their properties. In Kenya the most active of the state organs in ethnic conflicts are the Provincial Administration and security, the police and the national security and intelligence service. The state organs become actors in conflict through their intervention to prevent and management conflict. Prevention is handled before conflicts become violent and once they turn violent, the police intervene and restore calm before other diplomatic methods of reconciling communities are employed. However sometimes the state agencies have been accused of fueling conflicts especially in situations where the Government is expected to be a neutral mediator but is perceived by either group as taking sides.

³⁹ Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (CIPEV) Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence (Nairobi, Government Printer 2008)

⁴⁰ GOK/NSC & UNDP; *Structural Factors Driving Conflicts in Kenya; A multidimensional Analysis* (Unpublished, 2011), pp 30-31

2.6 Issues in Ethnic Conflict in Kenya

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya are manifested in many issues, some of which have a long history which must be addressed to avoid a recurrence of the conflicts in future. A study done in Guyana distinguished between, predisposing factors and triggering – igniting factors that determined ethnic conflict and development in the country.⁴¹

2.6.1 Proximate and Underlying Issues

According to Oucho, land has been at the core of Kenya's political evolution since the colonial period.⁴² The land question started during the colonial period when Africans were denied the land rights in the white highlands and the consignment of the Africans as squatters or labourers in the white owned farms. In fact it is the land question that led to "accelerated pace of land decolonization if not the whole decolonization process."⁴³ Predisposing factors include cultural pluralism, lack of cooperation and overarching values and internal communal beliefs of separate sections which are sometimes exploited to advance ethnic differentiation and even perpetuate ethnic conflict.

According to Richardson and Sen, proximate causes of ethnic conflicts can easily be identified. They further argue that in typical scenarios, leaders of a dominant ethnic group gain office and then use state institutions to distribute economic and political benefits preferably to their ethnic brethren.⁴⁴ This preferential treatment of citizens in a country easily leads to discrimination against members of other ethnic groups thus making the other groups to see themselves as being excluded from the management and sharing of state resources.

⁴¹ Cited in Oucho; J. O; *Undercurrents of Post Election Violence in Kenya; Issues in the long term agenda* – available at http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/afrobrain/oucho/publications/John_oucho.pdf , p 5

⁴² Ibid p 5

⁴³ Ibid p 5

⁴⁴ Richardson M.J. & Sen, S. *Ethnic Conflict and Economic Development; A Policy Oriented Analysis*; (School of International Service, American University March 24 1996), P 3

Economic causes are a source of ethnic conflict if the dominant ethnic group is seen to make up all employment opportunities, economic investment and other resources. The other ethnic groups who believe they have been excluded from employment and economic investment may mobilize on the grounds of economic exclusion. Gurr argues that communities experience relative deprivation, a perception that the circumstances of their lives are not providing benefits to which they are rightly entitled.⁴⁵ Feelings of relative deprivations coupled with historical backgrounds of mistrust and a victim mentality may have played a major role in the ethnic violence experienced during what is now known as the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in Kenya in early 2008.

Cultural differences cause ethnic conflict. Existing communal or ethnic tensions sometimes are used by politically motivated individuals to cause ethnic violence. The purpose of mobilizing ethnic mechanism is to achieve political mileage or to gain a political agenda. One writer has indicated that, in Kenya, ethnic based violence has been attributed to existing cultural differences by Government officials for own selfish political end.⁴⁶ In a number of instances, officials of Government and those in the opposition exploit the existing cultural differences own poorer, forcibly acquire territory or advance a political agenda. Many ethnic conflicts especially in Africa are caused by structural factors. Multi-Ethnic states are often confronted with ethnic conflict and violence which undermine political stability even in the most democratically developed states. According to Mudida people seek security by identifying with a unity of identity which may be the clan ethnicity religion or regional affiliation or a combination of these.

⁴⁵ Gurr, T. R., *Why Men Rebel*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974), PP 15-17

⁴⁶ Quoted in Ondimu, K, N: Child Exclusion Among Internally Displaced population in the Rift Valley.

The sharpening of a group's cohesion may sometimes be in response to a clearer definition of external threats.⁴⁷

2.6.2 Triggering- Igniting Issues

Triggering/igniting factors include colonial manipulation, introduction of mass democratic politics, and rivalry over resource allocation and imported political institutions adopted at independence.⁴⁸ Accordingly triggers of a conflict are the incidences that directly ignite a violent conflict. For Kenya's case triggering issues include things that spark off conflict behavior and have been seen through, incitements by politicians, common during campaign periods, injury to people of a community and livestock theft among many others.

Mitchell Posits that many conflict situations involve conditions of security and values, which place a premium on the possession of the same resources or positions. Other conflicts result from value incompatibilities regarding use or distribution of resources, about social and political structures or about beliefs and behavior of others. Many conflicts are caused by issues such as the occupation of scarce positions, the creation of alternative positions or the exclusion of others from scarce positions.⁴⁹ Bere Mathieu agrees strongly with Mitchell and argues that politics is at the service of personal and ethnic interests and not of the common good. Thus the interests of all social groups are catered for as required by justice, and the principle of meritocracy is replaced by favouritism and ethnicism. In the long run, the situation generates frustrations, which is silently contained, but want for an opportunity to surface, resulting in violent explosion.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Mudida, R; "Structural Causes of Ethnic Conflict": in Tarimo, A & Manwelo, P. (eds), *Ethnicity Conflict and the Future of the African States*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa 2009), pp.75-89; 82

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Mitchell, C.R; *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London Macmillan, 1998) pp.15-25

⁵⁰ Bere Mathieu, S.J; Post-Electoral Controversy and Violence in Africa in Tarimo, A & Manwelo, P (eds) *Ethnicity, Conflict and the future of African States*, (Nairobi, Paulines Publications Africa 2009), pp 105

CHAPTER THREE

KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the definition of the concept of National Security and briefly highlights the evolution of the concept from the traditional to contemporary view. Threats to National Security and the National Security strategy are also covered in the chapter.

3.1 The Concept of National Security

The concept of security has many meanings. Some scholars see security as the absence of military threats while others see it as the protection of a nation from external attack. Those who see security as a protection of the nation from external attack, completely ignore the internal threats which have the potential of threatening the national security of any nation in equal measure as the external threats. According to Tal, the concept of national security deals with issue of safeguarding a nation's existence and defending its vital interest. Existence is the basic objective of interests. It means quite simply physical survival.¹ Vital interests are subjectively determined elements in the totality of a nation's goal which emanate from such background factors as "the nation's political culture, dominant ideology, traditions, prevailing conditions, aspirations and circumstances."² Wolfers observed that "national security is an ambiguous symbol that may not have any meaning at all."³ Buchan supported Wolfers' view by observing that security is a word with many meanings.⁴

¹ Tal, I., *National Security: The Israel Experience*, (WestPort: Praeger Publishers, 2000), p.3

² Ibid, p.3

³ Lipmann, W, *US Foreign Policy, Shield of the Public*; (New York, Little Brown and Company, 1943),p.147

⁴ Buchan, A. *A World of Nuclear Power?: Report of the International Assembly on Nuclear Weapons*. (Toronto, Prentice Hall, 1966), pp.1-14

Walter Lippmann defines security in terms of a nation being secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid War.⁵ Wolfers while conceding that security is an ambiguous concept interprets Lippmann's definition to imply that the security of any nation is dictated by the rise and fall of the nation's ability to deter attacks or to defeat any attack.⁶ The thrust of the argument as put forward by all these scholars is based on realist perspectives with an outright bias towards state-centric approach.

The realist and state-centric perspective is derived from Thomas Hobbes' theory of the politics of fear. According to Hobbes, states were founded to defend people from invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another and thereby to secure them in such sort as that by their own industry and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly.⁷ Following Hobbes' argument, Magnold concludes that most governments accept that the maintenance of national security is a fundamental duty, the satisfaction of which is directly linked to their claim to legitimacy and public loyalty.⁸ It is this fundamental duty that makes citizens in democratic states to contribute resources for the provision of security to all.

