THE CAUSES AND RESPONSES TO CONFLICT IN HORN OF AFRICA: CASE OF MAI MAHIU IN KENYA, 2005-2009.
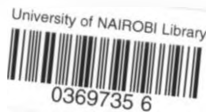
BY

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES TO THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

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DECLARATION

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

Signed............*Manuel*.....................Date 2nd Dec, 2010

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

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my Dear Parents; Mr. Thomas M. Mutio, and Elizabeth Betty.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS

ACP-	Action on Conflict Prevention
AU –	African Union
D.C-	District Commissioner
D.C.I.O-	District Criminal Investigation Officers
D.Os	District Officers
DFID-	Department for International Development
DRC -	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS-	Economic Community of West African States
EU-	European Union
G8-	Group of Eight Leading Industrial Nations
IGAD-	Inter- Governmental Authority on Development
IMF-	International Monetary Fund
KANU-	Kenya African National Union
KNCHR-	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
MPLA-	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NGO's-	Non Governmental Organization
OAU –	Organization of African Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
OECD-	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PNU –	Party of National Unity
RUF-	Revolutionary United Front
SADC-	Southern African Development Community
UN-	United Nations
UNITA-	National Unions for the Total Independence of Angola

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the root causes and what actually have been fuelling conflicts in Mai Mahiu area, Nakuru district , in the period between 2005 and 2009. The study made an attempt to establish the main causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu. The study made use of extensive interviews with Mai Mahiu residents, government officers, Non Governmental officers, church leaders, village elders, youth leaders, politicians and academicians and reviewed vast literature on the subject of study.

The study established that, the dispute over land ownership was the most significant cause of the conflict between the two major communities. This was followed by conflict over water, incitement by local politicians, baseless and malicious rumours and tribal hatred. The other causes were misconception made by the government and marginalization of the local communities. However, due to differences in priorities in the two conflicting communities, the Kikuyu felt that land ownership was the leading cause of conflict while the Maasai pointed out water as the most biggest issue in the Mai Mahiu conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Horn of Africa traditionally includes, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti. However, due to the spillover of conflicts in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia, the Horn of Africa has extended to include Kenya and Uganda. Even though these countries vary in terms of strengths, capabilities and size, the pattern of conflicts and problems affecting them are similar[1]. Generally Africa for many years, since in early 1950s has been characterized by conflict namely; Anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, independence and post independence wars in Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Eritrea and DRC (Zaire), civil wars in Sudan, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Liberia, Somalia, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), DRC, Guinea Bissau, Ivory coast, Uganda and Sierra Leone. Ethnic strife and genocide in Rwanda and Burundi and border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

1.1 Background to the research problem

To understand the conflict in Horn of Africa, there is need to examine the historical trends of conflict in Africa. The emerging independence of Africa states, resulted in the birth of the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) in 1963. The formation of African unity was the beginning of the end of Africa's colonial era. From the start, the OAU recognized the imperfections of the national boundaries that were the legacy of colonialism. But it made the choice that, if Africa has to remain stable, the boundaries that existed at independence should remain inviolate. This principle enshrined in a 1964 resolution and remained OAU policy for its entire life. As a founding principle, the OAU signaled its

[1] M. Makumi, *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*. (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2004), P.7

intention "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa"[2]. Many African countries fought hard to gain their independence. In the former Portuguese colonies, the struggle was both lengthy and bitter. Even in those countries in Africa where the transition to independence passed peacefully, it was by no means an easy process. The majority of newly independent countries defined the role of the state in development terms, seeking to harness natural resources towards ensuring economic growth. But the structures and institutions of the state remained relatively underdeveloped through the 1960s. The focus was on building those institutions that allowed for the exploitation and management of resources. There emerged an African leadership system, based on centralization of power and patronage network that allowed little popular involvement in government at national or local level.

Initially, adherence to OAU principles guaranteed a certain level of national stability within the continent. But there were exceptions from start. In the Horn of Africa, the Somalis never accepted borders imposed by the Western colonial powers. For decades they pursued the vision of a greater Somalia, with tragic consequences for Somalia and the region. The UN's acquitence when Ethiopia ended the federation with Eritrea compounded the problems of the region and launched one of Africa's longest running wars. The problem of Sudan were bequeathed, in party, by the colonial era. But the inability of the Sudanese to establish a post-independence political structure that adequately reflected the real differences between North and South has sustained conflict in Sudan over the past thirty-five years.

[2] J. Gino Naldi, *The Organization of African Unity An Analysis of its Role*, (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1989), P.5.

The cold war, led to the emergence of East –West spheres of influence in Africa[3]. After independence, the formal colonial powers and the United States sought to maintain or consolidated their influence in Africa. Left-leaning pan-africanist and nationalist leaders like Nkrumah in Ghana, Sekou Toure in Guinea and Lumumba in Congo, sought to counterbalance the designs of the west by turning towards the Soviet Union. A system of client states emerged, in which African governments were maintained in power in return for their allegiance to one of the superpowers. In countries such as Somalia, Zaire and Sierra Leone, corrupt leadership were supported up and sustained in power while the institutional basis of the state atrophied. The big powers and their allies provided their Africa clients with military advisers and military training. A number of western and non western foreign power maintained substantial military contingents on the continent.[1]

The Horn of Africa and South Africa were of a particular strategic interest to the great powers. Consequently Cold War interests directly fuelled major conflicts in these areas. In 1975, South Africa intervened in Angola to prevent the popular movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) coming to power. Cuba supported the MPLA. South Africa and the west both supported the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in a common effort to remove the MPLA from powers. Meanwhile in the Horn in 1977, Somalia had built up sufficient military strength to attack Ethiopia in the Ogaden region. Ethiopian forces repulsed the offensive Soviet and Cuba support to Ethiopia and western support to Somalia sustained and prolonged this conflict throughout the region during the 1980s. During the cold war state to state arms transfers involved primarily heavy, high maintenance equipment tanks, transport aircraft and jet fighters. However, state to state flows were replaced by a major growth in commercial arms dealing and illegal

[3] J. Balylis and Steve Smith, The *Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations.* Second edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), P.82.
[4] Nzongola-Ntalaja, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Africa*, (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1987), P.82-83

arms trafficking low maintenance light weaponry, primarily items such as the AK 47 rifle and rocket propelled grenade launches[5].

Cold war contributed to promoting or exacerbating conflict in Africa throughout the 1960s. 70s and 80s. At the end of the cold war, there was little effective demobilization in Africa. Remnants of large Africa armies, armed both by the West and by the former communist bloc, still remain in the continent. They contribute to new areas of conflict and sustain factional irregular armed groups which threaten both domestic stability and security. Much of the present conflict on the continent is, part of the legacy of cold war policies of both East and West[6].

The New world order, emerged with a new international economic order that could further debilitate and marginalize Africa. Conflict became more wide spread through the 1990S. Poor economic management weakened highly centralized states. The inability to provide basic levels of policing and social services contributed to the weakening of state authority. Internal conflict increased dramatically throughout the 1990s. In extreme cases, fragmentation encouraged the formation and proliferation of splinter groups, which in turn divided into warning factions. The very nature of conflict changed. The civilian population increasingly became the target of conflict in factional wars and subject to particularly high levels of violence and abuse. This resulted in massive displacement as well as social and economic distress[7]

[5] Ibid., P53
[6] Ibid., P.89
[7] Ibid., P.111

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The Horn of Africa, traditionally comprises of Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia. Today the Horn of Africa includes East Africa countries; Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The Horn of Africa has along history of conflicts. The Horn of African conflict represents a classic example of Schimid and Wallestern definitions of the conflicts. Schimid argues that conflict has many meanings. Conflict may be: defined as "A struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources"[8]. The groups of the individuals involved, it is argued , may not only try to obtain the desired values but many try to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals. Others see conflict as "contests, competition, disputes and tensions as well as manifest clashes between social forces". Still others see it as striving for goals and interests, which are "incompatible"[9]. While Wallensteen defines conflict "as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment an available set of scarce resources[10]. He identifies action, incompatibility, and actors as the key elements for analysis. In Horn of Africa, the frequent out break of conflict after independence and post cold war has been of great concern as the violent conflict has slowed down the socio-economic development of the communities, also causing displacements of the people, destruction of property and loss of life.

This study seeks to investigate the contribution of conflict in Mai Mahiu. It focuses on conflict in Mai Mahiu in the period 2005-2009 and seeks to explain how conflict affects the communities who have been living together in peace and consequently causes of conflict. The fundamental research question being investigated is: what are the causes and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu?

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[8] A. Schmid. Thesaurus and Glossary, *Forum for Early Warning and Early Response*, (London: Sage Publications, 2000), P.12
[9] Ibid., P.12
[10] P. Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), P.16

1.3 Objectives of the Research

The overall goal of the study was to establish relevant issues surrounding the conflict in Mai Mahiu area of Naivasha division, Nakuru district and how it could be solved once and for all so that people in the area can live in harmony.

1.3.1 The specific objectives will include:-

To establish the root causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu.

To assess the responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu.

To find out conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu.

1.4 Justification of the Research Problem

The study could be justified from an academic and policy perspective. The academic justification for the study centers on providing a conflict perspective of the causes and responses in Mai Mahiu area. Current contributions to these causes of conflict have mainly been from the perspective of political science, history and socio-economic theories. A structural conflict perspective, which is situated within the discipline of conflict studies, is however vital to understanding the conflict arising. The study enlarges the theoretical discourse on the linkages between structural violence and conflict causes.

At policy level, the findings of the study should also prove useful to policy makers in conflict resolution organs of states, and other institutions, by providing them with additional insights about causes of conflict, problems arising from conflict and the way forward in ending conflicts. They may also find the study useful to analyzing and developing policies to manage and prevent conflicts.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature review include all of literature on conflict and responses to conflict from individual, societal and state level. However, most of the contribution to the literature is based on the structural violence build on the work of Johan Galtung. Galtung considers structural violence to exist when the actual realization of human beings were below their potential realizations[11]. Such a situation arises because of anomalous social, economic political or legal structures. Curle has also made an important contribution to the intellectual tradition of structural violence by reconcept ualizing the traditional dichotomy between war and peace. He introduces the possibility that a society may be neither at war nor at peace[12]. Curle regards such situation as "un peaceful" in that human beings are impeded from achieving their full potential because of relations that exist in society. The debate on structural violence has also been considerably enriched by human needs perspectives, many of which is build on the work of John Burton[13].

Burton provides some insights into structural violence through the human needs theory, of which he is one of the main advocates[14]. He argues that systems, on matter how coercive, that neglect human needs must generate protest behaviour and conflict. Burton contends that there are certain ontological and genetic needs which will be pursued, and that socialization process, if not compatible with such human needs will lead to frustrations and anti-social personal and group behaviour.

Conflict is endemic in society. It will be always be present and be an important part of human life conflict will be always there as long as human beings are in existence. However, in order to understand the causes of conflict in Horn of Africa, it is important to understand the nature of conflict and content. According to Mitchell a conflict arises when

[11] J. Galtung, *"Violence, Peace and Peace Research"* Journal of Peace Research, Vol.3 (1969), P167-191.
[12] A Curle. *Making Peace*. (London: Tavistock, Publications, 1971), P.31
[13] J. Burton, *Human Needs Theory*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), P.2
[14] J. Burton, *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), P32-48.

two or more parties have incompatible goals[15]. A conflict will thus occur when two people, when they have incompatible goals because they may be have different perceptions, objectives, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.

Mwagiru states that in a simple conflict, for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals, and ideas about how to achieve them[16]. Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision, and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other person-point of view. Mwagiru further, alludes that conflict is about values, want and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to settlement[17]. Doughter and Pfaltzgraff view conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings, whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social economic or political is engaged in conscious opposition to one or identifiable human group because these group are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals[18]. Zartman too asserts that a conflict refers to the outbreak of armed hostilities between parties[19]. This means that there will always be conflict as long as nations and people persue different interests and hence to learn how to manage conflict and its effects on the people and nation is of paramount importance. There has been an increase in conflicts in Africa, especially internal conflicts, which have become internationalized as they involve various actors and according to Mwagiru, previously internal conflict becomes endowed with many external characteristics[20]. Paradoxically, however, Thakur's view, just as the complexities

[15] C. R. Mitchell, The Structure of International Conflict, (London: Macmillan, 1998), P15-25.
[16] M. Mwagiru, Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999) P.3
[17] M. Mwagiru, The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation, 1985 (PhD dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), P15.
[18] J. F. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), P182.
[19] L. Zartman, Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in African, (New YorkL Oxford University Press, 1985), P.8
[20] M. Mwagiru, "Conflict and Peace Management in the Horn of Africa", Paper presented at the IRG Conference on Peace and Security, in the Horn of Africa in Mombasa, (1996).

of war have changed so also has the wish for peace increased[21]. This has been evidenced by the increased efforts being made to prevent and resolve global conflicts and Africa has featured prominently in these efforts.

Zartman further contends that one distinguishing factor of post cold war conflicts in Africa is that they are mainly within the states[22]. Many are as a result of long years of cultural, political, religious and ethnic marginalization and domination. While more internal conflicts in Africa occurred in the post cold war era than in any other manor world region[23]. the continent is increasingly becoming marginalized in the united states and European foreign policies. As such, Africa needs to develop a regional capacity to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts relying on its own capabilities.

A de Reuck argues that the value of the objectives being sought by the parties involves is proportional to the intensity of the conflict[24]. Conflict may either involve physical violence or structural violence. Physical violence involves the deliberate use of force to injure, subdue or kill another human being. Structural violence, on the other hand, is a type of conflict which is embedded in the structure of relationships and interactions[25].

Violent conflicts often erupt when deep-rooted cultural, religious, historical, social, economic and political issues are not properly addressed. In Kenya, such conflicts are linked to chaos left behind by the departing colonial rulers and decolonization struggle and the post colonial governments that have tended to be partial to sections of the society[26]. Such acts of violence are largely induced, planned or caused by a voidable circumstances

[21] R. Thakur. Peace Research in Work in Progress. (Tokyo: United Nations University Bulletin. Vol. 15, No.3, Summer, 1999), P12.
[22] I. Zartman, (ed) Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority, (Boulder Co: Lynne Rienner, 1995), P36.
[23] World Military Expenditures, 1993 (Washington. D. C. World Priorities, 1993), P20
[24] A de Reuck, "The Logic of Conflict: Its Origin Development and Resolution", In M. Barks, (ed), *Conflict in World Society: A New Perspective on International Relations*, (Sussex, Harvest, Press1984). P96-111
[25] M. Mwagiru, Conflict, *Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark, 2000), p14-15.
[26] *Causes of Electoral Violence in the Institutional Management of Electoral violence in Kenya*. by the Central Depository Unit, P.18.

and situations, for selfish, social, economic or political gains. Most of them are also attributable to competition for scarce resources in the context of underdevelopment, demographic pressure and divisive political manipulation based on social divisions in a situation where levels of poverty are desperate participatory governance is constrained and violations of basic human rights is routine. At the end of the day an environment is created in which crime, violence and an escalation of armed conflict are likely to occur.[27]

The causes and impact of conflicts would be attributed to various reasons depending on the levels of levels of analysis used. For instance from sub national level ranging from the provincial or district level to the locality, as supported by Waltz in his analysis of man, state and war. He observed that an appropriate way to discuss and evaluate critically the multitudes of approaches and theories on the causes of war, is to divide them along the social spectrum and a locate the fundamental linkages of war causality. Basing on this, he identified three main orientations on the causes of war[28]. Conflict therefore can draw actors from individual groups, societies and states.

Sandole expresses conflict as multidimensional and identifies these dimensions as linked to decision making, societal and trans-societal aspects. He agree with Waltz's individual, state and international levels. He examined the role of variables located in different levels throughout the life-cycle of conflicts in which he divided into three successive periods; namely; early stage, intermediate and late stages of a conflict systems development[29]. These features must be understood when carrying out conflict mapping for appropriate responses. Further he found that it is critical to differentiate between conflict as start up conditions and conflicts as process. The trend established that across the three

[27] *Causes of Conflict, the proliferation of small arms in East Africa, a publication of foundation for Dialogue March 2002 P.2*

[28] K. Waltz, *Man, State and War: Theoretical Analysis*, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959), P.453.

[29] D. J. D. Sandole, *Capturing the complexity of conflict: dealing with violent ethnic conflict of the post-cold war era*, (London and New York, Pinter, 1999), p18.

stages of conflict systems development of self-stimulating or self perpetuating conflict processes, is important in evaluating relationship between different variables located at different levels through the time. Conflict as start up conditions is viewed as a gender conflict as a process and once process come to characterized conflict it does not matter how or when the conflict started. Therefore, different start up conditions can lead to the same process initiation, escalation and controlled responsiveness. This means at some point in the conflict cycle, conflict itself may become the main source of its continuation and protractedness.

Lund states that once some levels of significant violence has begun, it is prone to escalate due to an interactive process of attack and relation leads to a self perpetuating cycle[30]. Thus conflicts begin and continue escalating because intervening variables facilities the process. These variables are current on the behaviour of actors and their interests. Mitchell observes that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something[31]. He similarly observes that conflict behaviour itself can be an important influence in affecting conflict intensity if it involves high levels of violence damage or loss of participants[32]. Such behaviour would involve an increase in the levels of anger, hatred, restrained, fear or desire for revenge on the part of those suffering damage. Overtime, behaviour of the opposing party may appear sufficient reason for continuing and intensifying one's own conflict behaviour often producing an analogous impact on the attitudes and subsequent behaviour of the adversary. This means conflict behaviour may become the source of future conflict attitudes and behaviour irrespective of any future development of mutually incompatible goals.

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[30] M. S. Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A strategy for preventive diplomacy*, (Washington, US institute of peace press, 1996), p133-134.
[31] C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1998),p15-25.
[32] C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1981), pp52.

Jabri notices that, "war mood" takes hold when conflicts escalate[33]. For her it is expected that once violent destruction of the enemy and his or her valued resources comes to define a relationship then rules of the game change and behaviour that is unacceptedable during peacetime become legitimate during wartime. These acts include killing, torture, rape mass expulsions, ethnic cleansing and creating creation of concentration camps. This position points out that conflict is not only destructive but it also leads to some form of gains to warning groups.

Ampleford et al asserts that over time conflict as a process may be more important than conflict start up conditions[34]. It will therefore not be sufficient to statically identify operating variable worth looking but also to identify the dynamic process that may overtake these static start up conditions. Identification of a conflicts start up conditions is necessary as demonstrated by the gradual incorporation into mainstreams conflict analysis of underlying causes or structural dimensions or sources of latent or open conflict. This analysis points out that conflicts tend to develop in environments characterized by structural factors which form the pre-conditions of crisis situations, such as systematic inequities, economic decline and ecological deterioration.

