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INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE AMONG THE LUO, THE KIPSIGIS AND THE KISII IN SONDU AREA IN KENYA "

BY:

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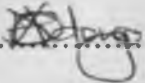
DECLARATION

I Dorine Achieng Odongo do declare that the paper is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any university.

Signed...................................... Date....11TH NOV 2011.....

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This paper was submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my beloved dad, Rev. Richard Odongo and mum, Mrs. Dorcilla Odongo whose moral and financial support and encouragement was without measure.

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Pius Mutie for his tireless effort, motivation and advice without which this research would not have been completed.

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Abstract

Daily interaction of society members in a given locality is based on their level of acceptance and recognition of one another as distinct and unique individuals. Interethnic coexistence refers to the existence of different ethnic groups in the same place with the aim of achieving a well defined goal harmoniously.

The study revolved around Sondu area which is a cosmopolitan region covering three districts namely: - South Nyakach, Kericho West and Nyamira districts. These districts are mainly populated by the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii ethnic groups who usually converge in 'Sondu' to do business. Sondu is well known for its booming trading market which attracts many people from both Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces. Sondu area is also known for its incidences of conflict which occur mainly during national general elections when ethnic animosity is ignited among the ethnic groups that reside in the region. However, apart from these occasional ethnic skirmishes, there is a remarked harmonious living which is interestingly important.

The study focused on assessing the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii who comprise the major occupants of Sondu in embracing community cohesiveness and improved communication between the coexisting ethnic groups. The study was guided by four objectives, namely: to determine how the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo perceive one another; to identify the underlying contributions to coexistence among the groups; to investigate the causes and nature of interethnic conflicts among the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo and to assess how the interethnic conflicts are resolved. Care was taken to ensure representation thus both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used. A sample size of 150 households was randomly picked from the region. To ensure ethnic representation, 50 individuals from each ethnic group were randomly picked and were interviewed on a face to face interview using a structured questionnaire. Key informant interviews and focus group discussions were also used to fill in the knowledge gap, thus six key informants who were purposively selected to participate in the study included the DO, Community policing chairperson, CBO chairman, DPC secretary, school head and retired civil servant. Focus group discussion was conducted with nine community elders randomly selected using focus group discussion guide.

The target population involved both adults and youths with special attention given to gender representation thus 63.3% of men and 36.7% of women were interviewed. Majority of the respondents interviewed fell under the age category of 31-40 years of age.

After data collection, the raw data was computed using SPSS and this led to derivation of descriptive statistics highlighted in percentages, frequency distribution tables, cross tabulations and pie charts.

The findings of the study revealed that ethnic perception revolves around stereotyping. Positive stereotyping strengthens the intergroup relations and thus societal cohesiveness. On the other hand, negative stereotyping was seen to create ethnic animosity thus perception of the other ethnic groups as enemies. In identifying the underlying contributions to coexistence among the groups, the findings revealed business engagements and farming as the major activities shared by the ethnic groups that promote interethnic coexistence. Intermarriages, sports, cultural gatherings like weddings and funerals and circumcision were some of the intercultural activities mentioned.

Investigation of the causes and nature of interethnic conflicts among the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii revealed that the main causes of these conflicts are greatly attributed to politics, competition over scarce resources and cattle rustling. Other factors include stereotyping and ideological differences. Interethnic conflicts are resolved mainly by diplomatic methods including; negotiation, reconciliation, and joint participation in social and sporting activities.

It has been recommended that the community should engage in sports and entertainment programs as they act as a uniting factor by bringing about positive competition among the different ethnic group members. These activities also enable the participants to learn about each others' culture thereby leading to cultural pluralism and respect of each others' culture. It is also recommended that the government should introduce inter-cultural centers to promote local tourism. At the same time, the government should intensify its role in conflict resolution and management operations through popular participation and equal in distribution of resources. The NGOs, on the other hand, have the task of committing themselves to community sensitization and funding of vocational trainings to empower the youths. Funding vocational trainings may capture minds, which if left idle would engage in illegal activities related to chaos and conflict instigation.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The role of culture within the realm of human existence has received criticism from different personalities in the society. This has been as a result of increased globalization, migration and technological advancement which are seen to be eroding cultural beliefs. Culture describes the many ways in which human beings express themselves for the purposes of uniting with others, forming a group, defining an identity and distinguishing themselves as unique. Ethnicity, which refers to membership in a particular cultural group, is defined by shared cultural practices. It is evident that people can share an ethnic identity but are of different nationalities as the case for Turkish citizens of Turkey and Turkish citizens in Germany. On the other hand, people can share the same nationality but have different ethnic groups, as the case in Kenya.