Kenya's national security is defined in Chapter fourteen of the constitution which indicates that national security is the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity and other national interests.⁹ The constitution goes further in determining the nation's national security by identifying internal and external threats. This view of national security as envisaged in the constitution is supported by the argument of Romm who says that

⁵ Lipmann, W., *US Foreign Policy, Shield of the Public*; (New York, Little Brown and Company, 1943), p. 51

⁶ Ibid p.150

⁷ Quoted in Magnold, P., *National Security and International Relations* (London, Routledge 1990), pp.1-2

⁸ Ibid p.2

⁹ Government of Kenya: *The Constitution of Kenya*. 2010

“military security has certainly declined in importance relative to the issues of economic, energy and environmental security.”¹⁰

3.1.1 Evolution of National Security

The concept of national security has its origin in the treaty of Westphalia. The treaty of Westphalia of 1648, the congress of Vienna of 1815 and the Hague peace treaty of 1899, all point to the rise of collective security.¹¹ Collective security became institutionalized in the United Nations system with the Security Council being specifically charged with the maintenance of international peace and security¹². The point to note is that the concept of national security is linked to state sovereignty and Hobbes knew how to link the two when he stated that citizens yield to a powerful sovereign who promises an end to civil and religious war and to bring forth lasting peace.¹³ The philosophy behind the concept was self interest at all times.

The concept of national security was adopted by the United States to guide in foreign policy through the enactment of the National Security Act of 1947. This Act was created upon the realization of the American Government that security encompasses more than the military aspects and Therefore the Act was aimed at advising the president on the integration of the domestic, military and foreign policies relating to national security.¹⁴ From that time national security took centre stage in both domestic and foreign relations of many nations.

¹⁰ Romm, J.J; *Defining National Security: The Non Military Aspects*, (New York, Council on Foreign Relations Press 1993), P.1

¹¹ Sabala, K; Towards a Regional Security Architecture for the Horn of Africa, in Mwangi, M; *Human Security* (Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008),pp.77-100:80

¹² Ibid, p.20

¹³ Quoted in Haftendorn, H; *The Security Puzzle, Theory Building and Discipline Building in International Security*, International Studies Quarterly,(Blackwell Publishing, 1991), pp.3-17

¹⁴ Paleri, P; *National Security, Imperatives and Challenges*,(New Delhi, Tata MacGraw-Hill,2008),p.521

In the academic field the concept of national security is a recent issue. Academically national security was introduced in the United States after the Second World War.¹⁵ The academic literature of the 1970's on national security was partly a response to the Middle East oil crisis and the growing awareness of worldwide environmental degradation scholars and policy makers began to think of security in broader terms.¹⁶

3.1.2 Traditional Approaches to National Security

The national security of a state comprises various values such as national goals, national power and the degree of levels of security in the state. Accordingly national goals comprise a varied aggregate of values some of which derive from beliefs and opinions. National goals are set by vital interests and existential challenges but are determined by a nation's myths and ethos.¹⁷ The other component of national security is national power. This is determined by the national strength of a state. The national strength comprises "staying power and assault power. Staying power embodies potential strength which includes a country's area, its geography and topography and its assets, spiritual and physical.¹⁸ Assault power reflects a transition of potential strength into real military strength which is why concrete military power between states is determined by the strength of their armed forces.¹⁹

The military component of national security is logically and by far the critical starting point for any country's national security strategy. For a long time the protection of national interests, territorial integrity and national survival depended heavily and almost entirely on the military might of the state. Mandel adopted a working definition of Military security as the

¹⁵ Romm, J.J, *Defining National Security: The Non Military aspects*, (New York, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993), p.122

¹⁶ Acharya, A; "Human Security"; in Baylis, J. & Smith, S; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations*,(Oxford, Oxford University press,2008), p.492

¹⁷ Tal I ; *National Security: The Israel Experience* , Opcit, p.11

¹⁸ Tal Ibid p.12

¹⁹ Ibid, p.12

extent to which a nation's armed forces are capable of protecting the Government and its citizenry from coercive threats.²⁰ Defining security from a military point of view is seen as a primarily traditional view. This view is inadequate as security in the modern era has much more than military aspects. Consequently, Koech suggests that in a global setting, regional security can no longer be perceived in the context of military might; rather security has expanded to encompass environmental, economic political and social insecurity.²¹ This thinking is in line with the developments in international politics, where, states no longer pose direct Military threats to other states.

3.1.3 Contemporary Approaches to National Security

The emergence of a new approach to national security was dictated by the emergence of new issues that require a different approach than the traditional military approach to security issues. Emerging challenges such as poverty, refugee crisis, information privacy, cyber terrorism, environmental problems, and natural disasters require non-state and non-military policies and strategies. This newly emerging security concerns have been characterized as nontraditional and are now considered a major component of what is christened as comprehensive security.²² The economic dimension of security has gained prominence in the post cold war era. Economic security should be looked at from the point of view that a nation's goods and services maintain and improve its way of life through performance in both domestic and international market. Economic security has incorporated a principal ingredient; the use of economic base of military

²⁰ Mandel, R., *The Changing Face of National Security: A Conceptual Analysis*, (West Port, Greenwood Press), p. 29

²¹ Koech, J; Emerging Challenges of Security in IGAD; in Mwagiru M. (ed) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, (Nairobi, Heinrich Boll Foundation 2004), pp.125-132: 128

²² Mandel, R., *The Changing face of National Security; A Conceptual Analysis*,(West Port, Greenwood Press), p.43

Power.²³ Thus a country whose economy is performing well both internationally and domestically has economic resources to invest in the military and in other sectors.

Buzan agrees with Mandel and posits that the link between economy and political stability generates wide ranging questions that could be seen as national security issues. He further argues that the concern is that because the socio-political structures depend on sustained growth rates and functional specialization, domestic political stability, may be undermined by disturbances in the economic system as a whole.²⁴ A disruption in the economic performance of a country means a low supply of capital for investment. The link between a country's economic performance and its ability to pursue traditional national security is important in maintaining and projecting military forces; influencing the behavior of other nations and controlling its own destiny.²⁵ Strong economies like the United States of America exploit their economic capability to influence other states either through diplomacy or coercion.

Another contemporary aspect of national security is, environmental security which was not of concern for states during the Cold War period. This was because the realist thinking construed security in terms of state security, nuclear and military power. The problems plaguing the entire humanity in terms of grinding poverty, burgeoning population growth, spread of diseases, scarcity of resources and environmental degradation could not be comprehended within the realist framework based on state centric military capability.²⁶ This argument clearly exposes the inadequacies of the realist understanding of national security. The inadequacy led to the inclusion of other dimensions such as environment into the redefined national security.

²³ Ibid. p.36

²⁴ Buzan, B; *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in Post Cold War Era*; (Hartfordshire, Harvester Sheaf, 1991), pp.128-129

²⁵ Neu, C.R& Wolf, C; *The Economic Dimensions of National Security*, (Santa Monica; Rand; 1994), p.3

²⁶ Gaan; N., *Environmental Security: Concept and Dimensions*,(New Delhi; Kalpaz Publication, 2004), pp 28-29

Environmental security is the newest and least integrated dimension of national security. Concerns about spearheading growth in human population, the scarcity of natural resources and the uncontrollable spread of inorganic pollution have moved into the mainstream of international relations thinking by scholars, policy makers, and the mass public.²⁷ Threats emanating from the environment are more real and pose great danger to humanity. Their effects are more devastating and more widespread as they have no respect for territorial integrity. The environmental crisis looms large in terms of global warming, sea level rise, acid rain, greenhouse effect, diminishing capacity of the agricultural system, depletion of earth's finite resources, punching holes in the ozone layer and biodiversity loss.²⁸

Basically environmental threats are defined not only as threats to the environment but how they impact on people and increase their vulnerability.²⁹ Issues of pollution and man-made or natural disasters such as floods, and earthquakes come to mind as issues that make human life vulnerable. With the emergence of new challenges, the security of the people has taken centre stage. This brought about the idea of viewing security from human development point of view.

3.1.4 Human Security

The concept of human security can be traced to the publication of the United Nations Human Development Report of 1994 which defined the scope of human security to include seven areas namely; food security, economic security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.³⁰ Human security offers a new approach to matters related to security and development even as most policies of governments tend to focus on traditional military capabilities. Human security is different from traditional

²⁷ Gaan, N., *Environmental Security: Concept and Dimensions*, (New Delhi; Kalpaz Publication, 2004), p.29

²⁸ Mandel, R; *The Changing Face of National Security: A Conceptual Analysis*, West Port, Greenwood Press), p.43

²⁹ Tadjbakhsh, S. & Chenoy, A.M; *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*, (New York, Routledge, 2007), p.15

³⁰ Acharya, A;" Human Security"; in Baylis, J. & Smith, S; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations*, (Oxford, Oxford University press, 2008), p.492.

security as it is about the security of individuals and communities rather than the security of states and it combines both human rights and human development.