Azar argues that the most useful unit of analysis in protracted social conflict situations, is the identify of group, racial, religious, ethnic and cultural. In intra-state conflicts, actors range from conventional armies to paramilitary units, local warlords, mercenary groups and even criminal gangs. This requires state level analysis to comprehend the groups in conflicts and their claims. The understanding gained from the analysis of actors would help identify issues to negotiate in the peace process. He also hypothesizes that the source of protracted conflict is the denial of those elements required in the development of all people and society, and whose pursuit is a compelling need.

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[33] V. Jabri, *Discourses on Violence*, (Manchester University Press, 1996) p6.
[34] Ampleford et al, *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Rijk assessment Template*, FEWER, the Norman paterson School of International affairs, August 2001. p4.

These are security, distinctive identify and effective participation in the process that determine conditions of security and identify and other such developmental requirements[35]. To him the real source of conflict is the denial of those human needs that are common to all and whose pursuit is an ontological drive in all.

Porto, J. G. observes that resources based conflicts in Africa can be studied along the geographical boundaries of these conflicts. These would be categorized under different conflict systems. The most volatile conflict systems are the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region. A number of linkages blind different conflicts in the Great lakes region and Greater Horn to national regional and international contexts. It is evident that conflicts originate from environmental resources that communities share. For instance conflict between herders and farmers in the Awash Valley in Ethiopia and in the Nile flood plain in the Equatorial province of Sudan have linkages to wider regional conflicts involving Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt[36].

Mwagiru M., highlights that, "conflict also relates closely to the cultural setting, what may be considered wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered on in another"[37]. He further explains that the cultural factor also extends to the causes of conflict. For instance, a gesture that is acceptable in one culture may be offensive in another on the other hand, a conciliatory gestures in one culture might not be considered to be in another one.

Nantulya P., observes that, culture also tends to promote violence instigated by ethnicity and catalyzed by socio-economic marginalization, especially among the pastoral communities due to lack of a proper policy framework to manage diversity, achieve

[35] E. E.,Azar, *Protected International Conflicts: Ten propositions* in J. Burton F. Dukes (eds), *Conflicts: Readings in Management and Resolution*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1990), P.147-148).
[36] J. G. Porto *Contemporary Conflict Analysis in Perspective*, in Lind, J and Kathryn Sturman (Eds) op cit, p28.
[37] M. Makumi, *Conflict in Africa, Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, (Nairobi C.C.R Publication, 2006), P.1-2.

culturally sensitive structures for good governance and the incompatibility of indigenous African cultures, values and institutions with the existing constitutional and political models while the liberal models of governance including the multi-party system are on the continent to stay, there is scarcity of creative modalities which make full use of cultural patterns of the people concerned[38]. Mwaura highlights that, literature on responses to conflict, especially in African continent accepts that there has been increasing need for the responsibility of peace and security to be devolved to regional and sub-regional organization[19].

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based on structural violence and structural conflict. The structural violence and structural conflict is used as an analytical tool for understanding the underlying causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu. The structural violence and structural conflict are all about structures that generate or cause conflict in society. These structures are psychological, social, economic, legal, institutional and governance.

Galtung develops the concept of structural violence by considering violence to be the result of the difference between the potential and the actual[40]. He defines the potential level of realization as that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. In cases where insight and resources. In cases where insight and resources are monopolized by a group or class or are used for other purposes then the actual levels falls below the potential level, and violence is present in the system. Structural or indirect violence exists in so far as insight and resources are channeled away from constructive efforts to bring the

[38] P. Nantulya, "The Challenges of Managing Africa's Diversities and the Role of the African Union and Civil Society" in the perspective on the OAU/AU and conflict management in Africa, 2004, P37.
[19] C. Mwaura, "Regional Warning and Conflict Management Mechanism" in Ciru Mwaura and Susanne Schemeid (ed) Early Warning and Conflict Management in the Hon of Africa, Asmara, The Read Sea Press, 99-114.
[40] Ibid.

actual closer to the potential. Direct violence exists where there is an actor who commits the violence, whereas in the case of structural violence, there may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The structural violence is built into the structures of society and shows up in equal power and consequently in unequal life chances. Most fundamentally in a situation of structural violence the power to divide over the distribution of resources in unevenly distributed.

The whole concept of structural conflict is derived from reconceptualizing the dichotomy between peace and war. In classical discourses in political science, international relations and international law, there is a clear distinction made between 'peace' and 'war'. Exponents of structural violence, such as Adam Curle, find this dichotomizing between peace and war unsatisfactory. They visualize a situasion which does not fit into the classical dichotomy. In their view, while societies can be in condition of peace, or war, they can also equally be in situations which are neither. This situation is characterized as "unpeaceful"[41]. Curle argues that in unpeaceful societies, there is little, or no, physical violence in evidence, yet there is no peace[42]. In such societies, peace lacks because the relations in those societies are organized in such a way that the potential for development of some members of the society is impeded. This potential for development is impeded by factors which may be economic, social or psychological.

1.7 Hypotheses

1. The main source of conflict in Mai Mahiu is the governance and legal system.

2. Resources are a fundamental source of conflict in Mai Mahiu.

3. Responses to conflicts in Mai Mahiu have been largely unsuccessful because they have been settlement rather than resolution oriented.

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

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1.8 Methodology of Research

The study utilized both primary and secondary data to collect relevant information from the Mai Mahiu area. The research methodology was guided by the research design which is the arrangement of conditions for the collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy of procedure. Generally it is a blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.

1.8.1 Population and Sample

Population refers to an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristics. In other words, population is the aggregate of all that conforms to a given speculation while sample is a smaller group obtained from the accessible population. In the study target population was the residents of Mai-Mahiu area, government officials, civil society actors, and other stakeholders in the conflict. The size of sample was of thirty respondents. The sample size was achieved through using techniques of selecting a sample such as probability sampling as it provided the researcher with an efficient system of capturing, in a small group, the variation or heterogeneity that exist in the target population. Random sampling was the key to obtaining a representative sample. In random sampling, every sample of a given size in the accessible population has an equal chance of being selected.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection was based on the assumption of empirical research methodology which was based on the identification, collection and analyzing of data in order to minimize subjectivity and self deception. Therefore with data collection, two types of data was used; primary and secondary data.

The Primary Data

The primary data was generated through interacting directly with the respondent. This primary data collection involved: interviews, group discussion and questionnaire. The study carried out interviews with key informants from the Mai Mahiu area communities including the village elders, youth leaders, teachers, religious leaders, assistant chiefs, D.O's, D.C.I.O's and NGO's. Also the study held focused group discussion, with few selected members of the communities and knowledgeable people like students residing in Mai-Mahiu area, the discussion wias focused on conflict issues, that came up during the key informant interviews and in the survey.

Questionnaire

The study also used structured questionnaire as a tool of data collection to obtain important information about the Mai-Mahiu conflict. In questionnaire only one category of questions was used, the structured or closed-ended questions these types of items refers to questions which are accompanied by a list of all possible alternatives from which respondents select the answer that best describes their situation. However, a category of "other" to take care of all those responses which may not fit in the given categories were included. Closed-ended questions has advantage of are easier to analyze since they are in an immediate usable form, easier to administer because each item is followed by alternative answers. They are also economical to use in terms of time and money. On other side, closed, ended questions are more difficult to construct because categories must be well thought out and also responses are limited and the respondent is compelled to answer questions according to the researcher's choices.

Secondary Data

Data was collected without interaction between the researcher and respondent or does not need direct interaction between the researcher and respondent. Secondary data also formed

a key aspect of the research methodology for this study. Secondary sources included relevant published and unpublished documents on conflict particularly in the Mai Mahiu, Nakuru district. Documents on conflict resolution, similarly to conflict in other parts of Kenya, government documents such as research reports, workshops, court cases, journal articles, books and newspapers. Secondary sources were especially useful in guiding the theoretical foundations of the study and also in tracing the historical development of the key issues that inform the study.

1.8.2 Data Analysis

Data obtained from the field was analyzed through use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data gathered in the survey was analyzed using quantitative analytical methods while the data collected through interviews and literature review were analyzed qualitatively. The number of responses against the questionnaire were determined. Then data obtained from the field was edited. The editing involved a careful scrutiny of the completed questionnaires. Editing was done to assure that the data were accurate, consistent with other facts gathered, uniformly entered, as completed as possible and have been well arranged to facilitate coding and tabulation. After editing of the data, coding which is the process of assigning numerals so that responses could be put into a limited number of categories or classes was done. Then followed by the classification of data, which happens to be the process of arranging data in groups or classes on the basis of common characteristics. Finally tabulation of data, which is the process of summarizing raw data and displaying the same in compact form, that is in the form of statistical tables for further analysis was done.

Simple descriptive analytical tools such as the simple frequently distribution tables and percentage were used to analyze the data obtained from the survey questionnaires. Qualitative analysis methods which refers to non-empirical analysis was also used to

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analyze the data obtained mainly from interviews and focus group discussions. The qualitative data collected from the field was analyzed in a systematic way in order to come to some useful conclusions and recommends.

1.8.3 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The study focused on the causes, and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu area, Naivasha division, Nakuru district. The study covered almost the targeted areas. Although the study was limited in terms of time. The study had to be done within a specified period of time. The time required to carry out the research was therefore not sufficient. Another limitation of study was financial resources. The study needed a lot of financial support. Mai Mahiu area has very few roads leading into the farms and no meaningful public transport, this resulted to consuming a lot of time and money in terms of using private means. Despite those limitations, all resources for study including available money and time were well utilized to achieve the goal of the study.

1.9 Operationalization of Terms

Conflict- the terms conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy or opposition because of differences in opinion, ideas, or interests. The cause could also be attributed to competition for resources and power[41].

Responses to conflict – This is to take preventive measures, that are an aspect of preventive diplomacy which tries to address conflicts before they erupt, and before they become dysfunctional. To put in place measures that can arrest the symptoms.

Analysis – The term analysis refers to the computation of certain measures along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups.

[43] S. J. Tarimo Aquiline, and Manwelo Paulin, s. J. (eds) *Ethnicity Conflict, and the Future of African States,* (Paulines Publications Africa, 2009). P.50

Data analysis – Is the process of bring order, structure and meaning to the mass of information collected.

Data – Refers to all the information a researcher gathers for his or her study.

Population – Refers to an entire group of individuals, events, or objects having a common observable characteristic. In other words, population is the aggregated of all that conforms to a given specification.

Sample – a sample is a smaller group obtained from the accessible population.

Sampling - Is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which were selected.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter one : Introduces the research topic, background and give an overview of the study. It will also cover the following issues. Statement of the research problem, objectives, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, hypotheses and methodology of research.

Chapter Two: Provides an overview of the causes and responses to conflict in the Horn of Africa.

Chapter Three: Examines the causes and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu in Kenya during the period between 2005 and 2009.

Chapter Four: Provides data analysis and interpretation of findings of the study.

Chapter Five: Provides findings of the study, recommendations and further suggestions.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF CAUSES, AND RESPONSES TO CONFLICT IN HORN OF AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

To understand the causes of conflict in Horn of Africa, it is important to look at the political history of Horn of Africa and the genesis of the long civil war. This chapter therefore trace and discusses the origin and the background of the Horn of Africa conflict. It provides an analyzes of the events leading to the outbreak of the conflict. It looked into the structures that have led to the Horn of Africa conflict, and how these structures such as social, economic, legal, institutional and governance, have been used to perpetuate Africa's longest civil conflict.

2.1 Historical Background Of Conflict In Horn Of Africa

The genealogy and dimensions of conflicts and civil wars in horn of Africa are complex and varied. Underlying most conflicts is the issue of rights of the citizens. Kofi Anan has started that the construction and nature of the state in Africa, which is rooted in the pedigree, tend toward the institutionalization of ethnic entitlements, rights and privileges, which has created differentiated and unequal status of citizenship[44]. He further states that the state, rather than provide a common bond for the people through the tie of citizenship, with equal rights privileges and obligations, peoples loyalties are bifurcated. This has resulted to tension and marginalization, exclusion and domination by certain groups over the others, which has a bearing on the conflicts in Horn of Africa. In Horn of Africa, groups have taken arms against the government to claim for their rights as part of citizen in the country. However, the root causes of the Horn of Africa, are believed to be grounded in its history, its formation and characteristics.

[44] A. Kofi, *Causes of Conflict in Africa, UN Secretary General Report*, (New York: 1998), P113.

2.2 Underlying and roots causes of horn of Africa conflicts

In horn of Africa different factors have been seen as the responsible for the emergency and development of protracted social conflict. These are religious, economic, political, cultural, institutional (basically, this is state structures, inert group politics among others), and colonial factors. These factors are structural because essentially, they are an outcome of incompatible interests based on competition for resources. Structural theory, emphasis the competing interest, or groups as prime motivations of conflicts. It identifies the primary sources of conflict in the social, economic and political organization within a society, and in the nature and strengths of ties within and between communities. In using the structural approach to the Horn of Africa conflict, the study aimed to present a range of underlying factors which are the causes of the break out of the conflict. The hostilities in Horn of Africa, has been caused of conflict for instance the hostilities in Sudan predominantly pit the northerners against the southerners, mainly because of perception and structural issues. The south perceives the north as dominating and they feel marginalized by them, politically, economically and socially. This has been so, since the early Isamisation of the Sudan in the 1340. indeed, power structures, have always been polarized pitting the Muslims north against the Christian and animist south.

The weak governing institutions with minimal capacity such as executive body, legislative and judiciary has caused internal and regional conflicts for example a large area of Africa from Sudan to Angola, passing through the great lakes and the DRC, is caught up in a series of multiple and interlocking conflicts. The duration of conflicts therefore increases with the complexity of regional intervention and the inter-relationship of one conflict with another[45]. In horn of Africa conflict has long been regionalized. For instance, as Ethiopia supported insurgents in Sudan and Somalia while each of these two states

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[45] Ibid P17

responded in kind with support for Eritrea and other opposition on groups in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Uganda formed a set of "frontline states" with encouragement from the United States to contain the national Islamic front regime in Sudan and in support of the insurgent SPLA. Sudan responded by supporting Eritrea and Ugandan opposition groups[46].The weakening and collapse of state institutions has caused internal and regional conflicts. However, collapse is rarely sudden. It arises out of a long and degenerative process. In Horn of Africa, state institutions never grew very strong roots in the first place. Unable or unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to maintain popular support, governments began to operate through coercion, corruption and the use of autocratic styles of ruling in order to secure political power and control of economic resources. In Somalia, competition for control of power and resources has significantly destroyed state institutions, leading to conflicts.

The deterioration of the Security structures in countries like, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda, and Burundi. in the past security sector had become unaccountable and abusive. Judicial and penal systems had collapsed[47]. The state found itself unable to provide the basic social services and security to her people. The erosion of the infrastructure completely led to the break up of state. This has been usually accompanied by violent, competition for power between different groups and factions which sometimes identified themselves in ethnic terms. Overtime one of these factions may dominate but this does not necessarily result in the resolution of the conflict. Rather it leads to the perpetuation of state collapse[48]. Therefore When this happens state building becomes a complex task. The process of holding elections could easily become a vehicle not for democratization but for the consolidation of personal and abusive rules as happened in Daniel arap Moi's regime in

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[46] Ibid., P145.
[47] I. Abdullah: *Between democracy and terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*, (South Africa: UNISA Press, 2005), p90.
[48] N. Chazan, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill & Donald Roth child. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*, second edition, (Colorado: Lymnne Rienner Publisher, 1992). P189-208.

Kenya, the electorial commission and judiciary institutions had no powers to control general elections. Elections were marked by conflicts. The ability of external actors to deal with such situations is further hampered by the dependence of the international political system on the concept of state sovereignty from which collapse states derive judicial status and hence a veneer of legitimacy[49]. The existence of these collapse states like Somalia, could have serious international ramifications, as they have ideal conduits for international crime networks, money laundering scams, drugs trafficking cartels and so on.

Another underlying source of conflict is the demarcation of the African borders colonialist. Mwagiru states that the realities of the African ethnic context were enshrined at 1845-5 Berlin conference, where Africa was curved up by the imperial powers[50]. He further states that the imperial power paid little attention to the ethnic diversity in the Horn, when curving out the borders. Therefore, the boundaries were drawn without head to different religious and ethnics groups that already inhabited the territory. In Horn of Africa conflicts occur where there is a tradition of resolving problem by violent means. Political violence is entrenched and the instrument of the state such as the army, police and judiciary sustain the process. Colonialism in places such as the Rwanda and Burundi; created a state model based on the artificial creation and abuse of ethnicity to maintain power[51]. For instance, before the arrival of European colonialists, Burundi had a strong well organized kingdom for centuries. The country comprised of three primary groups, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. The European colonists brought a culture of racial differentiation and considered the Tusti group as the racially superior dominant group and the Hutu as racially bound to be servants of the Tutsi, the European culture influenced the traditional relationships between each group negatively. After independence in 1961, the division between the Tutsi and

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[49] L. Goodrich M. Edvard Hambro, & Anne Patracia Simons, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents*, Third Edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), P37.
[50] M., Mwagiru *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Ltd 1999) P.65.
[51] Ibid., P.70

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Hutu group became more clearly and intensely. The Tutsi group wanted to take the control of the state while the Hutu would not gave up their rights on pursuing military and political power[52].