The relationships that exist between kinsmen and members of one's ethnic groups are still cherished by many Africans. It is evident that when people living side by side share the same pool of symbols and grow together in the same community, experiencing similar socialization processes, they are exposed to the same world view and in turn helps in ethnic identity. This is why in most cases ethnic groups are found to be staying together in isolation with other groups. Similar to what Otite (1994) termed as civilization, Africa provided some of the earliest forms of human organization and several centers of ancient civilization. For instance, giving an example of Egypt, Otite explained that Africans embraced a moral attitude to material wealth, display of brotherly concern for one another, denunciation of extreme individualism and the prosperity and harmony of society (Otite, 1994).

Kenya as a nation is a multi-ethnic community, which provides for "unity in diversity". It has 42 ethnic groups of which the five major ones are: Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, Kalenjin and Luhya. The smaller tribes include Ogiek and Njemps.

Ethnicity in Kenya has taken a centre stage to the extent that it has become headlines to the local broadcast. It has generally been on the increase and its massive effects are manifested through underdevelopment and sometimes ethnic- related conflicts. Faced with economic recession, occasioned by post election violence of 2008 in which food prices sharply increased and stayed there, many rural folk came face to face with starvation. However, looking at the situations in other African states including the Burundian genocide, Rwandan ethnic cleansing, recurring ethnic tensions in Nigeria and wars in Somalia, it is evident that Kenya has indeed remained stable amidst these ethnic turmoil and conflict and continue to hosts a large number of refugees from many African states.

Different ethnic groups have realized that there is no need to continue with this kind of ethnic rivalry and have in turn resorted to working together towards a common goal of developing each other in a synergetic relationship; this has led to massive sustainable development in areas where interethnic coexistence is welcomed. For a community to be termed as experiencing harmonious coexistence, the members should appreciate nonviolence that is they must try to avoid as much as possible violent ways of confrontations and to choose peaceful means to achieve their goals. At the same time, there is need to recognize the existence of other group with its differences. Personalization of the members of the other group, viewing them as humane individuals and treatment of the other group without superiority also indicate that the community are coexisting harmoniously (Bar-Tal, 2004).

Achievement of coexistence is not an obvious or required step. Groups may stay in conflict for decades and even centuries. They may discriminate and exploit for many years and even when the ideas of coexistence appear, they are not automatically accepted. On the contrary, they are very often met with resistance and objection thus; society members have to support the efforts of realizing coexistence if it is to succeed. Bar-Tal (2004) commented that the coexistence processes have to be transmitted and disseminated to society members who must be exposed to them and be motivated to learn them. Once society members are persuaded in the viability of coexistence ideas, they must then acquire them and internalize them thus leading to change of beliefs, attitudes, emotions and behaviors.

Sondu is a cosmopolitan region comprising of three districts namely; South Nyakach, Kericho West and Nyamira districts, this is significant to the ethnic groups that live in these districts to be the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii respectively, thus these are the description of these three ethnic groups: The Luo belong to the Nilotic peoples of East and Central Africa and they migrated from the Bahr al-Ghazal region of Sudan. The Luo are primarily cattle herders even though they till the land to produce food supply. At the same time, large populations of Luo people rely on fishing as their means of production. The indigenous language of the Luo is referred to as *'Dholuo'*. The Kipsigis on the other hand, are the sub-tribe of Kalenjin community which are Nilotes with its origin being *"To,"* believed to be located near Lake Baringo. They are cattle-raising people with traces of cultivation of food and cash crops including tea and coffee. At the same time, trading milk and livestock has been witnessed among this group. They speak *'Kipsigis'* language. The Kisii on the other hand are Western Bantus who mainly settled in the Kisii highlands. They practice both farming and herding which supplement one another. At the same time, the Kisii are good in businesses such as transport. The indigenous language of the Kisii is *'Gusii'*. These groups though distinct on the basis of language, modes of subsistence and culture, and although they consider themselves as rivals and have strained relations based on competition over scarce resources, political powers and borders; they still embrace coexistence.