Security is often viewed as the absence of violence while development is viewed as material development. Both concepts include freedom from fear and freedom from want". Security is about confronting extreme vulnerabilities, not only in wars but in natural and man-made disasters as well. It is also about feeling safe on the streets and being able to influence political decisions³¹. Most people die in wars either because of violence deliberately targeted at civilians as a result of terror, ethnic cleansing or genocide or because of the indirect effects of war as a result of lack of access to health care and the spread of disease, hunger and homelessness. Perhaps the indicator that comes closest to a measure of human security is displaced persons who are a typical feature of contemporary crises.³²

Debates have been going on regarding the adoption of human security as a new dimension of security. To the critics of human security, the concept is seen as being too broad to be analytically meaningful or useful as a tool of policy making.³³ Another weakness according to critics is that the concept speaks loudly about human security but carries a band aid only and therefore gives false hope to both the victims of oppression and the international community.³⁴ Human security is also criticized for neglecting the role of the state as a provider of security.³⁵

One of the seven areas of human security is food security. Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem; rather the problem often is the

³¹ Kaldor, M., *Human Security: Reflection on Globalization and Intervention*, (Cambridge: polity press; 2007), p.182 pp. Acharya, A.; "Human Security"; in Baylis, J. & Smith, S; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations*, (Oxford, Oxford University press,2008), 493-495

³² Ibid. p.494

³³ Khong, F. Y. et al, (eds), *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History*. United Nations Intellectual History Project, (Indiana University Press,2006), p.346.

³⁴ Acharya, A., Human Security; in Baylis, J. & Smith, S; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations*, (Oxford, Oxford University press,2008), p.492

poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power. In the past, food security problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. However, their impacts are limited and the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income related to economic security.

Health Security is aimed at guaranteeing minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death traditionally were infectious and parasitic diseases, whereas in industrialized countries, the major killers were diseases of the circulatory system. Today, lifestyle-related chronic diseases are leading killers worldwide, with 80 percent of deaths from chronic diseases occurring in low- and middle-income countries.³⁶ According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrial countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children. This is due to malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.

Personal security refers to the protection of people from physical violence whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub state actors, from domestic abuse and from predatory adults.³⁷ Community security refers to protection of people from the loss of traditional relationships and values, and from sectarian and ethnic violence.³⁸ Political security's main concern is whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance were still commonly practiced in many countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try

³⁶ Quoted in Romm, J. J., *Defining National Security*; The Nonmilitary Aspects, Pew Project on Americas Task in Changed World, Council of Foreign Relations (Pew Project Series 1993),p.5

³⁷ Acharya, A; Human Security in Baylis, J. & Smith, S; (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations*,(Oxford, Oxford University press,2008), p. 492

³⁸ Ibid. P. 492

to exercise control over ideas and information. Human security has been receiving more attention from the key global development institutions, such as the World Bank. Scholars interested in this dimension have traced the evolution of human security in international organizations and concluded that the concept has been manipulated and transformed considerably since 1994 to fit organizational interests.³⁹

3.2 National Security Threats

Buzan explains that the question of when a threat becomes a national security issue depends on what type of threat it is and how the recipient state receives it, but also on the intensity with which the threat operates.⁴⁰ He further argues that the more intense a threat, the more legitimate the invoking of national security as a response to it.⁴¹

The concept of national security addresses the main factors of vulnerability. The factors directly affect state security and at the same time characterize the current situations in any state.⁴² It is the function of every state to survive in the international environment and any activity directed against the national interest of any state can be viewed as being a threat to the nation. Threats can be directed at the state both from internal and external sources. Accordingly, Aseka points out that threats to the national interests result from the international environment and the development processes of the state and the society.⁴³ A state is seen to be insecure when there exists a combination of two crucial factors. The first factor is the existence of threats directed at

³⁹ Neil, S. M. & Khong, Y. S.; (eds), *Human Security and The UN; A critical History*; United Nations Intellectual History Project, (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 2006), p.346

⁴⁰ Buzan, B; *People, States and Fear. An Agenda for International Security; Studies in the Post Cold War Era* (Hertfordshire, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991) p 134

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 134

⁴² Aseka, E.M., *Globalization, Intellectuals and Security in Africa*: in Mwagiru, M. (ed) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004), pp.20-29:27

⁴³ Ibid. p 27

the state and the second is the state itself being in a position of vulnerability. This combination of threats and vulnerability is reflected in insecurity.⁴⁴

3.2.1. Internal Threats

The main internal threat to Kenya's national security include organized crime such as that perpetrated by groups such as the Mungiki, the Taliban and Bagdad boys among other organized criminal gangs. High levels of poverty among the population, economic sabotage, graft and corruption, and environmental degradation, organized crime is multi-faceted and it manifests itself in different activities such as drug trafficking, trafficking in humans, smuggling of immigrants, trafficking in firearms and money laundering. The Prevention of Organized Crime Act⁴⁵ is the principal legislation on organized crimes in Kenya while the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.⁴⁶ is the main international statute. The Convention has three protocols, which target specific areas of organized crime: the protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children; the protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air; and the protocol against the illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, their parts and ammunition.

Another threat to National Security in Kenya is HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS is many times not seen as a threat to national security. This is because most security scholars and policy makers" focus on threats from groups or states and ignore the HIV/AIDSs merely because it is a virus and therefore not a group or a state, capable of threatening the security of the state. The fact however remains that HIV/AIDSs threatens not only national security but all other sectors of successful statehood; such as productivity and population. Armies across the world are experiencing

⁴⁴ Wyler, L.S., *Weak and Failing States: Evolving Security Threats and US policy*, (updated) Congressional Research Services (2008), p 5

⁴⁵ *Prevention of Organized crime Act 6 of 2010*

⁴⁶ *UN General Assembly Resolution 55/25 of 15 November, 2000*

infection rates that exceed those in the general population. It also leads to fewer capable people being able to join the military forces as the number of suitable recruits decline from increasing death rates.⁴⁷

Besides threatening the military dimension of national security, HIV/AIDs threatens the other dimensions of national security as well. Research has concluded that HIV/AIDs epidemic has tremendous effects on investment and is reflected in worker illness, increased Government expenditures, higher insurance costs and the loss of trained workers.⁴⁸ All this contribute considerably to decline in economic performance of a country and therefore seriously undermines the national security of State.

3.2.2 External Threats

External threats to Kenya's security include the ever growing uncertainty in the regional sphere, the proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons, illegal migration and the movement of foreign terrorists through the porous borders of the north, ethnic and cultural conflicts, and transnational organized crime. Failed states can be a major source of external threats to any stable nation. According to Wyler, at the conclusion of the Cold War in the early 1990's, weak and failing states became vehicles for transnational organized crime, nuclear proliferation pathways and hotspots for civil conflicts and humanitarian crisis.⁴⁹ This statement was confirmed with Al-Qaida's September 11, 2001, attack on the United States which Osama Bin Laden, Masterminded from the safe haven that Afghanistan provided.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ostergard, R.L., *Politics in the Hot Zone: AIDs and National Security in Africa; Third World Quarterly, Vol. 23 No.2, Global Health and Governance, HIV/AIDs* (April 2002) Taylor and Frances Ltd. P. 334

⁴⁸ Kimemia, F.T., *Lecture Note on Combating Insecurity in Kenya*, National Defence College, Karen, Tuesday 27th July, 2010), pp7-24

⁴⁹ Wyler, L.S., *Weak and Failing States; Evolving Security Threats and US policy*, (updated) Congressional Research Services (2008), p 5

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p 6

In the case of Kenya, instability in Somalia creates a safe haven for terrorist groups which pose great danger to Kenya's national interests. Weak states and failing states have been linked to international security threats as well. The threats posed by failed and weak states include terrorism and nuclear proliferation, the spread of infectious diseases environmental degradation and energy security.⁵¹ National security analysts have pointed out that the United States National Security documents address weak states in relation to four key threat areas which include; terrorism, international crime, nuclear proliferation and a regional instability".⁵²

Political scientists view states as the primary unit of analysis and the principle actors in international relations. However recent events in the international arena have shown that individuals or a small group of individuals have shown that they can actually inflict changes in the international system. According to quiggin, the most glaring example of how small groups have demonstrated their power and capability to affect manor change at the international level is the 9/11 attacks where it can be argues that 19 men quite literally provided the pivot around which history changed. While one can argue that law enforcement and intelligence agencies are familiar with domestic crime, transnational crime is a new development which has gained prominence since the end of the cold war and the rapid globalization. According to Quiggin, criminal networks have been able to take advantage of improved technology, weaker border controls, ethnic and regional conflicts and new growth in financial markets. The new transnational groups tend to be more fluid, networked and form associations for the purposes of convenience and profit.