Political leaders and belligerents in Horn of Africa, have made increasing use of ethnic hatred. Such abuse prolongs conflicts and creates long term divisions that reduce the effectiveness of peace building efforts[53]. The war in Somalia provides a ready example of the abuse of ethnicity. The clan system have played a major role in the catastrophic civil wars. To this effect since Somalia attained statehood, private pursuit and fierce competition over the resources of the country have been a marked feature among Somalia elite behaviour. Every elite person within the government believes to be representing the interests of his or her particular kinship and lineage members. Each member of the governing elite thinks that he or she is in the government, not as a national figure but as a clan representative. Conflicts in Burundi have often been characterized as clashes between two inherently antagonistic ethnic groups. Going beyond of horn, the war in the DRC also provides an example of the abuse of ethnicity. Elements of the DRC governments have openly provoked ethnic tensions in the Kivus with the intention of destabilizing areas under Rwanda influence. Equally elements of the Ugandan armed forces have exploited ethnic differences in order to benefits commercially from the conflicts, in both instance community divisions have been deepened and there have been a greater number of fatalities and injuries than are experienced in more conventional fighting.[54] Scholars allude that the Horn of Africa conflict is a value conflict. For example Somalia and Sudan. South Sudan feels their religion and culture should have been accepted by the North and the North should not have forced the people of the south into Islamic religion and their culture. There

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[52] R. Rothchild, *Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa; pressures and incentives for cooperation,* (Washington, D. C. Brookings Institutions Press, 1997), P6-15.
[53] Ibid
[54] Ibid

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is a deep feeling that values and traditions of the north are forced onto the southerners. In Africa, ethnic different make enormous impact on political activity. Scholars like Michael Brown states that ethnic conflict is inherent in Multiethnic societies and that group will inevitably disagree about political, economic, and social issues and in multiethnic countries the fault lines will often be defined in ethnic terms[55]. Esman, further states that ethnicity cannot be politicized unless there is an underlying core of memories or meaning that moves people to a collective action. This common foundation, he alludes may include historical experiences such as struggle against outsiders for possession of homeland, or cultural markers, especially language, religion and legal institutions that set one community apart from others. Therefore in the ethnic based conflict, when groups have negative perceptions of each other, any provocation leads to conflict. Every ethnic group in any state would want to be recognized in matters of leadership irrespective of their size. Indeed, ethnic conflicts will arise when an ethnic group believes it has been marginalized by one or all other on matters of national well-being. The supposedly victims people develop a communal resentment and prejudice which culminate in political unrest.

The ethnic interest of the Hutu in Rwanda and the south Sudanese have been trampled on by the government of Rwanda, and Sudana. According to Brown, resentment can build if some ethnic groups are not represented in the government, the military, and other state and political institutions, like the case of Rwanda and Burundi. Violent conflict is likely to occur if the oppression and violence are employed by the state. This is amplified by the fact that in Horn of Africa, distribution of resources is based on ethnic distinctions, rather than on the fact that every citizen in the Horn is entitled to the same basic rights and state protection.

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[55] Ibid., P.60

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The economic factors too are another potential source of ethnic conflict. In Horn of Africa, the equal economic opportunities, unequal access to resources such as land and capital and the vast differences in standards of living are signs of economic systems that disadvantaged members of society. Which is seen as unfair and illegitimate. This has been certainly the case in the Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi; where the distribution of resources is unfair. The continuous economic decline plays a major part in state collapse and conflict. Horn of Africa countries have undergone through a process of steep economic decline over many years. This is partly a result of conflict itself, together with corruption and bad economic management[56], which have led to closure of many industries. Horn of Africa's economic woes are also a consequences of massive debt, unfavourable terms of trading with the rest of the world, and exclusion from increasingly complex based technology, and globalized economy[57]. As a result of economic decline, governments find themselves unable to fulfill promises of more jobs, better wages and improved public services. Important sections of the population particularly young men become disillusioned, marginalized and frustrated.

Countries in Horn of Africa, with high levels of unemployment among young men, and where male educational levels are low, face high degree of conflicts. For instances through out Horn of Africa, factional conflicts have been drawn on a pool of marginalized or socially excluded young men. In Rwanda, the high levels of rural unemployment, and increasing insecurity of land, provided already group of participants in the genocide. The conflict in Kenya during post election on December 29th, 2007 following disputed presidential elections result was fought by socially marginalized young men[58]. Also Economic shock may cause conflict in Horn of Africa. It involves various forms ranging

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[56] P. Michael Todaro *Economic for Developing World; an Introduction to Principles, Problems and Policies for Development,* Third edition. (England, Pearson Education Limited, 1992), P143.

[57] B. Jacques Gelinas *Freedom from Debt, the Re-appropriation of Development Through Financial Self reliance,* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1998) p53.

[58] Peace and Development Network Trust, *Waki Commission: Process Monitoring Report,* 2008, P1.

from natural catastrophic to sudden large shifts in terms of trade and commodity prices. Natural catastrophic for instance, droughts are cyclical and omnipresent and worsened by over cultivating. Large areas of ones fertile soils are desertified, available land is reduced, and competition over remaining land intensifies. The Ethiopian famine of 1974 was the main factor in the overthrowing of Haile Salasse's government[59].

Horn of Africa, accommodates two types of resources based conflict. Wars of resource scarcity and wars of abundance. The most common conflicts of scarcity is related to the control of land and water rights. In both cases, the crucial elements is how competing interests for those resources are managed. Countries whose economies depends on natural resources such as oil, minerals, and inequitable access to land face a high risk of conflict. In these wars of abundance, groups compete for control of these resources which become the prize for controlling the state, and could lead to coups as in Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia. Changes in land use and access, have been significant factors in a number of high-intensity conflicts in Horn of Africa. In Somalia, a land base and its resources play a central role to conflict. The Somalia conflict involves many clans and sub clans. Shifting alliances are formed between different clans and sub clans to gain leverage in the conflict and to stake stronger claims to particular deegan[60].

The natural resources of Sudan, particularly in the South where there are significant oil fields. Oil revenues make up about 70% of Sudan's export earnings. Due to numerous tributaries of the Nile river and heavier precipitation in Southern Sudan, the south also has greater access to water and therefore much more fertile, while the North of the country is

[59] A. Boghen *African Prospective on Colonialism*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); p96.
[60] I. A Farah Hussein and Lind J., *Deegan, Politics and War in Somali:* in Lind, J and Kathryn Sturman (eds), P321-356.

on the edge of the Sahara desert. The Northern desire to control these resources, while the Southern also desire to maintain control of them, hence contributing to conflicts[61].

Therefore, unfair exploitation and poor management of resources in those rich regions could lead to secession. While abundant resources could also attract external intervention. The role of the private sector is critical in wars of abundance as belligerents rely on its capacity to exploit and commercialize the resources. Frequently, the military have become involved in developing their own commercial companies. The such wars become self financing, self sustaining, and therefore less open to mediation.

In the Horn of Africa, the absence of a strong, well informed and independent civil society sector is another factor increasing the risks of conflict. Censorship of the media, harassment of journalists and abuse of media for propaganda purposes can have a devastating impact. This was amply shown by the role of media controlled by the genocidal forces in Rwanda in 1994 civil society organizations, including independent media, provide important channels for expressing discontent in society. They also provide basic services in many situations where state provides services are inadequate or non existence, civil society organizations can also help to build bridges between divided and disaffected communities and are essential for the promotion of accountability and inclusive government[62]. Parts of Horn of Africa have settled into a conflict cycle in which states or factions move from low level crisis or open war into long term and protracted conflict and then back to low level crisis. Often the greatest risks occur when a fragile peace is not properly consolidated. This was demonstrated in Sudan, Uganda and Somalia. In some cases, states or factions have entered into a framework that provides for "consensual" conflict where belligerents have more to gain from sustaining low level conflict than from its resolution[63].

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[61] L. P. Goldsmith Abura and Switzer J., *Oil and Water in Sudan*, in Lind, J and Kathryn Sturman, (eds), P187-241.
[62] Ibid P16
[63] Ibid P213-214

Internal conflicts are mostly resolved when the parties involved have arrived at a stalemate, frequently a political and military balance. When either party to a conflict feels that it has a perceived advantage or disadvantage it continues to fight spurred on by the prospect of victory of a desire to negotiate from a more advantageous position. A hurting stalemate" where all belligerents have lost provides opportunity for resolution of conflict in many cases the opportunities for resolution are lost because of the lack of credible external guarantors to the peace process.

This is particularly important when dealing with demobilization and disarmament where the stakes are high for the belligerent groups in terms of the potential loss of power and personal security[64]. External mediation is frequently offered in times of conflict, yet the past decade has seen few obvious successes. While the option for peaceful resolution of conflict must always be available, poor mediation processes can make the situation worse and prolong conflict by giving combatants time to rearm and recognize as has happened in the DRC and Angola. Peace processes that are based on inadequate analysis and rushed timescales can push the parties to conflict into untenable position and threaten their power base or chances of survival. Greater emphasis on securing and maintaining a cessation of hostilities as the first priority is critical. Peace processes need to be able to draw on a wider spectrum of arrangements for transitional government to provide the conditions in which a stable peace, that addresses the fundamental causes of conflict can be established[65]. Also there are increasing dangers that much needed humanitarian assistance can cause wars to be intensified or prolonged. Where wars are fought through factional or proxy forces, there is little recognition or respect for international humanitarian standard. Such forces seek to control humanitarian assistance as a means of conferring greater political legitimacy on themselves and asserting control over the population. Relief supplies may also provide the

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[64] Ibid P219-220
[65] Ibid. P16

focus for increasing tensions and fighting between groups that receive supplies and their neighbours, as was the case in South Sudan, and Somalia, demonstrated the problems that occur when humanitarian assistance becomes the key elements in a resource starved environment and therefore subject to predatory behaviour. Humanitarian agencies increasingly recognize that they face a major dilemma in meeting the needs of victims without providing the means to resume fighting, misplaced development assistance can also heighten tension between groups and increase the risks of conflict[66].

The availability of small arms in Horn of Africa is a major factors in sustaining and fueling conflict. Considerable supplies of small arms have been in circulation from pervious wars. For example between 1972 and 1990, Ethiopia and Somalia imported $8 billion worth of small arms and light weapons[67]. Imports of arms primarily, from former Soviet bloc countries continues to grow and to sustain conflicts in the Horn of Africa. The availability and relatively low cost of small arms has been coupled with the emergency of a network of both local and international dealers who trade arms for minerals or other resources[68]. This has been a major factors in prolonging Horn of African conflicts which have become self sustaining conflict and consequently-less an able to external mediation or intervention[69].

2.3. Responses to conflict in Horn of Africa

This chapter provides an overview of the history and sources of the conflict, and responses to conflict in Horn of Africa. The problem of conflicts in Horn of Africa, and lack of efficient and effective responses to African conflict, is the one of the biggest challenges for African diplomacy. Past responses to conflict have often failed to understand

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[66] Ibid. P16
[67] E. Laurance J.m Siemont Wezeman T.& Herbert Walf, *Arms Watch SIPRI Report on the First Year of the Un Register of Conventional Arms*, (New York: Oxford University. 1993). P29.
[68] H. Deegan, *Third Worlds, the Politics of the Middle East and Africa*, (London: Routledge, 1996), P186-187.
[69] Ibid. P15.

the context within which conflict has operated or to address the causes, while it is possible to distinguish between the root causes of conflict, the secondary causes that enable and sustain conflict and the tertiary causes, or the barriers that hinder resolution. Preventing war and maintaining peace remain among the most vital and most elusive goals of international relations. Indeed, the acid test for international and regional organizations is invariably their efficacy in the area of peace and security management. Thus the continuing proliferation of wars, conflicts, and all manner of sectarian violence and communal strife is eloquent testimony to the failure of international organizations to deal effectively with the peace and security nexus[70].

In Horn of Africa; conflict prevention will not be effective unless it is based on Africa's own experience and capacity to response to crisis[71]. Horn provides examples of some of the world's longest lasting conflict. It also provides example of enduring recoveries from conflict. Horns success needs a commitment to use government and institutions as a means of managing ethnic or regional inequalities. Restoring the legitimacy of the state, countries like; Rwanda and Uganda, their successful emergence from conflict has been a great importance, due to its success in re-legitimizing the state in the eyes of its population. This was achieved through a strong commitment to re-establishing and delivering basic services, and demonstrating the value of national government. The restoration of education and health care were the two essential services. In both cases, effective services delivery dependents on a system that requires the state to manage and co-ordinate resources and take responsibility for their sustained delivery. In Somalia, currently there is increasing local pressure to move back to statehood. This is driven by the recognition that, basic services cannot be sustained or managed at local

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[70] S. Field: Peace in Africa: *Towards a Collaborative Security Regime*, (Johannesburg: The Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004) P16.
[71] A. Mazrui, *Towards A Pax Africana: A Study Of Ideology And Ambition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), P12.

level[72].The increasingly violent nature of factional conflict and the deliberate use of ethnicity to promote conflict create a deep division in society. The reintegration of combatants into society has become more difficult over the last decade because of the violence they have inflicted on the community. South Africa has paved the way in addressing the issues of post conflict reconciliation. In Horn of Africa, countries like Rwanda, have recognized that reconciliation must be tempered with a clear commitment in ending the climate of impunity and unacceptable use of violence. Effective conflict resolution in Horn depends on processes of reconciliation and justice which should operate at both national and local level and which reintegrate people into their communities[73].

Horn of Africa needs to learn a lesson from Botswana. Botswana is one of the few countries in Africa to have managed its mineral wealth in a manner that does not fuel instability. This has been achieved through a clear and well defined state control over diamond income, and the exploitation of resources. This has been coupled with a commitment to diversify the economy. Other countries like Sudan, and Somalia should learn a lesson in how to manage their mineral resources and develop strategies for better economic diversification, and reinvestment in services as they are two key elements in conflict prevention[74].Many horn countries see economic integration and the development of robust regional structures as an integrated means of encouraging mutual security and responding to some of the economic pressures that fuel conflict. This approach can be used as an example for facilitating the benefits of a free movement of labour.

African non governmental organizations and other civil society groups, including religious groups and responsible, independent media, are playing an increasingly important role in conflict prevention in Horn of Africa.Their engagement with local communities and national governments as well as with regional and international organizations can offer

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[72] Ibid P20
[73] Ibid P17
[74] Ibid, 18

invaluable help in framing policies for conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Such organization can help to promote national debates about the causes of conflict in conflict prone areas. Dispelling some of the myths that help to trigger and sustain violence. The work of such organizations can also help to inform and strengthen civil society, increasing its capacity to oversee the policies of governments and international assistance programmes[75]. The role of civil society in mediation and peace building has been a major element of international support to conflict prevention and resolution. It is particularly important when responding to conflict arising from disputes over the use of scarce resources. For example, civil society in Kenya has helped to resolve conflict between pastoralist groups, civil society has a broader role to play in African conflict. In countries recovering from conflict peace and security ultimately depend on attitudinal and behavioral changes within society. This is particularly the case where society has become polarized. For example, the church leadership in Rwanda has come to recognize its own engagement in the genocide.

The church remains a potent political force in Burundi where other elements of civil society can also perpetuate the divisions within society. Far too often peace processes are seen as the prerogative of combatant forces. In many of Africa's wars, lasting peace will depend on "demilitarizing the mind" and developing a social climate that seeks to sustain peace. Demobilization and the reintegration of combatants are critically dependent on societies ability to accept combatants back into the community. DFID funded activities in northern Uganda demonstrated the importance that support to community reintegration and mediation processes could play in providing the basis for reintegrating violent factional forces into the community[76].

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[75] Ibid, P278
[76] Ibid, P20

The Organization of African Union (OAU), since its foundation has been concerned with threats to development caused by internal and cross border conflicts. It sees its role as working within the UN framework to take primary responsibility for identifying the causes of conflict and providing early warming of conflict in Africa. It also has responsibility for mobilizing support and assistance for post conflict reconstruction. In 1993 the OAU established a mechanism for conflict prevention. Management and resolution whose operational activities are supported by an OAU peace fund. The OAU has further strengthened its early warning capacity by establishing a conflict management centre. Political and bureaucratic difficulties have meant that the OAU mechanisms for conflict management have remained relatively weak and under resources. Most of the member states wishes to confine the role of the OAU to early warning. preventive diplomacy and monitoring peace processes. They would not necessarily wish it to engage in regional peacekeeping or establishing mutual security arrangements between states[77].

The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in East Africa, are the main regional organizations engaged in conflict prevention and resolution. All three are involved in preventing the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and are also involved in mediation and conflict resolution activities. There is considerable international and African interest in the role that these regional organizations play, in regional peace keeping and peace making. either through mandated operations under chapter VIII of the UN charter or in their own right[78].

The concern of regional organization with peace enforcement had dominated their security agenda at the expense of more effective mechanisms for mutual security within the region. The recent spillover of conflict from Sudan and Chad into Libya demonstrates the

[77] Ibid P281
[78] Ibid P20-21

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limits to intervention and the need to contain the spread of regional conflict through mutual security and collective defence. There is need for simple but reliable structures for security cooperation that can destabilise relations, prevent the spillover of conflicts, secure emerging common values and perhaps, lay the foundation for new security regimes. In the absence of effective crisis responses structures, regional peacekeeping initiatives will continue to be adhoc, poorly implemented and driven by the interests of the strongest in the region[79]. An effective and credible United Nations is critical to addressing conflict in Africa. A series of failed peace keeping operations over the past decade has seriously damaged UN credibility in the continent. For instance there was something of a retreat from the UN after the debacles in Somalia, Rwanda, and Angola, with the Americas in particular preferring to operate either on their own or through regional organizations, especially the North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO)[80]. This has contributed to a developing climate of impunity, reluctance by the international community to take part in peace keeping operations and a poor responses to peace building activities. In 1998, Kofi Annan recognized the need for action in his special report to the Security Council. More recently the Brahimi report made recommendations to improve the UN capacity in peacekeeping and peace building[81]. Implementation of Brahimi's recommendations will strengthen UN conflict resolutions capacity in Africa.

The Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are critical actors in post conflict reconstruction and the Bank has recently established a post conflict reconstruction fund that enables it to response more rapidly to the immediate needs for support once peace has been established. The Bank and the IMF have concluded that the key issues for post conflict financing are; timeliness and speed of engagement, the amount of financial

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[79] G. Boutros Ghali; 1992. An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy. Peacemaking and Peace-keeping. Document A/47/277-5/2411.17june, New York: UN Department of Public Information. Http://www.unorg/docs/sg/agpeace.html

[80] Ibid. P28

[81] Ibid. P177

resources available for post conflict reconstruction work, the level of concessionality attached to resources, and how resources are delivered.

The involvement of the Bank and the IMF is critical to post conflict reconstruction. They can help to release other funding and maintain donor and investor confidence[82].

The concern over conflict in Africa has moved up to the international agenda. A number of initiatives have been launched in the past few years and conflict in Africa is now on the G8 agenda. The Miyazaki meeting of Foreign Ministers in July 2000 launched initiatives on small arms, that trade in diamonds, international civil police, the impact of development policies on armed conflicts, and the effect of armed conflict of children. On bilateral, naval exercises and training, has been going on. For instance, the Indian navy has been involved in a regular cycle of exercises with the Singapore navy and the UAE. 'Low key' cooperation exists between South Africa and Kenya, India, Mauritius, Mozambique, and Tanzania. It includes port visits and the irregular staging of minor exercise. The World Bank, IMF and the Organizations for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) all acknowledges that conflicts is one of the major obstacles to developments[83].International attention has recently focused on the role that diamonds play in fuelling conflict. The UK has a strongly supported efforts to introduce better controls over rough diamonds. The aim is to disrupt the illegal trade in diamonds and to reduce the possibilities of it being used as the payments for the illegal purchase of weapons.