The interethnic coexistence of these diverse ethnic groups is highly influenced by migration, increased globalization and technological advancement which have been seen to be eroding cultural differences. According to the Africa Watch (1993) the coexistence of the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo in Sondu area can be traced back to before colonialism where the pastoral Kalenjin and the Maasai inhabited the Rift Valley area. However, in1915, British colonialists forced pastoral groups off the land so they could develop the area agriculturally by planting cash crops like tea and coffee. This is because Sondu lies within the highlands making it suitable for farming. The colonialists coerced thousands of the Kikuyu, the Kisii, the Luhya and the Luo which were all experienced farmers to move to the Rift Valley to work on the farms as share croppers.

In recent years, migration of different ethnic groups to Sondu area has been influenced by the economic imperatives which are driving these groups to work together and minimize their difference and sensitivities. For instance, maize and pulses produced in the region have provided

sustained food security for a rapidly growing population that it is a rendezvous for the three ethnic groups explaining why Sondu market has been thriving on the sale of agricultural produce as well as livestock (Oucho, 2002:82).

Sondu is located within the border of Nyanza and Rift Valley province, thus making these groups to share political border which stands as an interface of social, cultural, economic and political continuities and discontinuities. With this, it is strikingly interesting that this community comprising of three different ethnic groups remains harmonious most of the time. Life goes on just as it is in other communities consisting of only one ethnic group. Besides their distinctions, people in this region have adopted and welcomed other groups' culture. For instance, a bigger proportion of residents are conversant with the three indigenous languages making communication easier especially in the market place where they conduct cross ethnic transactions.

Education sector has promoted interethnic coexistence in this region. The schools populations comprise of different ethnic groups, both the teachers and students. Social interactions in school activities like sports and festivals like music and drama festivals have also promoted the level of coexisting with different ethnic groups. For instance, an article by Kenan Miruka (The Standard, June 15, 2011:35) indicated that Kiswahili language can be used to promote coexistence. Miruka stated that the Kiswahili symposium was mooted after the 2008 post poll chaos to bring together students from communities that clashed in Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces. At the same time, a growing better educated and informed people have realized the impacts of ethnic conflicts and thus have led to the harmonious coexistence in Sondu. According to Putnam (2000), social capital shapes child development. He argued that Trust, Networks and Norms of reciprocity within a child's family, school, peer group and larger community have far reaching effects on their opportunities and choices and this develops ones behavior and development. Vogt and Stephan (2004) argued that education can improve intergroup relations among students. The authors argued that today, increased social and cultural diversity, combined with better communications, bring different people together to an extent never before seen in human history. Intergroup relations are the key to deriving the benefits of diversity and avoiding its perils.

Similar to the documented happenings in Malaysia which has multiple ethnic groups including Orang, Asli, Sabah and Sarawak natives plus the Malaysian Thai amongst others, the Sondu residents also practice tolerance and accept the plurality of culture and the way of life, and they are not stressed out from the ethnic coexistence.

The fact that people live close to one another does not necessarily mean that they have much to do with each other (Lee and Newby, 1983). There may be little interaction between the neighbors and this brings about the concept of conflict among coexisting groups. Conflict is an evitable aspect of human coexistence and as Dahrendorf (1968) puts it that 'we have good reason to be suspicious if we find a society or social organization that displays no evidence of social conflict'. Guided by this thinking, the concept of conflict in this study is discussed as an integral part of interethnic coexistence.

Achieving coexistence in a society experiencing conflict is impossible unless the conflict is resolved. Kriesberg (1998) argued that coexistence is a situation of resolved conflicts. Similarly, Bar-Tal (2004) commented that acts like agreement on ceasefire, negotiations, *conflict resolution* or changes of law are important parts of coexistence. The most effective form of conflict resolution is identification of the underlying causes of the conflict and addressing them through solutions that are mutually satisfactory, self perpetuating and sustaining including cooperation, non- confrontation, non -competition and positive sum- orientation. As King (1963) puts it, 'we must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence', this paper therefore focuses on conflict resolution as an integral part of interethnic coexistence.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Authors in the *Handbook of interethnic coexistence* (1998) including Kriesberg and Weiner argued that coexistence means a wide range of relationships excluding ones characterized by overt struggle or relations between persons or groups in which none of the parties is trying to destroy the other. According to these authors, interethnic coexistence excludes violent conflicts but may be restored after conflict. My study tends to differ with this ideology and argue that for complete interethnic coexistence to be achieved there has to be conflicts, which are later resolved leading to coexistence. According to my point of view, conflict is considered as part of the coexistence process, that is, it is unlikely to find a multiethnic society where members coexist peacefully and do not engage in conflicting situations such as competition over resources, which might lead to conflicts.