⁵¹ Ibid, p 6

⁵² Ibid, p 7

3.3 National Security and National Security Strategy

The national security environment comprises of the international, political, and military developments, domestic politics and technological developments. These calls for a combination of policies grounded in a grand national security strategy. These includes; Internal Security, Defense, Foreign and Economic policies which have to be mobilized through instruments of national power to deal with threats and vulnerabilities. The international environment is very key to the formulation of a country's national security strategy. This is because the international environment is highly dynamic and Kenya's security policy should be a response to real or imagined threats to the country's national interests and objectives that exist both at the regional and international spheres.

A country is secure if it is not in danger of sacrificing its core values such as "national independence or territorial integrity, if it wishes to avoid war and to the extent that it is able to protect those values if war breaks out."⁵³ One can therefore conclude that perceived threats to the interests of a country forms the primary basis for the formulation of a national security strategy. Other conditions which influence the formulation of National Security is the domestic politics. The nature and extent of resources available and technology determine the national security policy. Defense and foreign policies are also determined by domestic politics. In a lecture on combating insecurity in Kenya at the National Defence College, in July, 2010, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, indicated that Kenya's security structure is stipulated in the Kenya Security and Intelligence Machinery (KSIM). The security machinery is made up of four committees which feed into each other with security and intelligence information for the management of national security. The committees starting from the top most are; The Cabinet Committee on Security and Foreign Relations ,

⁵³ Jordan, A. A. et al, (eds) *American National Security* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press 2009), p. 42

CCSFR) The National Security Advisory Committee (NSAC) The Provincial Security and Intelligence Committees (PSICs), and District Security and Intelligence Committee (DSICs).⁵⁴

The National Security Advisory Committee (NSAC) is responsible for the formulation and development of the National Security strategy and continuously reviews Kenya's defense and security strategy. The membership of NSAC, comprise Ministries and Departments in the National Security and the Economic and Foreign Policy sectors. These are the sectors which essentially drive the country's national interest through its grand strategy. Nations and states are rapidly moving away, from the traditional and narrow understanding of security which was primarily a military concern. National security strategy will, therefore, encompass new facets that include the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, security of communities and borders, security of livelihood and health; security of the climate and the environment and security of energy supplies.

The constitution of Kenya 2010 dedicates Chapter fourteen to National Security. The Chapter explicitly elaborates on the national security organs, gives the criteria for the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC) and its composition, defines the Kenya defense forces and establishes defense Council. It also establishes the National Intelligence Service and the National Police Service together with the National Police Service Commission. The most striking thing about the provision in Chapter fourteen of the Constitution of Kenya is the establishment of the National Security Council. The Council will take over the responsibilities of the National Security Advisory Committee and its affiliate committees in the Provinces and Districts. The process of developing an Act of Parliament on the establishment of the National Security Council has started. Once the draft bill becomes law the National Security

⁵⁴ Kimemia, F. T., *Combating Insecurity in Kenya*; Lecture, National Defence College, Karen, July, 2010.

ouncil will be responsible for Kenya's national security, but as at now, the NSAC is the technical and operational organ managing National Security as stipulated in the KSIM manual.

3.1 Effective National Security Strategy

The aim of a national security strategy is to strengthen the national security of a country. It cuts across many Government departments. For a country to strengthen its national security it must strengthen its key sectors including, defense, diplomacy economic development, internal security, intelligence, strategic communication and the people and private sector. Accordingly, national security strategy and military strategy are shaped by the interactions of a number of influences, many of which defy precise identifications.⁵⁵ National security strategy and military structure go through a process of development and each country aspires to develop its own strategy based on its national aspirations and needs. Jordan and others have pointed out that the evolution of strategy and military structure can be traced to international political and military developments, domestic priorities and technological advancements. The term strategy means a set of ideas for employing the instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve greater national and multinational objectives.⁵⁶

A national security structure provides the conceptual framework within which a state pursues its security. Military structure on the other hand refers to the size, composition, disposition and capabilities of armed forces. Usually it is the military structure that provides policy makers with optimized capabilities to support the achievement of their strategic vision. National policy will refer to broad courses of action or statements of guidance adopted by a government at national level in pursuit of national objectives.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Jordan, A. A. et al, *American National Security* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press 2009), p 41

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.41

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp.41-42

Kenya requires a comprehensive National Security Strategy which is suitable for the complex local and international systems. A comprehensive national security strategy will enable the Government to act quickly and effectively to address emerging threats to the country's security. The Government therefore should put in place a team of the right mix of professionals that can provide the best possible advice and make crucial decisions. This can only be achieved by considering and recognizing that when it comes to national security, foreign and domestic policy are not separate issues but two halves of one picture.⁵⁸ In this regard the National Security architecture should be reviewed in line with the new constitution to make sure that proper decisions on national security are made promptly. The constitution provides for the creation of a national security council which brings together key state departments and military, intelligence and the police. This is very important as the National Security Council will be chaired by the President thereby placing a powerful security organ at the very inner echelons of Government.

The Government should develop a National Security Policy which must seek commitments and plans of action outlined by the state including the organizational infrastructure and essential actors for the realization of the plans. National security policy acts as a guide to intended actions aiming at assuring the security of the state as defined by national interest. Security policy is grounded in making decisions to achieve national goals. It also supposes a series of other policies which when put together give the state power to extract resources and spend them for national courses.

An internal security policy must seek to increase the capacity of citizen response, recovery and adaptability while reducing the current sense of powerlessness through increased knowledge acquisition. It is imperative that parallel to enhancing resilience in State institutions

⁵⁸ See *A strong Britain in an Age of Certainty; The National Security Strategy*, (London Whitehall. Cabinet Office, October 2010), p. 5

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⁵⁸ See *A strong Britain in an Age of Certainty; The National Security Strategy*; (London Whitehall. Cabinet Office, October 2010), p. 5

and people, efforts are made in a psychological preparation of people and institutions to withstand terrorism, disasters and organized crime with a view to increasing the levels of alertness, citizen courage and civic competence.

The National Security Council should be comprehensive enough as to go beyond assessing domestic civil emergencies.⁵⁹ It should be broad enough as to cover all short term security threats as part of the consideration of the broader and wider aspects of national security. Within the framework of national security, a national security risk assessment is necessary to assess and prioritize all major areas of national security risk⁶⁰ both at the domestic and international level. At the national level, once the risk assessment has been done, the Government should be able to put into use the information gathered from the assessment to create an enabling environment for peaceful co-existence of communities in the country and also to thwart any external threats.

To achieve positive peaceful co-existence and sustainable peace among communities the Government should move from problem solving or conflict management to peace building once violence has ceased. The best opportunity to build peace is during peace time and every effort should be utilized to ensure communities in Kenya live in peace. This can be achieved by moving a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self sufficiency and well being.⁶¹ Such conditions will include transforming the political economic and social structures so as to address programmes designed to help communities ravaged by conflict revitalize their economies and the institution of effective and legitimate restorative justice system.

⁵⁹ See *A strong Britain in an Age of Certainty; The National Security Strategy*; (London Whitehall. Cabinet Office, October 2010), p. 25

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.25

⁶¹ Lederack J. P., *Building Peace; Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997), p.75

Establishment of effective Government institutions is among the political changes that can enhance peaceful co-existence of communities in a country. The political structural changes at the state level involve judicial, electoral and police reforms and reforming constitutions to provide for procedures and mechanisms for resolving conflicts. It is also important to democratize all sectors of the socio-political arena so as to allow competition for political and widen the participation of communities in the election of leaders and thus formulation of national policies. This calls for adherence to principles of transparency and predictability, and for laws to be adopted through an open and public process.⁶² An effect national security strategy must encompass aspects of regulation of life, morals, health, supplies, securitization of road networks and factories, public safety, arts, trade. It has to set out guidelines that seek to enhance the capacity to provision of security in the domestic domains.⁶³ It must support the development and deployment of necessary units and capacities. It must determine unit employment subsequent to development. This is critical with respect to employment of force at internal level against citizens and in support of armed forces to fend off external aggression.

⁶² Kritz J. N., *The Rule of Law in the Post-Conflict Phase: Building a Staple Peace in*, (Eds) Chester A. Crocker and Fen Oster Hampson with Pamela Aall: *Managing Global Chaos: Sources or and Responses to International Conflict*, (Washington DC United States Institutes of Peace Press 1996), p.583

⁶³ *Ibid.* p.583

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNIC CONFLICT AND NATIONAL SECURITY IN KENYA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the different forms of insecurity in Kenya. The analysis will cover the human security aspect of national security, the impact of ethnic conflicts including conflicts around Kenya's national borders on Kenyans. The study will finally seek to explain how ethnic conflicts interfere with the security of Kenyan citizens.