The work of three experts UN panels in the last year demonstrated that diamonds are only one element in far wider exploitation of mineral and natural resources. Trade in Colton, Cobalt, gold, timber and oil may play a more important role in fuelling conflict. But there has been some progress in trying to ensure that the wealth derived from mineral resources is used for development. The construction of the oil pipeline in Chad by the World Bank

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[82] Ibid P29
[83] Ibid P103

has set a precedent, by establishing international regulation of Chad's oil income, so that it may not be used for, military expenditure. The critical role, oil revenues play in war economies, such as Sudan and Angola underlines the values in establishing international standards of accounting and transparency for multinational companies[84].

The European Union is working out to develop its capacity to address conflict which has identified as a cross cutting issue in the new European development policy of December 2000. In its dealing with Africa, the E.U has largely followed the partnership strategy, intended to further similar, benign synergies. An example is its meeting with the OAU in 2000 and its adoption of the Cairo declaration and Cairo plan of action in which it pledged to support the OAU's conflict prevention endeavours, programmes for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants, including child soldiers, and agreed to take steps to stern the illicit trade in conflict diamonds, smalls arms, and light weapons. This marks a significant step in the developments of a common EU. Framework for action on conflict prevention in Africa. Furthermore, the rapid reaction facility is designed to enhance the E.U's capacity to intervene fast and effectively in crisis points outside the E.U. The cotonou agreement also provides for political dialogue between ACP and E.U countries conflict prevention[85].

Enhancing African peacekeeping capacity attracts widespread international interest. The US, France, the UK and the Nordic countries are currently the main providers of support and training. However, a common approach has not been developed. The Lakhdar Brahimi report of the UN panel on peace operations, provides the basis for a much-needed common strategy for improving the effectiveness of peacekeeping. It emphasizes effective UN peacekeeping in Africa that requires large forces, with more effective command and control of structures.

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[84] Ibid, P20
[85] Africa-Europe Summit, Under the Aegis of the OAU and the EU 2000. Declaration of Cairo and Cairo Plan of Action. Press Releases No4/06/4/00 and 107/14/00. Cairo 3-4 April

It also stresses the importance of training troops to understand and operate with more robust rules of engagement, and that effective peace keeping and peace enforcement requires good military skills. Improved peacekeeping capacity in Africa is essential if we are to learn the lesson of failure as in the case of Rwanda or weak performance as in the case of Sierra Leone because of painfully slow and partially deployments. The poor performance of some African peace keeping forces has been the result of systems failures, where troops have not been paid, ammunition has not been available, or where troop behaviour demonstrated a lack of accountability. More effective African peacekeeping will therefore need to be linked to effective security sector reform. This would not only enhance the performance and accountability of African peacekeeping. But also help to build sustainable security and stability in the longer term[86].

There are number of small arms initiatives under way in Africa. These include the ECOWAS moratorium on light weapons, the East African Action Programme on illicit Arms trafficking and SADC, arms protocol. Most progress has been made in SADC, where implementation structure are well advanced and based on regional police cooperation with Interpol. Other regions are making slower progress with implementation structures, although some have progressed in establishing regulatory frameworks. Control of small arms in Africa is especially difficult due to the porous nature of most borders, weak and under resourced enforcement capacity, high levels of surplus stocks and well established illegal supply chains. Recent conflicts have exacerbated the problem, as state actors have distributed weapons to local militias, defence forces and irregular armed forced. Recent examples are to be found in Sudan, DRC and Angola. Tackling the problem will require

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[86] Ibid, P177

comprehensive action that not only addresses the issues of illegal transfers, but also ensures large scale destruction of surplus weapons[87].

2.4 Conclusions

The conflict in the Horn of Africa can be summarized as the causes of both external and internal factors. The external factors, for example include; the legacies of colonial and cold war policies, economic reform dislocation, ideologies, arms flows and military aid. While the internal factors for instance are; geophysical conditions, resource scarcity, poverty, socio-economic inequalities, ethnic divisions, militarization, competition for state power, war making for economic gain and the problems of political liberalization. However, conflicts at whatever level, have, many different causes. The causes are as diverse as the conflicts and the parties to them causes of conflict are therefore, essentially a question of the motives and reasons for conflict. At the individual level, the concern is with the motivations of individuals, and what leads them to engage in conflictual and aggressive behaviour. At the level of states, the concern is with decision making process, which can lead to conflict. But in either case, there are no mono-causes of conflict. Just as conflict is extremely complex so are its causes complex, and often complicated. There are therefore multiple explanations about conflict and its causes.

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[87] Ibid P19.

CHAPTER THREE
EXAMINES THE CAUSES AND RESPONSES TO CONFLICT IN MAI
MAHIU

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the causes, and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu area, Nakuru district. The chapter also gives a short overview of conflict in Kenya from the pre-colonial era, colonial era, and post independence era. But with much focusing on the Mai Mahiu area. To understand the causes of conflict in Kenya, it is crucial to examine the political history of Kenya and the genesis of the conflict. Also to examine the political history of Kenya and the genesis of the conflict. Also to examine into the structures that have led to the Kenyan conflict, and how these structures have been used to perpetuate conflict especially in Mai Mahiu area.

Kenya consists of many different communities which have been living in peace for many years. The outbreak of conflict that struck Kenya in the period between 1992 and 2008 were of a great concern. These conflicts occurred either before general elections or after elections. During president Moi era the years of 1992 and 1997 were marked by serious conflicts while Narc government: 2005 and 2008 were also characterized by conflicts. However, the 2008 conflicts were out come of disputed presidential election results of the two main parties PNU and ODM[88].

Kenya gained independence in 1963. like the other countries of Horn of Africa,it experienced a degree of conflict. At independence in 1963 the northern province became the theatre of shifta wars when Somali attempted to seceed from independent Kenya. This rebellion was brutally suppressed by the Kenyatta government. Since the late 1970s,

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[88] S. J. Aquiline Tarimo, and Pauline Manwelo, S. J. *Ethnicity, Conflict, and the Future of African States*, (Nairobi, Paulines Publications Africa, 2009) p23.

however, a low intensity war has raged in Kenya's outlying areas. The northern Rift valley and the semi arid areas bordering on Uganda, Sudan, and Ethiopia have been marked by vicious conflicts among various nomadic ethnic groups over cattle and water.[89]

In addition, Kenyan ethnic groups such as the Marakwet, and Turkana have been active in north eastern Uganda, Southern Ethiopia and the corridor between Lake Turkana and the Uganda border all the way into Southern Ethiopia, and the corridor between Lake Turkana and the Uganda border all the way into south eastern Sudan. In return, Uganda's Karamojong have been active in Southern Sudan and in the north eastern Rift valley as far down as the outskirts of the farming town of Kitale. Sudan's Toposa tribe has equally been active in the same areas.[90] These conflicts have been exacerbated by the legacy of colonial boundaries,[91] which the OAU rightly decided to retain. As in many other parts of the continent, this gave the region multi-ethnic states with complex networks of relationships across state borders. For example the Acholi and Madi are to be found on both sides of the Sudanese and Ugandan borders, and the Somali ethnic group is spread across three countries, Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti, which has created sustained tensions in the region.[92]

3.1 Pre-colonial Period

In the pre-colonial era the Rift Valley province was home to scattered pastoral communities namely, Maasai and Kalenjins. The land was held communally. According to Akiwumi report, land was purely held as means of maintaining life, and clan rights overland were limited to use and to the transmission of those rights. The land was not

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[89] bid, P, 274
[90] J. O. Osamba. The sociology of insecurity: *Cattle Rusling and Banditry in Worth Western Kenya.* African Journal on conflict Resolution. 2000., 1 (2)
[91] A..Boahen Adu. *African perspectives on colonialism.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), P. 96
[92] Ibid. P. 275

demarcated into division or districts or provinces[93]. Therefore this allowed a free movement of pastoral communities, from one area to another area. The pastoral communities wandered everywhere in the Rift Valley. Akiwumi report, further explained that, interclan and sometimes intertribal conflicts over land were common among those communities.

Colonial legacy is another underlying source of conflict in Kenya. Nthamburi, argues that it is a fact that colonial legally continues to impact the present nation states. Some of these states had in pre-colonial times, indigenous political systems that were functional. Colonialism distributed this innovation and many states were forced to conform to western models of nation-state[94]. He further argued that they were not prepared to work through very crucial historical, social and political issues that arose in the process of rapid social changes. The colonial enterprise often played one ethical community off against the other (divide and rule, separate development). State were thus created which were quite artificial and where boundaries of different states cut across "notions" in total disregard of their cultural, language and territorial identity. For example the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya, Pokots in Kenya and Uganda, and Somali in Somalia and Kenya. This argument is further supported by Mwagiru who states that the African ethnic context were enshrined at 1884 - 5 Berlin conference, where Africa was curved up by the imperial powers without paying attention to ethnic, cultural and geographical or other factors[95]. This review is manifested in Kenyan conflict as the imperial power paid little attention to the diversity in the Kenya, when curving out the borders. Although colonial powers established borders that corresponded little to African political, cultural and economic life, after independence, the first generation of African independence leaders accepted colonial borders and eschewed the arduous and politically volatile task of redrawing them. The charter of the

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[93] A. M. Justice Akiwumi, *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya, 1999* (The Government Printers, Nairobi, 31st July 1999), P 60-61.
[94] Ibid
[95] M. Mwagiru *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management,* (Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999). P65.

Organization of African Unity (OAU) placed great emphasis on the permanence of existing borders and the principle of territorial integrity[96]. Therefore borders conflicts have become a source of conflict in Kenya and Africa.

Ethnicity in Kenya is another underlying source of the conflicts. The term "ethnicity" is derived from the Greek word ethnos meaning race, or group of people with common racial features and common cultural peculiarities. Ethnicity refers to a subjective perception of common origins, historical, memories, ties and aspirations[97]. Anthony Smith considers on ethnic community as a named human population, with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements; a link with a historic territory or homeland, a measure of solidarity[98]. As ethnic conflict in the context of conflict, is an incompatibility of goals in relation to political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities[99]. Such incompatibilities may arise as ethnic groups seek to serve their political economic and social interests. Conflict arise when competition with other groups trying to achieve the same objectives disagree.

To understand how ethnicity leads to conflict, there is need also to know the origin of it. The origin of ethnicity in Kenya can be traced to the colonial period. The established of colonial rule in the final years of the 19th century saw the country divided into administrative provinces and districts that on the whole coincided with ethnic grouping. The Kikuyu for example, were placed in central province while the Luo were placed in Nyanza province along with the Kisii and the Kuria communities. However, the Kisii and the Kuria were each given its own administrative district within the province. The Luhya community occupied western province. The Kalenjin and Maasai communities, on the

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[96] O. John, *Under Current of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Netherlands: Leider, 2002, P.4.

[97] D. Rothchild, *Managing Ethnic conflicts in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation*, (Washngton: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), P3-22.

[98] A. Smith, *"The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism"*, *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, 28-29.

[99] M. E. Brown, *"Ethnic and Internal Conflicts"*, in C. A. Crocker, F. E. Hampson and A. Crocker, eds, *Turbulent peace: the challenges of managing international conflict*, (Washington, D. C. US Institute of Peace, 2001), p209-226

other-hand, were placed in the Rift Valley province with each group having its own district. This gave each community a feeling that they were different real or imagined unfair distribution of public resources the feeling that the group were different intensified.

3.2 The Post Independent

The post-independent government perpetuated the use of administrative boundaries to divide people of different ethnic backgrounds. This was particularly the case under the leadership of president Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki. Moi, for example, created Kuria district in an attempt to make the Kuria people feel different from the Luo with whom they had shared south Nyanza district for a very long time. He also curved Teso district from Busia district in an attempt to divide the Teso community from the Luhya to Busia district. The Bukusu, a sub-group of the Luhya ethnic community occupies its own district, known as Bungoma. The Bukusu regard themselves as different from the rest of the Luhya, a feeling that has been strengthened by the fact that they have a separate district from the rest of the Luhya community.

The Moi government ethnicized the provincial administration and the security apparatus and used them to start the ethnic clashes against other communities in the Rift Valley province in order to fulfill the regimes prophecy that multi-party competition would create ethnic strife[100]. The 1992 ethnic violence was used by the government to punish ethnic groups that were perceived to support the opposition in the run-up to the first multiparty elections and to force non-Kalenjins to vacate land in the Rift Valley province. It was therefore evident that such violence was backed by the urge to systematically exclude non Kalenjins from formal livelihood resources such as land, work, wages, public welfare schemes, political participation and even from the nation as a collective social and

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[100] Ibid. P26

cultural construct[101].Though ethnic violence did not start in 1991 with the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya; it is during this period that widespread ethnic conflict caused thousands of people to be displaced from their homes. This period also saw the emergence of ethnic patterns fashioned along political party lines[102]. To ensure that their people toed the ethnic line, the politicians told their communities that they were being finished, marginalized and discriminated against. They were therefore advised to protect themselves from outsiders. The Kalenjin through propaganda were made to believe that incase power shifted to a non-Kalenjin, they would be isolated, persecuted, marginalized and victimized for imaginary crimes. The leaders therefore propagated for majimbolism in public political rallies and expulsion of non-indigenous ethnic communities from the Rift Valley[103]. During conflicts in Kenya the ethics of governance tend to be compromised under the justification of violence especially when an incumbent government is involved, as was the case during the Rift Valley clashes. In this case, provincial administration and security agents initiated violence against individuals from non-Kalenjin communities. For example in the Rift Valley there were reports of trained security personnel being involved in most of the raids using government resources at their disposal particularly guns and ammunitions to support their kins[104]. Prior to the clashes it was reported that both the police and provincial administration were warned of the impending clashes in various places. But no action were taken to pre-empt any violence that was looming. The police and provincial administrations behaviour showed negligence and insensitivity[105]

The politicians then capitalized on weak legal structures to initiate violence. Their main concern being the capturing of political power through intimidation, which included ,

[101] Ibid. P75
[102] Ibid. P80
[103] Ibid. P29
[104] The main causes effects and possible solutions to conflicts in Samburu District. Centre for Conflict Resolution-Kenya, April and May 2001, P18-19.
[105] Ibid p80-83

bribery, buying and inducing fear and hatred to the voters with little respect for the principles of democracy for example, the Rift Valley clashes disrupted the 1992 voters registration in communities that whole-heartedly supported the opposition. As a result thousands of eligible voters were unable to exercise their democratic right of choosing their leaders due to the displacements and destruction caused by the violence[106].The legal structures of security are compromised during violence and this leads to the breakdown of law and order in the society especially in times of social conflict, electoral and political violence. This kind of violence decreases the government's legitimacy in the eyes of the population and creates subsequent distrust of the state, the law enforcing agencies and the institutions of power. Communities are force to form vigilante groups to protect and solve their everyday problems. The youths are therefore encouraged to disobey the law take up arms and protect their communities[107]. In this case, the obligation of the state to ensure the protection and enjoyment of the fundamental rights by every individual, institution and group is passed on to the youths. Communities are forced to live in a state of preparedness anticipating any adverse eventualities, expecting no assistance from the government in times of trouble.

The current approaches to development in Africa could also be source of conflict. Nthamburi observes that for countries, nations have been divided on the basis of ethnicity, religion or ideology[108]. He further argues that, current approaches to development have produced inequalities which is a receipt for ethnic conflict. When unequal opportunities for scarce services are experienced, perception of social inequalities widens, hence, this results in intolerance and political instability. It has been observed that many ethnic conflicts can be traced to the way in which unequal opportunities are made available to groups who

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[106] Ibid, p31
[107] Ibid, p17
[108] Z. Nthamburi, *"the paradigm of Ethnicity: its influence and Relevance in Public life today"*, In A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo, eds, Ethnicity conflict and the future of African states, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2009), P.73).

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perceive to be discriminated against indeed, ethnic chauvinism is traced to inequalities in accessing jobs, holding assets or even the manner in which social services are distributed. In Kenya this have been witnessed during the Moi regime. The levels of social inequalities were too high, militant protests were common which sometimes culminated in violent demonstrations.

Structural violence is linked to ethnic conflict fashioned by the conflict of interests and human needs. Burton states that the whole basis of law and order in a society is called when people's basic needs are frustrated[109]. Such needs are universal motivations which are considered to be an integral part of the human being. In addition to the needs of food and shelter, there are also needs related to growth such as needs for personal identity and recognition[110]. Structural violence is closely tied to the inadequate satisfaction of basic needs because its essence is the idea that people are unable to fully develop their full potential. The weak institutional structures in Kenya have failed to serve the needs of everyone especially during the Moi regime. However, sites state that the structural anomalies in many African states have implied that the needs of some ethnic groups are served at the expense of others. As long as a state serves specific interests rather than the common good, the needs of many citizens will remain unsatisfied[111]. Constitution is another underlying source of conflicts. Constitutional structure envisages a diffusion of authority among different centres of decision-making, specifically, the executive the judiciary and the legislature. However, the mere existence of a constitution does not imply that such a constitution adheres to the tenets of constitutionalism.

Many African states posses political, economic, and social structures that prevent a large number of their citizens from achieving their full potential. Defective constitutions

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[109] J. Burton, *Violence Explained, Mancester: Manchester University Press*, 1997), P32-40.
[110] J. Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, (London: Palgrave, 1990), P36-48).
[111] P. Sites, " *Legitimacy and Human needs*", in J. Burton and F. Dukes, *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, (London: Maimillan, 1990), P117-141.

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are central features that promotes structural violence in many African states. There has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitutional structure and the presence of structural violence in many African states. For example in Kenya the old constitution have been the source of conflicts. The constitution gave the president enormous powers in relation to other organ of government. Therefore there has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitution structure and the presence of structural violence in Kenya. Nwabweze, observes that constitutionalism implies that government is necessary but that alimitation should be placed on its powers[112].