4.1 Ethnic Conflicts and Security of citizens in Kenya

Before 1990, matters pertaining to the activities of ethnic groups in international regional and domestic politics were largely ignored.¹ This was because of the existence of two competing blocs comprising the capitalists and communists led by the United States (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The two blocs maintained spheres of influence and patronage and engaged in a Cold War which ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Indeed, after 1989, security as a concept was redefined and is no longer characterized by the protection of the state from external attacks but includes a shift from the protection of the interests of the state to include the security of individuals.²

The changes in the international politics brought about by the end of the cold war and the resultant collapse of the Soviet Union was initially destined to bring stability in the international system. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergency of the United States of America as the only superpower has raised many security challenges then it was imagined. During the cold war period nations feared a nuclear attack but now new fears have emerged

¹ Inbar, E. & Sheffer, G., *The National Security of Small States in a Changing World*, (London, Franks CASS & Co. Ltd; 1997), p.12

² Kiamba, A., "The Role of The Military in The Security Architecture of The Horn of Africa": in Mwagiru, M. (ed) *Human Security*, (Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), pp.63-76:65

which affect the capability of small states and their freedom of action.³ States now are faced more with internal threats than the traditional external military threats from to other nations.

The post cold war era has seen an increase in ethnic conflicts especially in Africa. Ethnic conflicts and tensions have been a source of insecurity in the African continent and according to Alao, ethnic tension become more visible when other factors create stress between groups for example, with the depressed economy of most African countries, with the upsurge of democratic pressures and with the increase in the competition over scarce resources, differences that typically manifest themselves along ethnic lines have increased considerably. The addition of human security as a component of traditional security means protection of vital freedoms from critical and pervasive threats and situations.⁴

Military threats have so far been the dominant focus of states and therefore other areas largely forgotten. Research on other dimensions of security started after the end of the Cold War. The first area to be examined after the end of the Cold War was the role of economics in security and the use of economics as a tool of state craft.⁵ This followed Buzan's argument, that national security extended beyond the military and included other areas of concern, namely military, political, economic, societal and environmental forms of security.⁶ Security, according to Buzan comprises three levels, namely the individual, the state and the system. He further argues that international security should focus on the state and the system level which comprise human beings in a collective form.

³ *Ibid.*, pp 4-5

⁴ Oyeade, A & Alao, A; (eds) *Africa After the Cold War; The Changing Perspectives on Security* (Asmara, Africa World Press, 1998), p.126

⁵ Omergard, R. L., *Politics in the Hot Zone: AIDS and National Security in Africa*: Third World Quarterly Vol.23, No.2 Global Health and Governance (Taylor and Frances Ltd, April 2002), p.334

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.334

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1994 Human Development Report views security differently from Buzan. The report suggests that security should be for the people and not for states or territories. The report concludes human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention; and human security is people centered.⁷ In this regard states strive to ensure that communities that make up the state live in secure environments and that individuals within the state live in an atmosphere free from fear.

As was noted in chapter three, national security encompasses many dimensions of state security; society being just one dimension where the state could be threatened.⁸ While Waever and others see society as being a sector of state security they also view society as being an object of national security. This is from the understanding that the survival of the state depends on the maintenance of its sovereignty while the survival of the society depends solely on the maintenance of its identity. Accordingly, Weaver sees societal security as the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions of sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution of traditional patterns of language culture, association and religious and national identity and custom.⁹ Thus a threat to a community's way of life constitutes to human security.

Without state support to in meeting basic human security needs, people lose faith and look for other ways to survive. Although sometimes people turn to ethnic groups, kin and other sub national entities, they may also turn to violent groups that offer hope and tangible support.¹⁰

⁷ UNDP, *Human Development Report*, (New York, Oxford University Press 1994), pp 22-23

⁸ Roe, P: *The Intra State Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict As a Strategy*, *Journal of Peace Research* (London, Sage Publications) Vol. 36, No.2 1999), p.192

⁹ Waever, O., *Societal Security: The Concept* in Waever, O., et al; *Identity Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. (London, Printer 1993), p.23

¹⁰ Jordan, A.A., et al; *American National Security*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2009), p.549

Ethnic conflicts and violence hinder development and democratic governance and above all conflicts undermines political stability and national security. Violent conflicts, undermines virtually every dimension of national security. To make it more clearer, Osamba rightly argues that ethnic conflict in Kenya appears to be the investable consequences of the unresolved political and economic political system. This system seems to place a higher premium on ideological or sectional interests at the expense of national interest.¹¹

Osamba's argument is confirmed by the violence that erupted in 1991 along the border of Nyanza, Rift Valley and Western Provinces. The violence escalated within a few days and took on an ethnic dimension spreading to several districts in the region.¹² The violence was motivated by the fact that the government was opposed to the re-introduction of pluralism and therefore members of ethnic groups which did not support the government had to be expelled from Rift Valley. This scenario has repeatedly been seen in almost all election years since 1991 because elections trigger ethnic tensions.

In an ideal situation there is a nexus between security and development. Peaceful, politically and socially stable communities achieve higher levels of development than those that are constantly embroiled in conflicts. Conflicts at whatever level of society disrupt security whether of the individual, the community or the state. It also affects the economic social and political wellbeing of people at all levels. It is in this regard that Apollo's quips that security and development are deeply interconnected, and armed conflicts have a lot of implications in terms of development and economic growth.¹³

¹¹ Osamba, J.O., *Violence and the Dynamics of Transition; State Ethnicity and Governance in Kenya Africa* (Development VO.XXVI Nos 142, 2001), p.40

¹² Ibid, pp 149-151

¹³ Apollos, M; *Armed Conflict and the Law*, (Nakuru, Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2010), p.149

Ethnic conflicts have the potential of undermining the political stability and the national security of a state. In multiethnic states such as Kenya, ethnic feuding can adversely affect virtually all sectors of national security including national development. First and foremost ethnic conflicts impacts negatively on the security of the people. The state as has been noted elsewhere in this study has the primary responsibility to protection to its citizens from external and internal threats. Ethnic conflict, therefore, threaten human security, economic security, food security, environmental security, political security, personal security and community security.¹⁴ It is important for this paper to analyse the nexus between ethnic conflict and the security of Kenyans.

4.1.1 Political Security

According to Buzan, political threats are aimed at the organizational stability of a state.¹⁵ Political threats normally are aimed at destabilizing the state through acts such as secessionism and attack on political fabric of the state. Political threats in most cases target the national identity and the organizing ideology of the state.

It is also widely acknowledged that political threats have their origins in the availability of a diversity of ideas and proponents of those ideas. Accordingly the competition among ideologies is extra-ordinarily complex and it makes it difficult to define exactly what should be considered political threat serious enough to justify a national security label.¹⁶ However, threats of whatever nature are classified by various states as being threats to national security depending on the parameters set by the state in question. It is, therefore, important to note that what may

¹⁴ Ibid, pp.149-151

¹⁵ Buzan, B., *People States and Fear: An Agenda for International Studies in Post Cold War Era* (Hertfordshire, Harvester. Wheatsheaf 1991), pp.118-119

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 119

qualify as a national security threat in one state may not necessarily be as a threat in another nation or state.

Writing about the emerging dimensions of security in the IGAD region, Ludeki Chweya affirms that, the internal security challenges can be attributed to disputes over the organization of state authority. Chweya gives the example of Kenya which has faced challenges in regard to internal democratization struggles that frequently involve violent ethnic clashes that conservative state operatives instigate.¹⁷ He seems to attribute the breakdown of political stability of states especially giving the example of Somalia on clan and sub-clan rivalry among groups and concludes that conflicts related to ethnicity, clannism, irredentism and secessionism can be attributed to faults in the nation state framework for the organization of public affairs.¹⁸

As has been noted, political threats emanate from diverse ideologies especially in the political arena. In some instances, political parties are dominated by ethnic groups and the ideologies propagated by the political parties may be skewed towards policies that advance the agenda of the dominant ethnic group in the party. In Kenya for example, the advent of multiparty electoral system and the resistance of the ruling elite to the arrangement sparked ethnic clashes especially in Coast, Rift Valley and Western Provinces during the 1992 and 1997 general elections and resulted in loss of life, social dislocation, loss of property, and an influx of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Many of the political parties that were formed after the repeal of section 2A of the Constitution became ethnic enclaves. This was demonstrated when political parties such as the Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) was split into two because leadership wrangles between the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a Luo and Kenneth

¹⁷ Chweya, L., Emerging Dimensions of Security in the IGAD Region: in Mwagiru; M., (ed) *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization* (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation 2004), pp.31-48:48

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 41

Matiba a Kikuyu. The result was the formation of FORD (K) AND FORD (Asili) under the two political leaders respectively.

The two FORD parties competed against other political parties among them KANU. The voting pattern in the 1992, 1997, 2002 and even 2007 elections indicated clearly how ethnically divided Kenya had become as ethnic groups voted for the political parties headed by a political leaders from their community. This in 1992, FORD (K) headed by Oginga Odinga gained more votes from Luo Nyanza, FORD (Asili) of Kenneth Matiba got majority votes from parts of Central Kenya and Western Province and KANU of Daniel Moi got its majority vote from the Rift Valley.

Although ethnicity is not a cause of conflict, politicized ethnicity is ironically the cause of many ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Kenyan communities do not engage in ethnic conflict because of their ethnic backgrounds but because the political elites elicit ethnic sentiments and politicize them for political gains. The masses get worked up and enter into violent conflict with members of other communities. Kabongah and Ombok have explained this rightly by indicating that political patronage and manipulation by high levels of fear within sharp horizontal inequalities reinforced undercurrent ethnic tensions between communities in the Rift Valley, becoming a dominant identity of conflict.¹⁹ This is a true reflection of what happens in areas where there is a high concentration of multi-ethnic populations. Such areas record cycles of violent ethnic conflicts sparked of by minor disputes between individuals.

Studies have also shown that ethnicity has entrenched many stereotypes and Odhiambo and Ambok give the example of such stereotypes as Kisii being referred to as witches and

¹⁹ Nyawalo, P.A. et al: *The Invisible Violence in Kenya: A case study of Rift Valley and Western Regions* (Nairobi Konrad Adenauer – sifting, 2011), p 24.

Kikuyus as thieves.²⁰ Other than stereotypes, there are prejudices and assumptions which are employed by communities in their interaction with others which enhanced conflict through biased perceptions and interpretations.

4.1.2 Economic Security.

Economic security has gained prominence in the post cold war period and scholars and policy makers have devised ways of bringing economic issues in the defense strategies of states. This is largely because economic security has been recognized in a more comprehensive way and its relevance to societal safety.²¹ Economic security is best explained as to the extent, a nation's goods and services maintain and improve a society's way of life through performance at home and in the international market place.²² Of course there is the other dimension where economic security is a means of economic base for the military power.

According to Buzan, the link between economic and military capability is quite specific and well understood. A state's military capability rests not only on the supply of key strategic materials but also on possession of an industrial base capable of supporting the armed forces.²³ Thus any act seen to put in jeopardy the source of materials and resources for the military turns into a national security threat. Ethnic and indeed any other forms of conflict impact negatively in the production and supply chain of goods and services on large scale affects the national security of the nation. When production is affected in this order, it creates vulnerability that Mandel calls internal shortfalls due to unexpected natural or human induced domestic economic failures.²⁴

²⁰ Ibid, p.24

²¹ Mandel, R; *The Changing face of National Security; A Conceptual Analysis*, (West Port, Greenwood Press), p 36

²² Ibid.

²³ Buzan, B., *People States and Fear: An Agenda for International Studies in Post Cold War Era*, (Hertfordshire, Harvester. Wheatsheaf 1991), p.126

²⁴ Mandel, R; *The Changing Face of National Security; A Conceptual Analysis*, (West Port, Greenwood Press), p 37

Conflicts also affect commercial economic activities. Such activities include trade and business, and commercial farming which have the net effect of affecting economic growth. Activities that earn the country income needed for social services get affected in times and situations of conflict and thus result into decreased personal and national income. In support of this argument Cheruiyot and Sabala posit that conflicts compounded with poor social and economic infrastructure have destructive consequences on formal and informal economic activities because it discourages investment.²⁵ The result is widespread poverty which is by itself a threat to the national security of the state. Ethnic conflict works against successful distribution of goods and services thereby impacting negatively in the increase of the health of the national economy. At the height of ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley, Western and Coast Provinces, people fled for safety and abandoned their productive livelihoods and this significantly slowed down economic growth in the country. Again, during the Post Election Violence, roads leading to Western Kenya were blocked by armed thugs and this affected the distribution channels to and from Western Kenya.

Conflict slows down economic growth and this produces a chain reaction that creates more threats to national security. Unemployment and poverty are some of the issues that arise out of a slowed down economic growth. Apollos rightly notes that unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence.²⁶

Further ethnic conflicts also lead to loss of other property as Kratli and Swift indicate that apart from raided animals, recent conflicts have involved the loss of large quantities of property and they give the example of Wajir where in a span of three years, more than 1500 homesteads were

²⁵ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (ed) Human Security.(Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), pp.77-99:82

²⁶ Apollos, M; *Armed Conflict and the Law*, (Nakuru, Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2010), p 149

looted and burned, some 500 businesses were looted several of which were also destroyed, 30 vehicles were robbed or hijacked and 5 were stolen.²⁷

4.1.3 Food security

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya have been known to affect food production especially in the agriculturally rich parts of the country. Food is a very important resource in any nation and self sufficiency in food or lack of it is a relatively stable factor in national power.²⁸ Lack of self sufficiency in food leads to widespread famines and further affects production in other sectors that contribute to national security. Food production is affected because people flee from areas of insecurity due to conflict. According to Cheruiyot and Sabala, violent conflicts hamper efforts to provide food while the displacement of families and cattle raiding undermines the communities' capacity to cultivate limited amount of food.²⁹ Sometimes, people use most of their productive time fighting or engaging in conflict at the expense of farming. The famine that was experienced in the period after the Post Election Violence is a testimony that conflict affects food production.

Ethnic conflicts affect agricultural production as the conflicts force people to flee their farms and places of work for safety. Pitsch notes that agriculture in the Rift Valley was severely affected by the 1991-94 violence and continues to suffer as a result of the subsequent episodes of conflicts.³⁰ Crops are destroyed or abandoned as people abandon their homes to areas where they can be secure and according to, conflicts allow some people an opportunity to capitalize on the insecurity and usurp land or purchase it at extremely advantageous prices from the victims who

²⁷ Krauli, S & Swift J: *Understanding and Managing Conflict: Literature Review*, Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex, pp 13-14

²⁸ Morgenthau H., *Politics Among Nations; The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (New Delhi; Kalyani Publishers 1991), p.131

²⁹ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (Ed) *Human Security*, (Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), p.81

³⁰ Gurr, T.R; *Peoples Verses States; Minorities at Risk in the New Century*, (Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace, 2000), p 24.

have no alternative but to leave. He further contends that as people desert areas of conflict or areas believed to be too dangerous the short term and long term production is affected leading to food shortages.

Besides the decline in agricultural production, ethnic conflict also has serious effects on land ownership in the country. The land ownership is affected as communities targeted for eviction by the dominant community flee and outrightly abandon their land. Accordingly Pitsch concludes that "The 1990s Conflict in the Rift Valley also altered land ownership patterns in the Province, with Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and Kisii losing lands to Kalenjins and Maasai."³¹

4.1.4 Environmental Security

According to Cheruiyot and Sabala, the theoretical and operational linkages between security and changes in the environment appear obvious because environmental degradation in itself a severe threat to human security and all life on earth.³² Mt. Elgon district has since the 1970's been the arena of a lurking land access conflict which boiled up at the very heart of the Sabaot community. The source of the trouble lies in the development of agriculture subsequent to the clearance of the indigenous forest which used to cover the slopes of the mountain. An informant indicated that repeated episodes of land allocations and evictions through political favoritism resulted in frustrations in the community which had to find an avenue to express its fierce claims over land claimed by different ethnic groups.

The Government, in a move to meet people's demand for arable land, has in the past excised parts of forests to settle people deemed landless. An elder in Mt. Elgon indicated that the pressure for land led to the clearance of more extensive forest zone in Mt. Elgon than the

³¹ Ibid, p.24

³² Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwangi, M. (ed) *Human Security* (Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), p.77-99:83

legally delimited area.³³ This act of settling people in previously forested areas has not only affected the climatic conditions of the area but also led to inter ethnic conflict between the Sababos and Ndorobos, resulting in the displacement of people and the death of others.³⁴ The disruption of ecosystems affect the supply of water, pasture and food for communities and therefore a combination of desertification bush encroachment, soil erosion, drought and sometimes severe cold are factors that worsen the human security condition of communities.³⁵

Ethnic conflicts have a serious effect on the environment. A keen observer of ethnic conflicts in Kenya can agree that, the conflicts have negative effects on the environment. Nyukuri has noted that in Molo, Nandi and Mt. Elgon, large areas of forest land were set on fire as part of a defensive strategy taken by victims of the clashes to deny their attackers hiding grounds. The consequences of massive destruction of forests as was witnessed during the clashes in the mentioned areas would therefore affect the pattern and intensity of rainfall and subsequently affect the viability of rain fed agriculture and water supply in these zones.³⁶ For example, Mt. Elgon and the Mau forests are the sources of rivers which flow into Lake Victoria and any effect on the two forests will affect the Lake Victoria and the entire Lake basin negatively.