3.3 Pastoral Communities in Kenya

Cattle rustling among the pastoral communities in Kenya can also be attributed to the socio-economic marginalization. For instance lack of necessary infrastructure to counter such attacks, perpatuates the situation .Insecurity due to minimal police presences, inadequete security agents deployment, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and selective disarmament.[113] The report further argued that , without proper structures put in place to guarantee the community's security, cumulatively the result is the vulnerability of its people and exposure to attacks from neighbouring communities worsened by the scramble for available minimal resources especially water and pasture land. They are also exposed to attacks during and after the drought by those aspiring to restock their herds. Lastly, these people they have persistently violently attacked each other because they lack alternative sources of income to supplement their pastoralists practices. Pastoral communities in Uganda, have also been a problem to Kenyan communities. Kenya has been experiencing frequent attacks from the Karamonjong community of Uganda. The Karamonjong community are cattle rustlers. For instance, in 2005, the Karamonjong cattle

[112] B. O. Nwabueze, *Constitutionalism in the Emergent States*, (London: C., Hurst and Co., 1973), P1-21.
[113] Report on Cattle Rustling. *"Factors contributing to cattle Rustling, Boundary and Inter Ethnic violence in Kenya"*, (foundation for Dialogue, January 2004) P. 8 - 10

rustlers stole a large herd of animals from four Manyattas in Loima division, near the Turkana-West Pokot districts boundary. People were killed and injured as the raiders took off with 30 heads of cattle, 20 donkeys and 550 goats.[114]

Environmental and demographic stresses have often precipitated conflicts in Kenya. A growing population combined with unsustainable ecological practices have resulted in a significant depletion of available resources, which in turn has led to impoverishment, migrations and clashes over access to remaining resources. Environmental factors have played a role in the decrease of available fertile agricultural land and depletion of fish stocks: over-fishing and water pollution, deforestation, and desertification.[115] For instance; over-fishing and water pollution, lake Victoria, by surface area the third – largest fresh water lake in the world and an extremely important source of fish for Kenya, has experienced significant reduction in fish stock levels. This reduction can be attributed in part to over-fishing and toxic chemicals flowing in from the seven Kenyan rivers that feed Lake Victoria. Rivers carrying pollutants for example smoke particles deriving from the burning of forests and fields in the hinter land, flow into lake Victoria. These pollutants have resulted in a massive influx of nitrogen, phosphorus and sulphur, which has boosted the reproduction of oxygen – usurping seaweed in the lake and led a "death zone" for fish which is already over 40 meters thick.

Deforestation between 1970 and 1990, Kenya lost 11,450 hectares of forests one of the primary effects of this deforestation has been a reduction in soil quality. By exposing the soil to wind and rain, deforestation has led to a reduction in crop land availability and crop land production. Silting caused by soil erosion has also resulted in the near disappearance of Lake Jipe and Lake Bogoria, and has systematically reduced the water

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[114] K., Masibo "*Cattle Rustlers form Uganda*," Daily Nation, (Nairobi), 17th January 2005. P.7

[115] D. Schwartz, and Ashbindu Singh, *Environmental Conditions Resources, and Conflicts, an introductory overview and Data collection,* (Nairobi: UNEP, 1999), P, 25

table of Lake Turkana – Kenya's second largest lake. Desertification, Inappropriate cultivation practices over – cultivation and the use of toxic chemicals and pollution, have all contributed to Kenya' alarming desertification.

Depleted fish stocks and increasingly scarce fertile land have resulted in two social effects: economic decline and migrations. Economic decline, while Kenya has faced droughts for many decades the effects of these droughts in combination with the pressures of a scarcity in viable agricultural land and renewable fish stocks contributed to economic hardship for Kenyans. Food imports and food and are still needed in Kenya. Migrations, the Kikuyu peoples, who received special privileges during colonial rule have been migrating out of fertile highlands in search of new land since the 1960's. migration have intensified in the last two decades. Many Kikuyu peoples have migrated to the Rift valley, where the Kalenjin peoples and other pastoralists reside.[116]

Therefore clashes between various groups began in 1991, intensified in 1992 and continued to the present date. The most prominent clashes have occurred between the Kalenjin "warriors" as well as members of pastoralist tribes such as the Maasai and the Kikuyu peoples. Tribe members of the Luo, Luhya, Kisii, Kamba, Meru and Teso, have also been targets of the Kalenjin "warriors" and the Masaai. migrations have contributed to these clashes. Economic decline has also fueled these conflicts by making competition over already scarce resources more intense.[117]

3.4. Mai Mahiu Area in Nakuru District

Mai Maiu area is found in Naivasha division of Nakuru district, Rift valley province. Nakuru district is one of the eighteen districts of the Rift valley province. It lies within the Great Rift Valley and borders eight other districts namely, Kericho and Bomet to

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[116] 7. Ibid, P, 26
[117] Ibid, P, 26

the West, Koibatek and Laikipia to the north, Nyandarua to the east Narok to the south west and Kajiado and Kiambu to the south. The district covers an area of 7, 242. 3 Km^2 and is located between longitudes 35^{11} 28' and 35^0 36' East and latitude 0^0 13' and 1^0 10' south.[118]

Table 1.1 Administrative units and Area of District by Division

Division	Area in Km2	Location	Sub/ Location
Mauche	161.04	4	8
Lare	139.06	4	9
Elburgon	436.06	3	8
Nakuru Municipality	262.5	4	5
Bahati	564.06	4	14
Njoro	313.06	4	7
Mbogoi-ini	386.05	3	6
Naivasha	1,782.30	8	16
Gilgil	1,055.10	4	7
Molo	58.9	2	4
Keringet	492.01	9	21
Rongai	744.00	5	13
Olenguruone	172.09	6	13
Kuresoi	285.04	4	9
Kamara	201.9	3	8
Mau-Narok	185.01	2	3
Total	7,242.3	69	151

Source: District statistics office, Nakuru, 2001

The district is divided into sixteen administrative divisions as shown in table 1.1. Naivasha Division is the largest followed by Gilgil, while Molo is the smallest. There are six constituencies in the district namely Nakuru Town, Subukia, Naivasha, Kuresoi, Rongai

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[118] Gok *Nakuru District Development Plan*, 2001 – 2008, Nairobi Ministry of Finance and Planning P. 4

and Molo. These constituencies do not follow the divisional administrative boundaries. There are four local authorities in the district. These are Nakuru municipality, which has nineteen wards, Nakuru county council with thirty- three wards, Naivasha municipal council with twelve wards and Molo town council with eight wards. The total number of ward is seventy two.

Physiographic and Natural conditions ,the main topographic features in the district are the Mau Escarpment covering the western part of the district, the Rift valley floor, Mau Escarpment in the south eastern part (Naivasha area), Menengai crater with its drainage and relief system and various inland lakes on the floor of the Rift valley that form drainage of nearly all the permanent rivers and streams in the district.

The district has three major lakes namely lake Naivasha with the fresh water, lake Nakuru and Elementaita iwht Saline water. The Mau. Escarpment with an average attitude of 2,500m above the sea level is very important for the district, as most of the forests are located on it. The forests do influence rainfall pattern in the district, while most of the rivers originate from the same escarpment. All the high potential areas of the district are around the escarpment.[119]

The topography found in the district has greatly influenced economic activities in the district. In the areas where volcanic soils are found, farming and dairying are common. In the drier parts, livestock keeping is practiced in addition to other activities linked to tourism. The climate conditions of Nakuru District are strongly influenced by attitude and physical features (Escarpment, lakes and mountains). There is considerable variation in climate throughout the district. The district has three broad climatic zones with temperature varying between 24^0c and 29^0c and a mean of 26.7^0c. zone 1 receives an average annual rainfall of 1,270 mm per annum covering areas over 2,400m above the sea level. The zone

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[119] Ibid, P. 6

covers mau – Narok, Molo, Olenguruone, upper subukia, Dundori, Kerignet and Kamara. These are high potential areas of the district.[120]

Zone II covers area with attitude between 1,800m and 2,400m above the Zealand receiving an average rainfall of between 760 mm and 1,270mm per year. This is a dry sub-humid equatorial climate. This zone covers lower forest of Molo, Njoro Bahati and parts of Rongai. Zone III covers the Rift valley floor with attitudes between 1,520mm – 1,890m above the sea level and receives rainfall of less than 760mm annually. The zone covers Gilgil, Naivasha Mai mahiu longonot, Solai Lanet and parts of Rongai. These are the Marginal areas of the district. Olkavia geo-thermal has become on important source of power to serve not only Nakuru but also the entire country. Hot springs and streams are also sources of water in the district especially in Eburu in Gilgil division.

The Natural resources found in Nakuru district in from of forests, Rivers, escarpments, lakes and tourist attraction including good soil's for farming gives this district a firm economic base. Lake Naivasha with fresh water, Lake Nakuru and Elementaita with Saline water are major tourist attractions. Lake Nakuru and Elementaita are inhabited with flamingoes while Lake Naivasha is a major source of water for irrigation. The forests of Nakuru area major source of simber and firewood employing high numbers of Nakuru districts population either directly or in directly. The same forests do generate income to the government in form of revenue and income to saw millers too.[121]

Settlement patterns, Nakuru is one of most populated districts in Kenya, having a density of 181 person per Km^2. Nakuru Mau capacity is the most density populated division whereby most of the people in the division live in Kaptembwo, Langalanga, Ponda Mali and Mwariki, these are the areas with low cost houses. The town has been growing at a very high rate while provision of basic facilities has not expanded art the same rate to

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[120] Ibid, P. 7
[121] Ibid; P.

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serve the population. Already Nakuru town is a water deficit area. The water supply systems can only meet 50 per cent of the water requirements. While Molo division ahs a density of 607 persons per Km^2. most of the people live in Molo town which has recorded the highest urban growth rate in the last ten years. Bahati division is densely populated due to its high economic potential. This has resulted in fragmentation of land into uneconomical sizes.

The sparsely populated areas in Nakuru district are in Gilgil and Naivasha division which include Mai Mahiu these are the marginal areas of the district and most of the people are found in urban areas. These two divisions also have the largest ranches in the district.[122] Most of the poor people in Nakuru are found in the slum areas of Nakuru town. People who were displaced by the land clashes and are living in difficult circumstances are found in Molo and Elburgon towns. Gilgil and Mai Mahiu in Naivasha division being the marginal areas of the district, have those people who are involved in small scale farming and they tend to live below the poverty line, while casuals and those involving jobs in the flower farms in Naivasha are also poor. In general these are the divisions having the highest proportion of people living below the poverty line. In the lower areas of Rongai and Weseges valley in Rongai and Mbogoini Divisions, there is a good number of poor people too.[123]

3.5.The Underlying sources of Conflicts in Mai Mahiu

The ethnicity could be underlying source of conflicts. Vanhanen, states that ethnic conflict arises fundamentally because anomalous social structures lead to the marginalization of certain ethnic groups within states. Such structures are source of structural violence. He further said that ethnic conflict can be partly explained by an

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[122] Ibid; P. 8
[123] Ibid. P. 8

evolved predisposition towards ethnic nepotism where members of an ethnic group tend to favour their ethnic group members over non-members because they are more closely related to their group members than to outsiders[124]. This predisposition to favour one's ethnic group becomes important to social life and politics where different ethnic groups compete for scarce resources. For example based on the report on peace building and conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu, The most recent use of ethnicity to further political agenda could be found in the Mai Mahiu clash between the Maasai and the Kikuyu where parliamentarians from both the Maasai and Kikuyu community accused each other and the government of targeting "their people" especially after some Maasai raiders were shot dead. They further claimed that the provincial administrations in the area were biased, since the Nakuru district commissioner and the Naivasha district officer were Kikuyu hence protecting their people[125]. In this conflict though the leaders do not address the riot cause, the issue of ethnicity is glorified to help those in power escape from the issues on the ground.

The Mai Mahiu conflict is also classical indicator of how resources based conflicts go hand in hand with inter-ethnic violence other than ethnicity, the issues of scarcity of water, lack of proper land demarcations and differences in socio-economic and cultural practices and values have been seen as having caused conflict since 1992. Besides poverty and political intolerance leading to electoral violence have also been cited as having contributed to the conflict in the area. Commercialization of politics through bribery has led to the emergence of political gangsterism and militias composed mainly of unemployed and idle youths ready to unleash terror on hire, when this is fused with tribal animosity, it becomes deadly[126].

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[124] T. Vanhanen. *Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A comparative analysis*: journal of peace research. 36, 1, (January, 1999). P55-73).
[125] A report on peace building and conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu by the centre for conflict resolution, P5
[126] Ibid p5-6

The scarcity of resources such as water and land could be another underlying source of conflict. Conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy, or opposition because of different in opinion, ideas, or interests. The cause could also be attributed to competition for resources and power. Conflict may either involve physical violence or structural violence. Mwagiru states that, physical violence involves the deliberate use of force of injure, sub due or kill another human being. Structural violence, on the other hand, is a type of conflict which is embedded in the structure of relationships and interactions[127]. These views are seen to be the causes of Mai Mahiu conflicts. For example The scarcity of water in the Mai Mahiu area of Nakuru district has been seen as a big problem to those communities living in Mai Mahiu area. The area has been characterized by frequent clashes. For example in 2005, people were killed, displaced, scores of houses in Nyakinywa, Lari, Kegesha and Karima were razed, property rooted, over 2000 water pipes were vandalized, and business in Mai Mahiu remained closed, as rival groups fought over a water point in Logonot, Naivasha. Villagers went on the rampage following a dispute between pastoralist and farmers[128].

There those seeing the confrontation more as a land issue than water claim, the Maasai are comfortable with the occupation of land which used to be their livestock's corridor from semi-arid areas to the pastures. For instance the civil leader claimed that the water issue was not the cause of the conflict but the major cause was the Maasai involvement in rustling and demanding take over of farms belonging to the Kikuyu community. The water problem was only a scope goat. Further argued that the Maasai started it all by grazing on farms belonging to the Kikuyu[129].

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[127] M. Mwagiru, *conflict: theory, process and institutions of management*, (Nairobi: Watermark, 2000), P.14-15.
[128] M. Macharia & Masibo L., *"Water War in Longonot"*, Daily Nation, (Nairobi), 23rd January 2005. p2.
[129] A. Mwangi *"Clashes Lari Residents"*. The people. (Nairobi)< 25th January 2005. P.1

Cultural violence also could be source of conflict. According to Galtung, structural violence may sometimes take the form of cultural violence where an aspect of culture is used to legitimize violence in its structural form[130]. Examples of such cultural aspects include acts of religion, ideology, culture or even language which make physical or structural violence acceptable in society. Rumour-mongering was also to be blamed for the fighting. Without both parties being called together to dispel gossip, peace was unlikely to be restored. For example there were claims that a Maasai woman and her daughter had been slaughtered by some Kikuyu men while waiting for a matatu. These rumours spread everywhere and the Maasai, started talking of avenging the 'deaths', since it is taboor in Maasai tradition for anybody to kill a woman or child. But later on it turned out that no Maasai woman and daughter had been killed[131].

The weak administrative structure, could also attribute to conflicts. For example administration in Naivasha division were greatly blamed for not taking preventive measures on the clashes between the two communities, Kikuyu and Maasai. The Kikuyu of Kigecha village, near the Mai Mahiu shopping centre, claimed that they were told by a district officer and a senior policeman to more their livestock to a secure place since there was tension and that the Maasai were likely to strike. Also they accessed senior officers of compromising with suspects and deliberate move to let the killers go unpunished[132]. The Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), blamed police apathy for the situation. The chairman of KNCHR said, "These people are dilly-dallying if the police and the provincial administration were determined this violence would not have claimed so many lives"[133]. While the local politician accused police of downplaying the fight, which they termed as political. Also they blamed the provincial administration of causing tension

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[130] J. Galthung, "Cultural Violence" Journal of Peace Research, 27, 3, (1990), P.291-305.
[131] Ibid. P.11
[132] Ibid. P.10
[133] M Mwangi: "*Mai Mahiu Clashes*", Daily Nation, (Nairobi), 28th January 2005, P.11

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by not acting on complaints and for harassing and arresting people on flimsy grounds[134]. On the other hand, the executive secretary of the justice and peace commission of the Nakuru Catholic Diocese argued that those who sparked the killings could have been outsiders. The District Commission (DC), also blamed the clash on "outside aggression", saying that most of the fighters were from other districts[135].

3.6. Conclusions

It is always a common assumption that security is a prerequisite for development[136]. Hence, prolonged violent conflicts slow down the socio economic development of a community. This assertion can be validated by the fact that violence is characterized by displacement and loss of life, which in turn disrupts the people's socio-economic activities. Due to violence, many people are forced to flee their homes for safety. This implies that there is no production and supply of commodities in the market, since attention is directed to the ensuring violence. More over, many people are also rendered homeless due to the desertion of the established homesteads for fear of attacks and as a result, squatters emerge. Consequently, people's self reliance approach to life is shattered and reduced to the level of destitution and helplessness. They are forced to rely on relief donations from well wishers. Continuous violence also affects the operations of social systems like learning institutions, commercial and recreational centers and hospitals. For instances, schools are closed during violent conflicts and children are forced to flee with their parents to peaceful places. In such a situation, the learning process is interrupted. This also creates inconsistency in the education of the displaced children and as a result their performance in national examinations is affected. Therefore, these children are denied a chance to compete effectively for opportunities to develop themselves. The degree of poverty tends to increase

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[134] Ibid 2
[135] Ibid. 11
[136] Ibid. p16

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in areas constantly affected by violence. Violence is mostly characterized by massive destruction and looting of property. These forces the victims of violence to migrate to other areas where they are forced to live in untidy, and unhygienic camps in churches, trading centres without proper food, water, employment, privacy and proper sanitation. They are made internal refugees in their own country[137]. As a result, their socio economic activities are disrupted and destabilized. The invaders occupy their deserted lands while a compromised government does little to assist them.

Conflict settlement in Mai Mahiu. can be achieved through resolution of conflict for the philosophical basis of resolution rejects power as the basis of relationships, especially in situations of conflicts. Resolution of conflict is therefore non power based, and non coercive. It aims at a post conflict relationship which is not based on power and which endures because the parties find it legitimate. According to Burton, resolution is based on the belief that at the bottom of every conflict, are certain needs which are not negotiable[138]. Therefore conflict management as management process by which parties to the conflict are encouraged to come together and do something about their conflict, should aim at identifying ways in which these needs can be fulfilled for both parties.

[137] Ibid. p1-31
[138] J. Burton,. *Conflict, Human Needs Theory*, (London: Mac Millan, 1990).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents primary data collection, analyses, interpretation of the findings, and critique of the data collected in the field of the study. Based on the over all research objectives, the analysis focuses on the causes of conflict. While in the chapter findings of data are represented in tables and figures, analyses and critique the data collected in the field of study. Research methodology, In establishing the causes of Mai Mahiu conflict, the study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of enquiry to collect relevant data from the residents of Mai Mahiu area, government officials, civil society actors and other stakeholders in the conflict. The researcher administered questionnaires to the respondents and key informants.

In order to get a broader view of community based conflict in Kenya and Rift Valley province in particular, the study first reviewed published and unpublished documents on conflicts, particularly in the Rift Valley province. The documents reviewed included published materials on Mai Mahiu conflict; documents on conflict resolutions, similar conflicts in other parts of Kenya, documents on meetings, workshops, court cases and others about the conflict in Mai Mahiu. The study also held interviews with key informants from the two communities including the chief of the area and his assistants, district officer, Naivasha, religious leaders, elders, women leaders, youth leaders and teachers. The study also conducted a survey in the Mai Mahiu sub-location. The sampling technique was random sampling. Babbie, defines random sampling as the key to obtaining

a representative sample[139]. A total of 30 respondents from the two communities were subjected to a structured questionnaire which was administered by the researcher.

Table 4.0 Sample size

Community	Respondents	% of total
Kikuyu	12	40
Maasai	12	40
Other	6	20
Total	30	100

Source: Compiled by the researcher

The above table is a representative of the study sample in the area of study. Among the survey respondents, 12 were from the Kikuyu community, 12 were from the Maasai community, while 6 of them were from other communities living in the area.[140] The study also held two focus group discussions, where selected members of the communities discussed the issues that arose during key informant interviews and in the survey.[141] Finally the data collected from the field was then examined and compared carefully, and analyzed. The findings and interpretation are recorded and interpreted in the following sub-headings.

4.1. The Roots Causes of the Conflict

The first objective of this study was to identify the root causes of the Mai Mahiu conflict in Naivasha division of Nakuru district. All the key informants and focus group participants asked them to list the root causes of the conflict in the area. They all identified the following; water, land ownership, conflict over pasture, business rivalry, incitement by politicians, baseless and malicious rumours, tribal hatred, misconception by the

[139] E. Babbie *The practice of social research*, (New York: Wads Worth Publishing Company, 1995), P27.
[140] Interview with respondent on 25th June, 2010.
[141] Focus group discussion ,on 27th June, 2010.

government and marginalization of the local communities.[142] Similarly this supports Sandole's views on conflict. He expresses conflict as multidimensional where he linked these dimensions to decision making, societal and trans-societal aspects.

On the other hand, survey respondents also established the degree of which the average members of the two major communities living in the area viewed the issues as the causes of conflict among them.[143]

Table 4.1 The roots causes of the Mai Mahiu conflict

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Land ownership	8.01	26.7
Water	6	20
Pasture	5.01	16.7
Politicians	3.99	13.3
Tribal hatred	3	10
Livestock	2.01	6.7
Poor leadership ministration	0.99	3.3
Drought	0.99	3.3
Total	**30**	**100**

Source: Compiled by Researcher

The above table shows the various percentage of the causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu area. Land has the highest percentage while drought and administration are the least.

Of all the respondents interviewed, according to them the most significant roots causes of the conflict in Mai Mahiu area were; disputes overland ownership (26.7%), conflict over water (20%), conflict over pasture (16.7%), incitement by politicians (13.3%), tribal hatred

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., p.18.

(10%), livestock theft (6.7%), poor leadership and administration (3.3%), and drought (3.3%).[144] The figure below presents the root causes of the conflict in percentage according to the survey respondents. The table 4.1 signifies that land ownership followed by water, were the main causes of the conflict. Therefore above primary data confirms to the secondary data, and it is in line with Galthung's structural violence theory.

4.2. Water

Conflict of resource scarcity relate to the control of water rights. In both cases the crucial element is how competing interest for those resources are managed. Geologically, Mai Mahiu is situated in an area with deep volcanic ashes that were deposited during the formation of the Great Rift Valley and the numerous volcanic mountains in the area.[145] This means that there is no single underground water source in the area. The only source of water in the area is River Ewaso Kedong , which originates at the springs on the foot hills of Lari Escarpment. Competition for water use between the Kikuyu farmers and Maasai pastoralist is very stiff, with farmers near the source tapping the water for irrigation, while the Maasai depending on the river to water their animals and for domestic use.

During discussions with key informants and groups established a sharp differences in opinion on whether water was a significant causes of the conflict in the area or not. Some key informants from both communities dismisses the notion of water as a causes of conflict in the area.[146] They argued that water was often used by members of either community as an excuse to start the conflicts. On the other side of droughts, they pointed out that droughts in the area are perennial, while the conflicts were not. Further they claimed that, the two communities have been sharing many water points on the Ewaso Kedong River for a long time without conflict over those water points.

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[144] Interview with respondent, on 29th June, 2010.
[145] F.C.A., Mc Bain, *A physical and Economic Geography East Africa*. (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1986), p.59.
[146] Interview with key informants, on 30th June , 2010.

Some key informants from the Maasai community argued that some local politicians from the area and members of the provincial administration wanted the river to be dammed in order to provoke violence from the Maasai community which would then be used as an excuse to expel them from the area. Other proponents of water as the causes of the conflict, accused the local councilor from Limuru and the officials at the Ministry of Water for licensing the councilor to divert the waters of Ewaso Kedong River, without considering the communities down the river, who depends solely on it for their livestock and domestic use. Other accused the herders of cutting water pipes serving the Kikuyu community during dry seasons to water their animals. While in the response, the Kikuyu block the Maasai herders from passing through their land, hence becoming the cause of the conflicts.

Table 4.2 Water as a cause of conflict

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Water		
Maasai community	18	60
Kikuyu community	9	30
Other community	3	10
Total	**30**	**100**

Source: compiled by the researcher

From table 4.2 there is indication that water has contributed 60% to the conflicts in Mai Mahiu area and the Maasai community considered water as the main causes of conflict in the area. While other community living in Mai Mahiu considers water less contributor of the conflict. The survey respondents from the both two communities, agreed that water had caused 60% conflict between the communities living in the area many times. 30% felt that water had done so just once or twice, while 10% said that water had caused conflicts

several times. Most of the members of the communities also concurred that indeed water had communities also concurred that indeed water had caused conflict between them many times.

4.3. Land Ownership

The issue of land ownership is quite emotive in Mai Mahiu area, with members of the Maasai community staking claim to its ownership based on historical possession, while members of the Kikuyu community claimed that they brought their parcels of land and are the genuine owners.[147] Originally, occupying the area that is now called Mai Mahiu were the Maasai when the white settler came, they pushed the Maasai out of the area and turned it into ranches on which they reared livestock. The settlers then employed members of the local communities in the farms with the Maasai and Turkana communities becoming herders, the Kalenjin as horse keepers and the Kikuyu as drivers, clerks and cooks.

During group discussions, members of the Maasai community were able to trace the history of the land around the source of River Kedong to the time when the colonialists were setting in the late 19th century, when they were forced to fight the whites over the land that later become Kedong ranch. A white man called Dick was killed near Namuja in 1895 and there is still a standing monument on the spot to commutate that.[148]The Maasai were later pushed to Suswa, though with an agreement that they had to continue using the corridor between Kajiado and Nakuru.

Members of the Maasai community further pointed out that the land in Mai Mahiu area was grabbed after independence. The members of Kikuyu community, who had been dispossessed of their land in central province colluded with some politicians secretly to buy out the white settlers' land who were leaving the country. They formed land buying companies which they used to purchase land from the settlers. On the other side Maasai

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[147] Interview with a key informant, on 1st July, 2010.
[148] Group discussion, on 2nd July, 2010.

community, were not aware about those formed land buying companies, as their offices were allocated elsewhere in Limumu, Kiambu, Kiambaa, Kikuyu and Nairobi. Names mentioned connected with land grabbing, belonged to the families of prominent politicians. The Maasai living in Mai Mahiu, claimed that they were kept in the dark about the transactions and only came to know later that, the land on which they were living had new owners, hence forth they were landless.[149] They therefore strong feel that claims of ownership of land by members of the Kikuyu community were more gimmicks.

Based on the historical claim, the Lenana, the Maasai leader had signed agreement with the British government, the British colonialist to use the Maasai land for hundred years, the Maasai living in the area feel that Mai Mahiu is their ancestral land.[150] This land believe, makes it easier for the politicians to incite them against the other communities living in the area. During the discussions, it also emerged that the Maasai have taken their claim to ownership of the Mai Mahiu to the court of law and the case is still pending. To further justify their current occupation of the land in Mai Mahiu, the elders pointed out that the areas has always been vacant, others said that they bought their plots, while other community elders, pointed out that they were all born in the area, and their parents gravers are there as testimony.

The members of Maasai community claimed to be targeted by the government with regard to land issue. They pointed out that when the government was giving out ranches to groups in Nakuru district, the Maasai were intentionally left out. To them, that meant that all the Maasai living in Naivasha area were squatters on land that belonged to the Kikuyu, they also claimed that youth from Maasai community living in Mai Mahiu area, were denied access to National identity card, because it was feared that they would bring claims to the land which they were currently living.

[149] Interview with (name withheld) respondent on 3rd July, 2010.
[150] Ibid.

Discussions with members of the Kikuyu community living in the area revealed that the land in contention was bought by them at a throw away price.[151] Some of Kikuyu members, had issued with tittle deeds. They further established that those who settled in the area mostly were former workers of the white farmers. Then after settling, they invited their kinsmen, when the white settlers offered the land for sale. The Kikuyu politicians became instrumental in encouraging the members of the Kikuyu community to buy the land in Mai Mahiu. They claimed that offices were established in Mai Mahiu, where land buying started from 1967 to 1974. The members of Kikuyu, organized themselves in terms of villages, back in Kikuyu land. Those from Kikuyu division had offices, in Kiambu, while others offices were in Kiambaa, Githunguri and Lari.

It was argued and agreed that land was the major cause of the conflict in Mai Mahiu area. Many of them in the discussion pointed out that the Maasai, who had been expelled from Tanzania, were the ones, who wanted to displace members of the Kikuyu community in the area and the same time, were the people who were fuelling the land crisis in the area. They also blamed many absentee landlords, for not utilizing their land, for those idle land have been attracting both Maasai and Kikuyu community, especially those were herders and squatters. The members of Kikuyu community, also claimed that, the Maasai have been rented out their land in Narok and then brought their animals to Mai Mahiu to compete with them for pasture and water.

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[151] Focus group discussion, on 5th July, 2010.

Table 4.3 Land ownership as a cause of the conflict

Steam land ownership	Frequency	Percentage
Kikuyu community	18	60
Maasai community	10.8	36
Other community	1.2	4
Total	30	100

Source: compiled by the researcher

Table 4.3 shows the land ownership has fuelled conflict in Mai Mahiu , kikuyu community majority considered the land issue, as the main cause of conflict. However, the Maasai 20% felt that land had been an important cause of conflict between them. The survey respondents, 60% established that land has caused conflicts between the two communities many times. 36% of the survey respondents said conflict over land had caused clashes several times while 4% said it had done so just once or twice. Maasai 36% felt that land had been an important cause of conflict between them.[152]

4.4. Pasture

The Maasai living in Mai Mahiu are generally pastoralist. However the study established that, nowadays they cultivate some crops with the help of farm hands from the Kikuyu and other communities living in the area. On the other hand, the Kikuyu living in Mai Mahiu area are mixed farmers who cultivate crops like maize, beans, peas and wheat in their plots. They also keep a sizeable number of cattle for milk. Because of the difference in land use by the two communities, conflicts arise. The study found out that the mainly in two ways, first the Maasai were not happy with Kikuyu community farmers as they cultivated on large piece of land, which was supposed to be for cattle grazing. The

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[152] Interviews with survey respondents, on 7th July, 2010.

Kikuyu community also keep cattle, and this have contributed to stiff competition for pasture in the Mai Mahiu area, especially in the dry seasons.

Discussions with members of the Kikuyu community revealed that they were unhappy with members of the Maasai community on the issue of unfair competition over pasture. They further claimed that, the Maasai as nomads, have access to pasture both in Mai Mahiu and elsewhere, while the Kikuyu have nowhere else to take their animals when the stock of pasture in the depleted. The also accused the Maasai herders for continuously trespassing into those fenced off farms, especially if some portion of pasture were hired-out to them. Another claim was that, some Maasai grazed on Kikuyu farms calling the crops tall grass, yet when such cases are reported to the department of agriculture no compensation or action is taken because the herders are able to compromise the officers.[153]

Women from the Kikuyu community complained that the Maasai intentionally send children to herd cattle in their farms. These children are said to be very rude to adults and openly abuse them when they complain. If they are beaten, conflict erupt. The community also complained of Maasai cattle being left free at night to graze on the farms, hence destroying mature crops.[154]

On the other hand, members of the Maasai community saw the problem of pasture, farms and their livestock differently. They attributed the conflict largely to the lack of initial planning when the farms were being demarcated. There are no pathways for the herders to access River Kedong. The plots bordering the few pathways are not fenced off especially Udheri-Wa-Lari where most farmers have intentionally blocked the cattle paths with their crops. Most of the herds of cattle going to water are very large and cannot fit those narrow paths. The Maasai pointed out that incidents of scramble for pasture and animals straying into farms were common even within the communities themselves. They

[153] Focus group discussion with Kikuyu community, on 8th July, 2010.
[154] Focus group with Kikuyu women and Maasai, on 9th July, 2010.

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therefore felt that it had become a big issue in Mai Mahiu because it was often blown out of proportion, and tribalized to create hostility between the two communities. Also when wild animals wandered into those farms at night, especially during the dry season the accusing fingers often points at the Maasai community.

Table 4.4 Pasture as a cause to conflict

Item pasture	Frequency	Percentage
Kikuyu community	18	60
Maasai community	9	30
Other community	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: compiled by the researcher

The respondents in the survey from the two communities, 60% established that, pasture had caused conflicts between the Kikuyu and Maasai many times in the previous years. 30% of the respondents identified that pasture had done several times. While 10% said it had done just once or twice. As illustrated in figure 4.2, there were slightly more members of Kikuyu community seeing pasture as cause of conflict between them than the Maasai.[155]

4.5. Livestock Theft

The study established that, the cases of stock theft were common within and between the two communities. Sometimes, thieves from the two communities could collude to steal livestock from one of them, leading to accusations and counter accusations between the two communities that often result into conflicts. Some respondents argued that when an individual member from Maasai community steal livestock from the Kikuyu community,

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[155] Interviews with survey respondents, on 11th July, 2010.

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the whole of the Maasai community is condemned. During discussion elders, from the Maasai community, claimed that, the problem of stealing of livestock, was not true, for the other communities living in. Mai Mahiu area, have that historical stereotype associated with their community as cattle thieves, originated from the traditional raids carried out by Morans in the past.[156] Indeed, this amplifies Galtung cultural violence theory that should be understood as those aspects of culture that can be used to justify or legitimize the use of direct or structural violence.[157] He further indicates that examples of cultural violence are in directed using division of culture into religion and ideology, art and language and empirical and formal science. Cultural violence is hence manifested in the culture of Maasai community of Mai Mahiu, and it should be addressed since it leads to structural violence as has already been alluded in this dissertation. Members of the Kikuyu community also concurred that criminal elements from both communities collude to steal livestock.

Table 4.5 Livestock theft as a cause to the conflict

Livestock	Frequency	Percentage
Kikuyu community	21	70
Maasai community	6	20
Other community	3	10
Total	30	100

Source: compiled by the researcher

The survey confirmed that the two communities recognized stock theft as a cause of the conflicts in Mah Mahiu. Majority of respondents, 70% agreed that stock theft was a cause of conflict in Mai Mahiu. 20% of respondents said for several times, stock theft was a

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[156] Group discussion with maasai elders, on 12th July, 2010.
[157] J. Galtung , *Journal of peace Research* vol 27 No. 3, (1990), p. 291-305.

cause of conflict, while 10% of respondents argued once or twice of the cause of conflict.[158]

However, there was a significant perception differences between the two communities on

livestock theft as a cause of conflicts between the two communities with more members of

the Kikuyu community 80% than the Maasai 20% interviewed arguing that livestock theft

have caused conflict between them over the previous years.

4.6. Tribal hatred

Through carrying out interviews, in the Mai Mahiu area, the study established that,

the two tribes Maasai and Kikuyu, each wants to be dominant, creating a very delicate

tribal rivalry that politicians easily manipulate. They see the conflicts that occurred in 2005,

as a continuation of the previous conflicts in 1992 and 1995 that had seen the Kikuyu

abandoning their lands, which were promptly settled by the Maasai.[159] Those conflicts

poisoned the relationship between the two communities the wound of which the

government authorities had done nothing to heal. The members from the Kikuyu

community further said that the previous conflicts in the Moi era were seen as favouring

the Maasai community against the Kikuyu. When the NARC came to power under

president Kibaki the Kikuyu community, felt that, it was time for them to revenge, because

the government belonged to them.

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[158] Interviews with survey respondents, on 14th July, 2010.
[159] Interview with (name with held) respondent on 15th July, 2010.

Figure 4.6. Tribal Hatred as a cause to the conflict
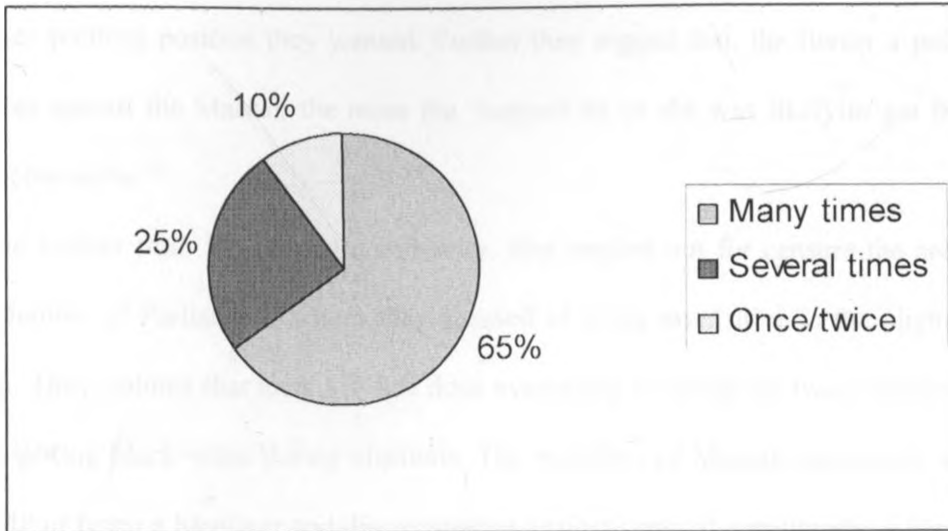
Source: compiled by the researcher

The above pie chart indicates that during the during the survey, over half of the members of the two communities, agreed that hatred between the two communities had contributed to the conflicts between them. The study investigated out that, more members of the Maasai community 65% than their Kikuyu counter parts 25% felt that tribal hatred had caused conflicts in the area, while 10% from the other communities claimed tribal hatred had caused conflicts in Mai Mahiu.[160]

4.7. Incitement by Politicians

The study established that politics in Mai Mahiu area have played an important role in the conflict. The two communities have been balkanized since 1992 the advent of multiparty politics in Kenya. Indeed, the conflicts in the area as they are known today started around 1992, the time multiparty politics were introduced in Kenya.[161] During discussions, members of the Maasai Community pointed out that they knew, they were hated by their neighbours-Kikuyu, so in order to survive, they come together as a political block. They also argued that politicians from the Kikuyu community had a tendency of

[160] Interview with survey respondent, on 16th July, 2010.
[161] Interview with a key informant, on17th July, 2010.