4.1.5 Community Security

The social consequences of ethnic conflicts in Kenya are enormous and are hard to correctly quantify. Nyukuri argues that “most of the victims of the clashes were left homeless,

³³ Mose K. M., Interview with Musa, L., Chief of Chepyuk Location, Mt. Elgon, Kapsokwony, September, 2011

³⁴ Institute of Research Devt: *Land Tenure Conflict in Kenya turning into strong inter-ethnic territorial claims* (March 2009)

³⁵ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (Ed) *Human Security*.(Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), pp.77-99:83

³⁶ Nyukuri B.K. *The Impact of Past and Potential Conflicts on Kenya's Stability and Development*; USAID, 1997.

landless, destitute, injured, dead, abused, to mention but a few of the atrocities³⁷ resulting from violent conflict. Other than death and displacement of persons, the institution of marriage suffers a great deal as families are disrupted by ethnic conflicts.

It is now common knowledge that, inter ethnic marriages break and family life is affected greatly whenever there is violent ethnic conflict. Nyukuri states that inter-ethnic marriages between the Luhya (especially the Bukusu) and the Sabaot, Teso and Sabaot, Kalenjin and Kikuyu, Kalenjin and Luo is viewed with fear and suspicion.³⁸ Protracted conflict and escalation of violence causes breakdown of social contacts between neighbouring communities. Consequently, the communities end up losing the social networks and institutions that have been built over a long time. Social networks between different neighboring ethnic communities are heavily affected and such institutions as inter-community marriages get jeopardized.

During conflict, families, clans and communities are displaced and separated. Conflicts have led to the breakdown of customary and cultural values such as councils of elders, common property resources grazing rights, religious ceremonies, marriage rights and other indigenous systems of organization and social control.³⁹ According to Manwelo, the internally displacement monitoring centre estimates that more than 400,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are in the country. These forced displacements whatever their cause, invariably lead to gross human rights violations and disastrous humanitarian situations.⁴⁰

To sum up the gravity of internal displacements of persons as a result of ethnic and or other related conflicts, the Commission of inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) was

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (ed) *Human Security*.(Nairobi,Africa, Peace Forum, 2008), pp.77-99:81

⁴⁰ Manwelo, P.,. Root causes of the December 2007 Post Election Crisis in Kenya in Tarimo, A & Manwelo, P (eds) *Ethnicity, Conflict and the future of African States*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa), pp. 90-97:90

informed that internal displacement has been a permanent feature in Kenya's history starting with the eviction of natives from their ancestral land to make way for settlers in colonial Kenya to recent violent evictions accompanying the 1992, 1997 and 2002 elections. IDPs have been a constant feature of the country's political landscape. Even before the 2007 General Elections, there was already a problem of population displacement as a result of the pre-election violence in Molo District, border and land disputes in places like the Sondu which is the confluence of three Districts, Nyamira, Nyando and Kericho, occupied by the Kisii, Luo and Kipsigis respectively and cattle rustling and banditry in the Pokot/TransNzoia, TransNzoia/Marakwet District border.⁴¹

Other social consequences of ethnic conflict include emergence of unhygienic and unhealthy living conditions as displaced people move into unplanned settlements which also become overcrowded and pose health threats to people. These conditions become ideal for a major outbreak of communicable diseases and the overcrowded camps turn into health hazards.⁴²

The flow and use of small arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is a major contributor to violent conflicts because they are lethal and destructive.⁴³ The Small arms are a weapon of choice especially in pastoralist areas of the horn of Africa. The groups in this region include; the Pokot, the Samburu, the Turkana, of Kenya; the Karamojong of Uganda; the Merille, the Borana the Somali of Ethiopia; some sections of the Toposa, the Nuer, the Dinka of Sudan and the Somalis of Somalia.⁴⁴

The availability of small arms and light weapons creates another complex problem. The weapons become an instrument of terror as pastoralist communities take advantage of security

⁴¹ Government Printer, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV), (Nairobi 2008), pp.273-274.

⁴² Nyukuri B.K. *The Impact of Past and Potential Conflicts on Kenya's Stability and Development*; USAID, 1997.

⁴³ Cheruiyot, L. & Sabala, K; Human Security and The Control of Small Arms in Mwagiru, M. (ed) *Human Security*, (Nairobi, Africa, Peace Forum, 2008), pp. 77-99:77

⁴⁴ Ibid

lapses occasioned by limited government presence to arm themselves. The availability of the weapons has led to execution of vicious violent raids to steal livestock especially among pastoralist communities in both Kenya and the neighbouring counties of Uganda, Southern Sudan, and Ethiopia. Such conflicts have left many people dead, many others displaced, maimed and loss of property.

Socially, ethnic conflicts leads to the continuation of historical hatred and victim mentality between neighbouring ethnic groups thus causing the breakdown of contact between neighbouring or adjacent communities and the consequent loss of lengthily constructed social networks and institutions which have proved to be crucial for coping with uncertainty.⁴⁵

Other social effects of ethnic conflicts include the creation of insecurity, increase of poverty, and destitution thereby leading to the increase in the number of persons migrating into urban and towns which will ultimately create urban conflicts. Other issues brought about by ethnic conflict include violence against women resulting into rape and abduction of women. Insecurity created as a result of ethnic conflict has a direct effect on education as teachers may abandon conflict-prone areas due to lack of security, and schools are closed.⁴⁶ Cultural differences own poorer, forcibly acquire territory or advance a political agenda.

4.2 Impact of Ethnic Conflict on Human Security in Kenya

4.2.1 Displacement of Persons

Among the major problems caused by conflict and instability is the mass displacement of populations. The effects of the conflicts are seen in the increasing number of internally displaced persons and refugees in Kenya and the Horn of Africa region.

⁴⁵ Krati, S & Swift J: *Understanding and Managing Conflict*: Literature Review, Institute of Development Studies University of Sussex, p 15.

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp 15-16

An Internally Displaced Person (IDP) according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is a person has been forced to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.⁴⁷ A refugee will be subjected to the same definition except that the refugee must cross an internationally recognized state border. Once a person has been made a refugee or an IDP, the person is subjected to human rights abuses and this is done in many ways including; denial of access to education, employment opportunities, protection, sexual harassment and relation to the poorest human living conditions.⁴⁸

The case of human rights abuses become worse for women and children as their challenges are often many than those of male refugees and internally displaced persons. A cross section of women refugees indicated to the researcher that since they (Women and children) do not have the ability to compete with men in IDP Camps, they often get abused sexually. The abuse according to the respondents is in the form of rape, but in other times, the women and young girls offer themselves to the men for sex for a fee.⁴⁹ In essence womens rights are violated and subjected to abuse. Such sexual liaisons have further complicated the lives of the IDPs through either the spread of sexually transmitted diseases or pregnancies that are unplanned, especially among the teenage girl IDPs.

On inquiring from the Government Machinery on the ground whether there are steps taken to offer protection to the IDPs, the response showed that government officials are

⁴⁷ Moses. T. Developing Refugee Sensitive Framework for the Horn of Africa in Mwagiru, M. (ed) *Human Security: Nairobi. Africa Peace Forum, 2008*, pp.127-152: 128

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp.127-152:130

⁴⁹ Mose K. M., Interview with Women IDPs in Mawingu IDP Camp, (Nyandarua, September, 2011)

concentrate on providing food to the IDPs, but pay little attention in terms of physical protection of the IDPs. In most cases, the relief food management committees in IDP camps usually made up of men use the food as bait for sexual favours from women and children. This is confirmed by studies where it was found that women and children are not deliberately protected from exploitation and abuse and are not given equal opportunities in comparison to their male counterparts.⁵⁰

4.2.2 Loss of Livelihoods

Among the major contributors to loss of livelihoods among communities is conflict. However, there are many other contributors to the loss or depletion of livelihoods especially among the pastoralist communities, Food production is highly dependent on factors such as good agricultural land sufficient rainfall and access to markets for the food products. Ethnic conflicts being the source of displacement of persons creates a situation where access to land for the displaced persons are denied and thus making the displaced people vulnerable. For pastoralist communities the depletion of livelihood is created by persistent droughts food shortages, disease, severe cold lack of access to grazing lands and resource based conflicts.⁵¹

Persistent Conflicts among communities coupled with unpredictable weather conditions have led to food shortages as farms are abandoned and livestock are either stolen or lost through raids and droughts and thereby exposing populations to food insecurity. The increasing food insecurity leads to persistent conflicts resulting from the competition for the scarce resources available.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Op cit*, p. 130

⁵¹ Farah, I. Human Security and the Livelihood of Pastoral Communities in the Horn of Africa in Mwagiru, M. (ed.) *Human Security*; (Nairobi, Africa Peace Forum, 2008), pp.181-200:181

⁵² *Ibid*, pp.181-200:181

Food insecurity is sometimes caused by lack of access to the food. Lack of access will lead to wide spread famines among the population sometimes also access to food is limited through a combination of many factors, including poverty which significantly reduces the purchasing power of people and according to Farah, the causes of food insecurity among pastoralists include the declining pasture and water resources due to drought and environmental degradation, restricted mobility of people and livestock due to resource based conflicts, increased human populations and loss of export markets and livestock diseases.⁵³ People in conflict prone areas are more prone to food insecurity because markets are not accessible and even relief food distribution agencies cannot access the areas due to heightened incidences of insecurity.

Even in cases where food has to be provided the food distribution does not take into account cultural values in relation to the relief needs of communities. Pastoralist communities need water and pasture for their livestock but relief agencies and the government always provide human food. This situation complicates the food security situation of pastoralists especially during conflicts and drought situations.⁵⁴ The intervention that the pastoralists require during emergencies is pasture and water for their livestock from where they get their food.

4.2.3 Increased Insecurity

Other effects brought about by conflict include, general insecurity. Insecurity is brought about by the fact that conflict affects personal, societal and national security. At the personal level people find themselves in a violent confirmation from others while at the communal level people lose their traditional relationships and values as a result of violence. The increase in the number of small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in the hands of Criminals and Pastoralist

⁵³ Ibid, pp.181-200:190

⁵⁴ Mose K. M., Interview with Chiefs in Isiolo District (Isiolo, September, 2011)

Communities creates more insecurity in some parts of the country including the major urban centers. The firearms have escalated conflicts among pastoralist both in Kenya and cross border.

Due to protracted conflicts in pastoralists' areas in the Northern part of the country, there is a growing demand for small arms and light weapons in the region. The arms are readily available in the horn of Africa region due to civil conflicts that led to overthrow of governments in the region. Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia have been involved in civil conflicts where opposing groups acquired weapons which are no longer under any state's control.

The availability of the weapons has led to an increased number of ethnic conflicts and has elevated the military technology applied in the defense of scarce pasture and has transformed conflicts to outright and drawn out war.⁵⁵ The communities in Kenya, who prefer the firearm for their protection purchase the weapons from neighbouring countries and use them to provide their own security due to limited government presence in their areas and also to raid other communities for restocking lost livestock. The insecurity brought about by the availability of the firearm is such that it escalates an otherwise latent conflict to a violent war where lives are lost.

4.2.4 Exposure to Health Risks

Studies have shown that the health security of individuals is affected because health workers would flee the insecure areas. Infrastructure destruction is also apparent and for this reason the ability of health services to function is impaired by the chaotic security situation and people's inability to access hospitals and obtain medical services. The conditions, under which displaced people live, expose them to increased risks of infection with diseases associated with HIV/AIDS. Those who find themselves in IDP Camps while already infected cannot access Medical care and their health deteriorates leading to early deaths. It is a fact that a conflict

⁵⁵ Ibid

situation is brought about by hunger and poverty. The relationship according to one scholar is mutually reinforcing; where hunger and poverty fuel conflict; war and conflict leads to hunger. It is important to note that people who are hungry engage in risky behaviour and are generally more aggressive.⁵⁶

4.3 Mitigating the impact of insecurity

As a way of limiting and alleviating human insecurity, there is need to develop policies and programmes directed at enhancing the security of the people. Long term measures of addressing human insecurity through humanitarian assistance that is properly coordinated to respond to the security of citizens is very vital. Since security issues are complex matters they will equally require a complex mix of dimensions including, political, human rights, humanitarian, military as well as development aspects.

The development of a national security to which lays the ground guidelines, strategies and instruments of power that the state has to organize to achieve a condition where there are limited threats to acquired values at a subjective level and the elimination of the fear that such values will be subject to attack. This is only possible when state reconstruction include at economic, political and social levels through enhancing legitimacy to the point at which national security is a patriotic duty for all citizens.

A national security strategy will empower and increase the role citizens play in addressing their own security. It is imperative that parallel to enhancing resilience in State institutions and people, efforts are made in a psychological preparation of people and institutions to withstand terrorism, disasters and organized crime with a view to increasing the levels of alertness, citizen courage and civic competence among the citizenry.

⁵⁶ Ibid

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Introduction

In the preceding four chapters an analysis of ethnic conflict and national security has been posted. Throughout the study ethnic conflicts have emerged as a major threat not only to Kenya's national security but also a threat to the international system. The objectives of the study were to examine the historical background, the actors and issues of ethnic conflicts in Kenya: to investigate the challenges, threats and concerns of Kenya's national security and to explore the effects of ethnic conflicts on national security in Kenya.

In tracing the history of ethnic conflicts, the conclusion reached is that Kenya's communities became consciously aware of their distinctness during the struggle for independence. Initially before Kenya became a British colony, the communities living in present day Kenya were independent nations each with relations with its neighbours just like present day states. However that changed when Kenya became a colony and all the communities in the country placed under one administration. At the struggle for independence, each of the communities envisaged independence for its own but because the colonial administration was the common enemy, communal sentiments were mated until independence was achieved.

The early years of independence saw the reincarnation of ethnic nationalism which was however suppressed through political machinations and constitutional amendments that guaranteed the first president a firm grip on the management of the country. The ethnic conflicts of the early years of independence were however based on personality and were politically driven.

Major ethnic clashes were recorded in the country in the early 1990s immediately after the end of the cold war. The end of the cold war was accompanied by major political changes in the international system. Among the changes which affected third world countries was demand for democratization through competitive politics. This saw the re-introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya. While this was a noble idea the way it was done brought hatred between communities. The political parties that emerged in the 1990s became a replica of those that had emerged at independence. The parties became district ethnic unions where KANU renamed with the Kalenjins, DP became a Kikuyu party FORD Asili became Luhya and Luo depending on which ethnic community the party leader came from.

Owing to their tribal inclinations the parties set the stage for ethnic conflicts where the political parties carved out spheres of influence through ethnic mobilization. Kenyan communities which had lived together were incited into violence resulting in killings and displacement of many Kenyans. The major actors in the ethnic conflicts in Kenya have been identified as being communities themselves, politicians and their political parties, the state and its machinery and the non-governmental organizations and the faith based organizations. The actors have been noted to bring into the conflicts varied interests which make the conflicts more complex. The issues involved in the ethnic conflicts have been noted to be longstanding as well as triggering factors. Among the longstanding or underlying issues land and economic opportunities stand out in most of the ethnic conflicts across the country. Political incitement too features as the most common triggering factor of ethnic conflicts in the country.

The study also found out that ethnic conflict is a threat to the national security of the country as it has the potential to disrupt political stability of the state. Other threats to national security include organized criminal gangs, HIV Aids, Drug and Substance abuse and terrorism. It

emerged during the study that in order for Kenya to guarantee its citizens total security, an effective national security strategy in this case should encompass all domestic foreign and defense policies of the country.

The perennial problem of ethnic tensions and conflicts has laid bare Kenya's national security strategy. A number of conclusions have been drawn from the study. The first conclusion is that Kenya requires a robust and effective national security strategy. The strategy provides a cornerstone for the risk assessment in order to plan for uncertainties in the country's national security realm. Luckily, the new constitution of Kenya provides extensively for the establishment of robust national security machinery from where such a strategy can be derived.

To address the re-currence of ethnic conflicts, the Government need to create strong institutions that can address distribution of resources equitably. and this again has been provided for in the new constitution through the devolved system of government but its successful implementation is what will determine the outcome. The task of achieving communal harmony depends on the willingness of all Kenyans to share the country's resources first as Kenyans before they think of themselves as members of their communities.

5.1 Recommendations

Most of the recorded ethnic conflicts in Kenya oscillate around political issues; it is recommended that further research on this area be undertaken. There is also a need for combination of policies rooted in a grand national security policy. These includes; internal security, defense, foreign and economic policies. These have to be evolved and mobilized through instruments of national power to deal with threats and vulnerabilities. The study recommends that the government develops a national security strategy that will guide the

management of national security in Kenya. The strategy once developed should be subjected to continuous review through the development of policies that enhance the national security sector.

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