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whipping up anti-Maasai sentiments as a way of galvanizing voters behind them for whatever political position they wanted. Further they argued that, the fiercer a politicians who was against the Maasai, the more the support he or she was likely to get from his other community.[162]

The leaders from the Maasai community, also singled out for censure the area local MP (Member of Parliament) whom they accused of being insensitive to the plight of the Maasai. They claimed that local MP had done everything to divide the two communities to ensure getting block votes during elections. The members of Maasai community accused local MP of being a hardliner and discriminating against some of constituents, a blame that was shared by some members from his/her own community – Kikuyu. Some local leaders also accused the local MP of sidelining them while championing NARC politics at the expense of peace in the community as a whole. A case in point was given of the way local MP colluded with the area DO, selectively, to issue permits to sand harvesters.[163]

Some Maasai leaders also accused the local Mp of being partisan saying that the MP besmirches any body who wanted to vie any political post, by saying that the aspirant was Pro- Maasai. The Mp was said to have special dislike for the Maasai civil servants from Mai Mahiu area. The Mp was also accused of targeting other Maasai civil servants from Mai Mahiu area for sacking and colluding with the area registrar of persons to deny Maasai youths a chance of getting National Identity Cards (IDs) and to be registered as voters. The Mp was also accused of not sharing the Constituency Development Funds (CDF) equally between the two communities. On the other hand, members of Kikuyu community, singled out the Maasai local Mp as having incited the Maasai against the

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[162] Group discussion, on 18th July, 2010.
[163] Interview with (name with held) respondent, on 19th July, 2010.

Kikuyu community through his inflammatory statements especially during the infamous "Suswa Declaration".[164]

Figure 4.7. Incitements by Politicians
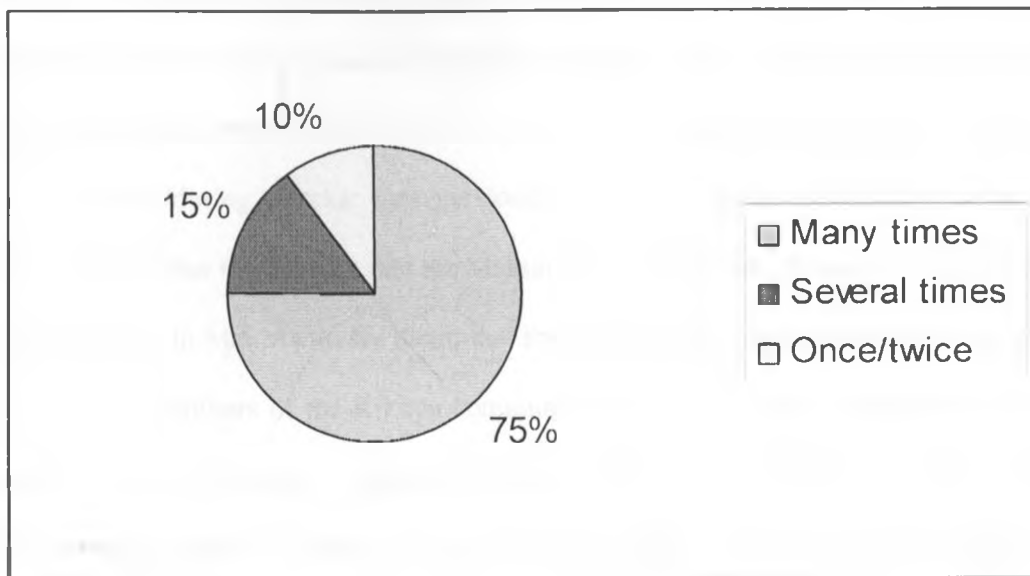
Source: compiled by the researcher

The above pie-chart represents the percentage of incitements by politicians as a cause of conflict. In the field study, most of the members of the two communities interviewed, 75% agreed that incitement by politicians had contributed to the conflicts many times. 15% said several times, while 10% felt that incitement by politicians caused conflicts once or twice.[165] However, the two communities held that incitement by politicians was a major cause of conflict between them in the previous years. Figure 4:7 Shows perception of members of the two communities on incitement by politicians as a cause for the conflict in the area. The community also accused the department of provincial administration of involving in politics thus rendering it useless in terms of fair broking in administration.

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[164] Ibid.
[165] Interview with survey respondent, on 20th July, 2010.

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4.8. Baseless and Malicious Rumours

The study found out that, whenever there was conflict between the two communities rumours played a very big role in escalating such conflicts. Baseless rumours played a big role in whipping up animosity between the two communities. At times these rumours were peddled by malicious people from either community, while at other times it was purely due to communication breakdown. Some of the rumours identified to have caused disaffection between the two communities were about rape of Kikuyu women by Maasai Moran during attacks: that the local Member of Parliament (MP) was in the Helicopter that shot the Maasai; that the Maasai had co-opted their Kinsmen from Tanzania to fight the war in Mai Mahiu for them; that the Maasai had acquired guns and were about to kill all the members of the Kikuyu community living in the area; that members of the Mungiki sect and ex-army officers had been hired by the Kikuyu and the Maasai respectively to execute members of the rival community. There were also rumuours of exaggerated number of deaths and livestock stolen on both sides during the conflicts.[166]These rumours, because they could not be verified immediately tended to fuel more conflicts in the area during that period. Newspapers and FM Radio stations, especially vernacular radio stations, were also accused, by members of the Maasai community, for blowing the situation out of the proportion, hence heightening the tension between the two communities.[167] The members of the two communities' interviews on the survey also recognized the role of the rumours in the conflict.

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[166] Interview with (name with held) respondent, on 21st July, 2010.
[167] Ibid.

Figure 4.8. Baseless and Malicious Rumours
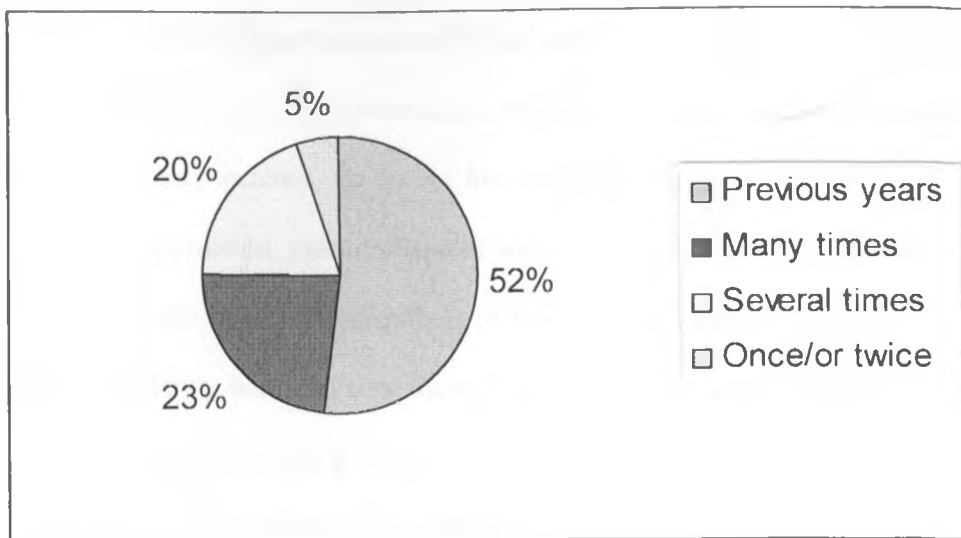
Source: Compiled by the researcher

The above pie chart represents the percentage of baseless and malicious rumours as a cause of conflict. Half of the respondents in the survey, 52% said rumours contributed to the conflict in the are over previous years, with 20% of respondents saying that rumours had caused conflicts several times, while 23% said it had caused the conflicts many times, 5% said it had done so just once or twice.[168] There was a difference between the two communities with regard to their perception of rumours as a cause of the conflict with a total of 68% of the Maasai and 32% of the Kikuyu interviewed concurring.

4.9. Misconception by the Government and other causes

Interviews and discussions with members of the two communities and government officials revealed that both the past and the present governments may be blamed to some extent for the conflicts in Mai Mahiu area. The members of the Kikuyu community blamed the Moi government for siding with the Maasai against them during the

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[168] Interview with survey respondent, on 22nd July, 2010.

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earlier conflicts in 1992 and 1995.[169] They also blamed the government for not making efforts in finding lasting solutions to those past conflicts. They also blamed the Moi government for appointing administrators in the area such as chief and his assistants, from the Maasai community, which to them was a minority group in the area. The chief were also accused of incompetence, favouring his community in cases of theft of livestock, trespasses, crop destruction, pasture disputes and illegal sales of land to members of both communities. On the other hand, members of the Maasai community regarded the NARC government as patently biased against them. They accused the are Mp and the ministry of internal security for manipulating transfers of area's administrators like the DC and DOs and bringing Kikuyu administrators, who were used to enforce persecution and provocation of the Maasai living in Mai Mahiu area.[170] That provoked violence, from the Maasai and was used as an excuse for evicting them from Mai Mahiu area. They also accused district officer for endorsing damming of Ewaso Kedong River while he knew very well that the river was the lifeline for all the pastoralist communities. They also alleged that the area Mp has sworn to use political influence to remove the administrators of Maasai extract as an example of the compact between politicians and the government to frustrate and marginalize them as a community.

The leaders from the Maasai community pointed out that since they were well aware that the government was pro-Kikuyu, there was no way they could have attacked members of the same community, and that they were only defending themselves during the conflicts as the consequences of such an attack by them was very clear to them.[171] They also felt to be sidelined by the government, especially with regard to utilization of Naivasha Constituency Development Fund (CDF) which they said was only being used by the Mp to

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[169] Focus group discussion with community members and government officials, on 23rd July, 2010.
[170] Focus group discussion with maasai community members, on 24th July, 2010.
[171] Interview with (name with held) respondent, on 25th July, 2010.

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serve the interests of the Kikuyu-community, the CDF was only used to provided relief to the Kikuyu, yet there were many, Maasai women whom were widowed, and orphans.

The leaders of the Maasai community were also critical of the manner in which the government and police in particularly handled the previous conflicts. They recounted that the provincial administrators, first refused to respond to their distress call, when they were attacked by their neighbours at night. They further claimed that, later on, the government attacked innocent members of the community, some of whom were dragged from their homes, using a helicopter and members of the General Service Unit (GSU), thus killing innocent members of the community.[172] They also pointed out that the members of the police operation were taken from the Kikuyu community only so that nobody would report when they violated the human rights of the Maasai. They further pointed out that, the District Officer, even refused to issue the members of the community with permits to claim their beloved dead for burial because the district officer feared that the Maasai would use the graves to stake ownership of the land on which they were buried. They also claimed that, the displaced members of the Kikuyu community were given relief services from the government, but those from the Maasai community were given none.

During discussions, other causes of the conflict were identified by the two communities. They argued that Mai Mahiu borders four districts namely, Nakuru, Kajiado, Kiambu and Narok and that has created crisis of identity, land ownership and boundaries, hence fuelling conflicts. Other causes identified included the superiority complex among the members of the two communities, conflicts over the resources like quarries and sand harvesting and denial of registration as voters and issuance of identity cards.[173] General observation Basically, the researcher considered the Mai Mahui conflict as a violation of

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[172] Ibid.
[173] Group discussion, on26th July, 2010.

structures. The social cultural, economic, political and legal structures in Mai Mahiu have been an impediment to Mai Mahiu residents rather than a supporting structure to them.

Conclusions

At the end of interviews and groups discussions, the research study, identified the following factors as the driving forces behind the conflict in the Mai Mahiu area; the scarcity of water, incitement by the local politicians, land ownership, livestock theft, pasture, biased administration, tribal hatred and misconception of government. The two major communities and others living in Mai Mahiu area reached at a consensus of that, there was a need of permanent conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu and entire Naivasha Division.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction

The purpose of the study was to investigate the causes and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu area in Nakuru district, Kenya the study was guided by the following objectives.

Firstly, to establish the root causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu. Secondly to assess the response to conflict in Mai Mahiu.

Thirdly, to find out conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu.

Both random and purposive sampling methods were used in the study. Random sampling method was used to sample respondents, in which case each had an equal and independent chance of being selected. Purposive sampling method was also used. Babbie defines purposive sampling as a form of non probability sampling method, in which the researcher used his or her judgment in the selection of sample members[174]. The method was preferred in the study since the respondents were felt to have the required information for the study. The data collected was coded and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The outcome of quantitative data from closed and ended questions were tabulated using tables frequencies and percentages.

The qualitative data generated from open-ended questions and interview schedules were placed in respective sections, categorized in themes in accordance with research objectives. They were reported in narrative form.

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[174] E. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, (New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), P.27.

5.1 The Findings

The findings of the study were presented in accordance with the research objectives: To establish the root causes of conflict in Mai Mahiu, the study found out that the research study revealed that the conflict in Mai Mahiu area, though resources based, is complex. From the foregoing, it becomes very clearly that the conflict in Mai Mahiu has roots going deep into the past as far as the pre-colonial times, while others are as recent as the change over from the Moi regime to the current NARC government. It is also clear that, though conflict over water could have fuelled the previous conflicts in the Mai Mahiu, land, from a variety of perspectives is seen to be the biggest issue in the area. Therefore, intervening by providing water to the two communities could only postpone the conflicts, but not solving the main problem.

To assess the responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu in area. Through the study findings, It has also become clear that no concerned efforts have been put on the ground either by the government, the civil society, the political elite and even the members of the two communities to resolve their problems in a structured way. Instead the few NGOs that have responded have addressed the symptoms rather than the root causes. The politicians have often taken advantage of the situation, while the government of the day has favoured one community against the other, depending on who is in power. However, during interviews, discussion and the survey respondents established that there have been some efforts to solve the conflict. Perception within the community about those who have intervened to solve the conflict indicated that they believed that politicians have contributed most to the peace efforts in the area. Others are local administration, religious organizations and leaders, members of the communities, police and armed forces, NGO's and other government agencies. Members of the two communities revealed that government officials, starting from the Minister for Internal Security, Parliamentary committee on security and justice, Rift Valley PC, Nakuru DC, Naivasha DO, the area chief and assistant chiefs have

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been holding several meetings with members of the two communities with the view to finding a lasting solutions to the conflict.

Nevertheless, most of the leaders from the Maasai community expressed skepticism that the current government could help them in any way. They also pointed out that it has never helped them in the past, but instead used police forces to kill their people. Members of the Kikuyu community claimed that in the first two conflicts the government of the day ignored them, but some members of the community were on the other hand full of praise for the current government. They argued that, that was the only time they ever saw the government acting with force to punish those participating in the conflicts. They stressed that if the government had not taken stern action, the conflicts could have caused un necessary damage of properties and loss of lives.

The government divided Mai Mahiu into two locations to make administration more easier. As new chief was appointed, the members of the Kikuyu community supported the government measures as a positive effort to solve their problem, whereas, members of the Maasai community saw it as increased marginalization of their community because they claimed that members of their community who had applied for the job were not considered even for interviews. On the other hand, the police force in the area has initiated measures to ensure lasting peace in the two communities. Such initiatives included, community policing, increased presence in terms of deployment and more accurate information gathering processes recruitment of informers in the two communities to monitor the situation and solve most of the problems before they burst out, and encouraging the local people to volunteer in giving out information, and establishment of more patrol bases in Mai Mahiu area and along the Maasai Kikuyu borders. Members of the police force also revealed that they have been taken to seminars that have prepared them to deal

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appropriately with issues of conflicts and human rights. Anti-stock theft police have also been deployed strategically in the area to deal with issues of livestock theft.

The study found that the local communities have been started. The two communities have made some tentative efforts to talk to each other. Trade and other joint activities have started flourishing again. Women have been active in the area in terms of looking for peace. The women from the Kikuyu community pointed out that they have been attending on inter-community meetings among the women. then meeting the women from the Maasai community. The women from the two communities have also attending peace seminars organized by church organizations. In Mai Mahiu area especially in Longonot, members of the community have reacted to the conflict by withdrawing from the farms, they used to cultivate. They have also created a security committee which usually met with the Maasai to agree on the boundaries between the two communities. They have also petitioned the government for an anti-stock-theft unit to be established within Mai Mahiu area. On the other side, members of the Maasai community argued that they have taken the initiatives towards solving the conflict through taking some farm cases to court; organizing CBOs with collaboration of Non Governmental Organization such as the world Indigenous people's Forum. Kenya land Alliance and Maa Civil Society Alliance.

During the study, it became clearly that there were no strong traditional conflict resolution mechanisms within and between the two communities. However, members of the Maasai community reported that they had councils of elders called "Rika", which helped to solve the conflicts arising with other communities. They further said that each Rika chooses its chief and decisions made by such Rikas were binding to all. During group discussions with members of the Kikuyu community, admitted that they had no any traditional conflict resolutions mechanism. They felt that such function should be taken by the community barazas, and churches. They pointed out that they tried to use the elders in

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their community to broke peace but their initiatives were ignored as the conflicts continued. They agreed that councils of elders do not command much authority any more in the Kikuyu community.

The study found out that the churches have contributed a lot to the well being of the local communities during and after the conflicts. For instance, the Anglican Church, African Inland Church (AIC), Kenya Assemblies of God (KAG), and the Catholic. Church assisted the displaced people from both communities with some of their immediate needs. However, members of the Maasai community complained that most of the relief assistance was concentrated on the Kikuyu side. There was also some report of elements of tribalism in the churches with some being seen as Kikuyu oriented, while others as pro-Maasai. For example, members of the Maasai community pointed out that AIC church in Mai Mahiu area is under Kijabe administrative area which is Kikuyu dominated area, and have tried to discourage members of the Maasai community from using its services.

The research study found out that National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), and the Catholic Church also organized a reconciliation workshop in Nakuru for religious leaders from both communities as a starting point for peace between the two communities. Even though the pastors who attended the workshop accepted to preach peace within their communities, the lack of commitment and funding, created less impact towards peace. Again, the study revealed that, the Kikuyu church leaders were not ready for any reconciliation as they felt that the government and powerful politicians from the area were on their side. The initiative was also said to have failed because the representative pastors from the Maasai side were from Narok and Kajiado and not indigenous to Mai Mahiu area.

The study established that the NGO's were limited, not so many NGOs have responded to the plight of the people living in Mai Mahiu area. Interviews with leaders of

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the two communities revealed, Rev T. D. Jakes ministries, Peace and Development Network and ASEN were the only two civil society organizations that had some structure engagement with members of both communities to bring peace amongst them. ASEN held peace and reconciliation workshops with members of both communities and planned to bring them together for further reconciliation when the time would be right. ASEN also taught members of the two communities about their right and the importance of respect for the law. Rev T. D. Jakes ministries did a lot of work, for example constructing water points for the two communities in Mai Mahiu area. The water point was significantly situated at the boundary between them two communities so that it could be a starting point for reconciliation between them. Other NGO's that were identified by members of the two communities to have assisted them were International Dispensaries Institute (IDI) from Netherlands and ICRC.

The study established that, there was a structured resettlement program only within the Kikuyu community. The community had set-set up a resettlement committee which comprises of representatives of the displaced persons, the area MP, councilor, chief and district officer. On the other side of Maasai community, members of the Kikuyu community interviewed claimed that the Maasai were not displaced because they are nomads. However, the Maasai revealed that they were displaced. They were bitter that they were not considered for relief even though they suffered huge losses when their Manyattas were burnt. They also claimed for unfairness in disbursement of the CDF and humanitarian relief. They insisted that Kikuyu community were much favoured, yet they too were constituents of Naivasha.

The research study established that the two communities shared a lot in terms of social amenities. The communalities between the two communities living in Mai Mahiu area could be used as starting points for further engagement between them in building

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peace and creating a good relationship between them. For example, intermarriage, hosting of Maasai as rate paying tenets and in exchange for manure, renting of pasture land by Maasai and the fact that they do business together were identified as some of the windows of opportunity for greater engagement. The children from the two communities share schools, residents share watering points, health facilities, roads, public vehicles and religious denominations. All these common sharing could be used to build a peaceful environment.

To find out conflict resolution in Mai Mahiu area ,the study established that Conflict resolution to be achieved in Mai Mahiu area, historical injustices with regard to land, dearth of land policy that ensures inequitable distribution, ownership and appropriate land use must be carefully addressed. However, land issue in Mai Mahiu is very sensitive, and not very many stakeholders, including the government, would like to initiate the issue of land. In Mai Mahiu, land issue is very complicated. For instance what would you do with the members of Maasai community whose grand parents were dispossessed of the land in Mai Mahiu, and then made to work on the farms occupied by the white settlers, but after attaining independence, they were never given an opportunity to buy the land of their grand parents, or alternatively surrender it to them. On the other hand, what about the members of the Kikuyu community who were also workers in those white farms and got the opportunity to buy the white land and are legal owners, with documentary evidence of right of ownership. In a such situations a middle ground that serves both parties, needs to be found because each community has genuine claim to the land in the area. The other problems related to land which came out clearly were the issues of absentee land lords and poor planning of land use by the land buying agents.

The study established how the Mai Mahiu conflict over resources could be destructive to all parties involved, especially when given ethno-political competition,

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which has been alive since independence, and has finally degenerated into discrimination and violence. Ever since the flawed general election triggered a wave of ethno-political violence. Many people have been violently driven from their homes and many are now resettling in ethnically homogenous zones. The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination comes into play when each region is identified with a certain ethnic group and whenever political misunderstandings emerge those who are identified as foreigners are always forced to go to their ancestral land.

Ethno-political violence is a deliberate political strategy by desperate ground intended to effect change in the political system that marginalizes them. The study revealed that the situation has emerged because of unequal distribution of land and other resources, unabated corruption at the national level, extreme poverty in rural areas and squatters, unemployment and irresponsible leadership. The situation is combined with the political unwillingness to address structural injustice. The inability to go beyond the ethnic framework has intensified the climate of political crisis.

The Mai Mahiu conflict also illustrates how conflict have caused loss of lives, destruction of property, wasting opportunities for the children for better future, shattering relationships that took many years to nurture perhaps for generations to come and generally the area lags behind in terms of development as other Kenyans march forward with their lives. Since the ultimate peace resides with the two communities they must be in the middle of the quest to find the solutions. Such as ways of forming inclusive structures of the common good, wealth distribution, and political consensus. Finally the government to address the fundamental inequalities that turned neighbour against neighbour and ethnic group against ethnic group for lasting peace.

5.2 Conclusions

The study revealed that Mai Mahiu conflicts had great impact to the communities living in Mai Mahiu area. The interviews with leaders from the two communities disclosed that many lives were lost during the Mai Mahiu conflicts. Administration police participated in killing people. Members of the two communities pointed out that the conflicts led to an upsurge of crime and uncertainty in the area. They claimed that youths took advantage of the conflicts to commit crimes like robbery and rape within their own community.

Interviews with leaders from the two communities revealed that each community felt that more of her people were displaced than the other. Homes were looted and burnt in both the Kikuyu and Maasai within the Mai Mahiu area. In the Kikuyu settlements, families were forced to evacuate due to the high insecurity. Thieves moved in to loot and vandalize the abandoned homes. Most families had to camp in schools and churches, while others to rent rooms in Mai Mahiu town.

Leaders in the two communities further claimed that education in Mai Mahiu area was adversely affected. Most of the pupils had to leave school because they were displaced together with their parents. Girls were largely affected, and most of them dropped out of school completely, while others transferred to other schools were security was guaranteed, the both primary and secondary schools were closed. Teachers and other school staff were forced to flee for their safety.

Members of both communities reported many losses of livestock just before, during and after the onset of the conflicts to the raiders and looters from the two communities. Some members of the Kikuyu community whose livestock were stolen are said to have been defeated to restock since the conflict. This has greatly accelerated the rise of poverty in the community. As the conflicts progressed, livestock theft and rusulting also

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increased. The two communities revealed that livestock trade in the area was greatly affected as livestock market were closed.

The study exposed that crop production were widely affected by the conflicts. The effects of the conflicts of farming started with the earlier conflicts in 1992 and 1997 mainly within the Kikuyu community, when many farmers were forced to abandon their crops due to insecurity in the area. Still some of the plots are vacant because the owners were displaced. Other farmers have rented out their plots due to persistent insecurity. While within the Maasai community, the little farming that were carrying out, prior to the conflicts had stopped, as they used to rely on labour from the Kikuyu community, the high insecurity in the areas of Maasai community, limited movement of the Kikuyu community.

Discussions with traders from the two communities revealed that the conflicts affected business in Mai Mahiu centers negatively. Circulation of money had gone down. The Kikuyu traders made huge losses during conflicts. Many shops and hotels were closed down due to the lack of business. The Maasai community experienced food shortage as the Kikuyu traders were their main suppliers of food. Sale of manure by the Maasai to the Kikuyu farm holders also suffered of food. Sale of manure by the Maasai to the Kikuyu farm holders also suffered a lot while road transport and curio industry that aimed at mainly tourists visiting the area came to a stand still.

Further discussions with the two communities revealed that the conflicts have tremendously pushed back development in the area. Poverty and HIV/AIDS have crept in. Many families have experienced sickness caused by exposure to the elements among the displaced during the conflicts, especially among the children. Members of the two communities, confirmed that provision of health services suffered a lot during the conflicts. The family units were destroyed, as parents were forced to separate. This have also impacted negatively on family values among the displaced families who were forced to live

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in rented single rooms in the towns. The cases of alcoholism and prostitution have increased in Mai Mahiu. Generally, women were also suffered a great deal, as they could not travel freely; some were widowed, while some suffered emotional disquiet. Relationship between the members of the two communities have been adversely affected.

5.3 Recommendations

The national concern over the adverse effects of conflict in Mai Mahiu area has been steadily increasing since mid 1990's. Initiatives to address the problem have had limited impact. Therefore one of the main objectives of the research study was to find out the possible lasting solution to the conflict in Mai Mahiu area. During discussions with groups and individuals from the two communities suggestions for conflict solutions were given out. The issues of absentee landlords and landlessness need to be addressed. This should be done through appropriate ways. There is need for government to allocate land to all landless squatters and IDPs created by the violence, making appropriate land policies, because poor land policies or lack of land policies leads to unjust allocation of land to individuals and this worsen the accessibility to land by the landless. Pending court cases on land in Mai Mahiu should be speeded up, including those to do with historical-injustice. Such new dispensation should include input from religious leaders, elders and elected elders.

The issue of title deeds, the leaders from the two communities pointed out that land owners in the area still lacked land title deeds making it difficult to lay legal claims over parcels of land. Therefore there is need for the government to speed up the issuance of land title deeds as one way of clearing or dealing with many of the disputes over land, so that the rightful owners could fence the land off and the squatters to be identified. Also there is need for government to protect private rights over land.

In addressing land issues, all land which was allocated to public officials, members of parliament, area councilors and other undeserving people, from Kenyatta government up to the current government should be revoked and re-allocated. Further investigation and prosecution of all officials who performed the illegal allocation of land. The government should come up with a comprehensive redress of land issue through setting up a sessional paper setting out objectives, policy guidelines for establishment, allocation and management of settlement schemes, which would then be anchored into an act of parliament.

Further the principles of land policy should be introduced based on; land in Kenya should be held ,used and managed in a manner that is equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable, and in accordance with the following principles; equitable access to land, security of land rights, sustainable and productive management of land resources, transparent and cost effective administrative of land, sound conservation and protection of ecologically sensitive areas, elimination of gender discrimination in law , customs and practices related to land and property in land, and encouragement of communities to settle land disputes through recognized local community initiatives consisted with constitution.

There is also a need for establishing the National Land Commission (NLC), whose functions would be; to manage public land on behalf of the national and county governments, to recommend a national land police to the national government, to advise the national government on a comprehensive programme for the registration of title in land throughout Kenya. This would be one way of checking land corruption which leads to conflicts. NLC, also would initiate investigations, on its own initiative or on a complaint, into present or historical land injustices, and recommend appropriate redress. The cases of Mai Mahiu historical land injustices could be handled properly than in the court.

The NLC, would encourage the application of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms in land conflicts. The lack of traditional dispute resolution in Mai Mahiu area has been fuelling conflicts between the two communities. The NLC, would also assess tax on land and premiums on immovable property in any designated by land, and to monitor and have oversight responsibilities over land use planning though out the country. This would be one way of discouraging the issues of absentee land lords.

There is high need of demarcation of clear boundaries. The government should decide on a clear boundaries between the two communities living in Mai Mahiu area. Clarifying the areas within which each community could graze in, and enforce strict orders on trespassers. The demarcation of boundaries should be done by the government in consultation with selected members from both communities. Equitable land demarcation of land should be ensured by the government and the members of community, and landowners should be allowed to fence their plots to avoid attracting the herders. Clear paths should be well demarcated to be used by the herders, when taking their animals to the river or water points. Security is very important in Mai Mahiu area. There is a need to beef up security in the area. The number of administration and regular polices in the area should be increased in order to bring services nearer to the people. More police posts should be established. More local informers should be recruited from both communities. The number of anti-stock theft forces should be increased especially along the boundaries of the Maasai and Kikuyu communities. They should improve on their ability to monitoring insecurity; enforce laws on trespass and livestock. More anti-stock theft posts, should be built at the boundaries between the two communities.

General security, in Mai Mahiu area; security is a state of affairs whereby the resident population in a given area can live free of fear of being harassed, injured, kidnapped, forced against their will, or even killed by armed individuals and groups.

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Therefore in Mai Mahiu area, there is need for improving local police service delivery through a shift from reactive to proactive policing. The police will be piloting new protocols based on professional best practices in selected areas. Improving crime reporting procedures as a service objective to the victim; increasing training in investigation techniques for the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), providing better equipment and technical assistance, to increase intelligence led investigations of crime. There is also need in enhancing police motivation by strengthening the police code of conduct and ethics, and its implementation, reviewing the salary scales and ensuring promotions on merit according to a clear and appropriate scheme of service; enhancing public access to the police through the establishment of community-based police services. This will also include a review of the number and distribution of police stations and posts throughout the district, and establishment of special desks to deal with special and vulnerable groups, and also developing a community policing strategy, to complement police efforts towards improving security and as part of the adoption of a new approach to policing.

Further police service need or should strive for the highest standards of professionalism and discipline among its members; prevent corruption and promote and practice transparency and accountability. They is also need to comply with constitutional standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms; should be trained staff to the highest possible standards of competence and integrity and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms and dignity, as the kind of training Kenya police officers undergo is not based on respect of human rights and fundamental freedom and dignity. The training encourages unfriendly relationship with the community. In the community police officers are seen as enemies. Modern and civilized training of police officers is very important as much of Kenya police training based on colonial training practices, which were

dehumanizing. Therefore civilized training would foster and promote relationships with the broader society.

The local politicians, both councilors and members of parliament should stop their practices of issuing inflammatory statements, use of propagandas, making false and unrealistic promises, especially when general elections are due. The legal action should be taken against those local politicians, known for advocating for tribal hatreds or guilty of gross human rights violations through supporting militia groups. The politicians should examine the causes of the conflicts and see how to settle them.

Provide water to the residents in the area because providing water to both communities would be one way of bringing permanent solutions to the conflicts. There is high need to drill more boreholes, constructing many dams, and even increasing water pipes and water points, to serve people especially during the dry seasons. Provision of water in Mai Mahiu will end water conflict as it has been claimed by the Maasai community and bring peace within the two communities.

Advocate for human rights, justice, peace and reconciliation, Non Governmental Organizations, especially religious organizations in collaboration with government should make human rights, justice and reconciliation information and education accessible to all people in the area through the use of local languages and including in school curricula. Activities in the area by religious groups could heal the two communities spiritually. The rights of education should be provided to both communities, which should not be done only after the conflicts but even before and at all times.

There is need to initiate inter community meetings, as they are very important in bringing peace. The inter-community meetings should be regular, but must start with inter-community meetings and as many members of the two communities as possible. They should be encouraged to participate because it is the people themselves in terms of villagers

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that could help. The people could then be encouraged to develop culture of sharing and discard prejudice about other communities.

Encourage the communities to discard retrogressive cultural traits. Retrogressive cultural values and attitudes held by the two communities on land, cattle keeping and farming methods among others should be consciously discouraged and cultural re-engineering based on the current realities should be encouraged in their place. Building of more modern schools in the area could help. Prejudice about neighboring communities should also be discouraged. The issue of administration need to be handled carefully. There has been a problem with local administration where the chief area was seen to favour his community. To reduce the tribal tension, the administrator in the area should be as neutral as possible-possibly a non-Kikuyu or non Maasai. Alternatively there should be representative from both communities for each of them to feel that they are included in the administration. With those recommendations, the most for brining permanent conflict resolution is establishment of peace building. Peace building is a long term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt-peace building include early warming and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones. Peace building has four elements of peace building; first is a process that facilities the establishment of sustainable or durable peace, secondly, peace building seeks to prevent recurrence of conflict by addressing its roots causes, thirdly, peace building seeks to deal with the effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation and fourthly, the central task of peace building is to create a 'stable social equilibrium where in the surfacing new disputes does not spiral into violence and war. Therefore in Mai Mahiu area permanent peace can only be achieved through initiative of peace-building.

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SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

In the interest of confidentiality, do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I kindly request you to complete this questionnaire seeking information that will assist me in my research. The objective of the study is to establish **"the causes and responses to conflict in Mai Mahiu in the period between 2005 and 2009"**

The questionnaire is in two parts and has 20 questions

Instructions on how to complete is given for each question, it will take about twenty minutes to complete.

PART A: INFORMATION ON YOUR PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES.

1. This question seeks to find a suitable description for current occupation. Please tick the appropriate box

Student	Employee	Farmer	Business	None

Other specify

2. If you indicate employee, please comment about your current employment position

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3 Please indicate by a tick in the appropriate box, the total number of years that you have

been here (Mai Mahiu)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
0-5 Years	6-15 Years	16-25 Years	26-35 Years	36-45 Years	Over 46 Years

4. Please tick the box that best corresponds to your highest level of education achievement.

		Please tick here
i)	Primary	
ii)	Secondary	
iii)	Tertiary	
iv)	University degree	
v)	University degree and above	

5. Please indicate your age group in years by ticking in the appropriate box below.

Code	Age in years	Please tick here
i)	18-30	
ii)	30-45	
iii)	45-60	
iv)	60+	

6. Please tick the appropriate box for your gender

Code	Gender	Please tick here
i)	Male	
ii)	Female	

7. Please indicate your marital status by ticking in the appropriate box below.

Code	Marital Status Categories	Please tick here
i)	Single	
ii)	Married	
iii)	Divorced/separate	
iv)	Widowed	

8. This question seeks to obtain information about your background, where you were born. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Place of Birth	Please tick here
i)	Outside Kenya	
ii)	Nairobi Province	
iii)	Central Province	
iv)	Coast Province	
v)	Eastern Province	
vi)	North Eastern Province	
vii)	Nyanza Province	
viii)	Rift Valley Province	
ix)	Western Province	

9. This question seeks information about your religion. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Religion	Please tick here
i)	Protestant/Evangelical	
ii)	Catholic	
iii)	Muslim	
iv)	Indigenous Beliefs	
v)	Others	

10. This question seeks information about your living between the period 2005 and 2009, where have you been living. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Place of childhood (first 15 years)	Tick here
i)	Outside Kenya	
ii)	Nairobi Province	
iii)	Central Province	
iv)	Coast Province	
v)	Eastern Province	
vi)	North Eastern Province	
vii)	Nyanza Province	
viii)	Rift Valley Province	
ix)	Western Province	

PART B: INFORMATION ON CONFLICTS AND RESPONSES TO CONFLICT

11. This question seeks information about Mai Mahiu conflicts.
In your opinion, what were the root causes of the Mai Mahiu conflict

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12. Is the conflict really over now? 13. Is there a solution to these issues?

14. Who were responsible for all that fighting?

15. Who were fighting in the conflict?

16. This question seeks information about responses to conflicts in Mai Mahiu area. How could you comment about responses to conflicts in Mai Mahiu

Code	Responses	Please tick here
i)	Very good	
ii)	Good	
iii)	Fair	
iv)	None	

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If you indicate very good or good or fair or none, please comment about what drives your choice

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17. Do you know people or group or organization involved in bringing peace.

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18. Please could you list the organization

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19. How did the conflict affect you?

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20. Could you give an account of effects of the conflict, especially on Mai Mahiu residents.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation, I greatly appreciate your assistance in advancing this research endeavour.

Manuel M. Mutio
Masters Candidate
Reg. No. R50/71857/2008

End