Quoting Weiner (1998b) in his article, Bar-Tal (2004) stated that coexistence belongs to the category of minimal positive intergroup relations and applies mainly to a situation of relations between two societies living in two different states following an intractable conflict. This however I believe is quite limiting in that in many cases there is a situation in which two or even more ethnic groups live in the same place and they coexist peacefully. Giving an example of my study population which involve three ethnic groups living in the same place and even though they are faced with conflicting situation, they still manage to live peaceful life. In the same note, Mutie (2003) in his PhD thesis discussed the interethnic coexistence between the Maasai and the Kamba. This partly shows that little work has been done on interethnic coexistence among more than two ethnic groups.

Since independence, Kenyan politics has been along ethnic or tribal lines. Voting patterns for presidential candidates for the general elections were purely tribal, this is evident in the Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes where ethnicity played important role. Tribal politics have since heightened with the mentioning of the six suspects of post election violence and this, as seen in the local media, has increased the animosity and tension between the Kipsigis and the Luo politicians as well as citizens. It is quite interesting that all these political turmoil have not affected the nature of living in Sondu where the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii still live side by

side with each other harmoniously. It is still unclear as to what makes these groups to live harmoniously with each other, thus my quest to study how the groups manage to coexist.

Coexistence is not a very popular concept among social and educational scientists in the world; therefore, it is seldom used in comparison to other concepts describing positive intergroup relations (Weiner, 1998b). According to my view, coexistence should be seen as an important concept in the lexicon of intergroup relations indicating significance progress in comparison to past negative relations. Furthermore, more studies have been documented on what keeps groups apart than on what keeps them together.

It is still unclear as to what causes interethnic conflicts in Sondu. Based on Akiwumi report, ethnic clashes are caused by conflict over land, cattle rustling, political differences, ecological reasons and *'Majimboism'*. I believe that this is limited and thus I will try to look into other causes of ethnic clashes or conflicts such as cultural difference.

Ethnicity as a factor in the study of underdevelopment has been ignored by many social science theorists (Bradshaw & Wallace 1996: 54). Thus, according to these authors, in the pursuit of answers to explain global inequality, especially third world poverty, little has been done in this regard, thus my study will tend to look at ethnicity as a source of underdevelopment in our communities.

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1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

i. How do the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii perceive one another?
ii. What makes it possible for the three ethnic groups to coexist?
iii. What are the causes and nature of interethnic conflicts?
iv. How are the interethnic conflicts resolved?

1.4 Study Objectives

1.4.1 Main objectives

The general aim of the study was to assess the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii

1.4.2 Specific objectives

1. To determine how the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii perceive one another.
2. To identify the underlying contributions to coexistence among the groups.
3. To investigate the causes and nature of interethnic conflicts among the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii.
4. To assess how the interethnic conflicts are resolved.

1.5 Study Justification

Due to limited mechanisms in dealing with the issue of ethnicity, this study finding are hoped to contribute in forming policies on how to harness ethnic cultures to bring about harmonious coexistence which in turn will lead to development. The study will also fill in the knowledge gap on the impact of interethnic coexistence to development, which is still at a record low presently.

The study will be useful to all stakeholders in poverty eradication efforts, in that most poverty alleviation programs to-date, emphasize the adoption of capitalistic value orientations such as improved technology, availability of capital and credit facilities. These values have

largely been imposed on traditional ethnic values without an understanding of their interplay on the traditional value held by the people (Mbithi, 1974).

This study is viable as it establishes whether government exercise influence of participation in programs that foster coexistence among different ethnic communities. The study will help the government design culturally, morally and scientifically acceptable ethnic education program for the young people. It will also strengthen the capacity of teachers, parents, church leaders, and communities in general to enable them lead and educate young people about coexistence and provide good role models for them. Thus, a study of this kind is hoped to provide a practical approach to curb ethnic animosity and related underdevelopment. Causes of interethnic conflict are unclear, thus it would be theoretically and empirically interesting to find out what keeps potentially hostile groups peaceful.

Given the effect of conflict on women, it makes sense that meaningful management of conflict should include a significant role of women. Conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives have not included gender perspective thus need for inclusion of gender perspective into conflict resolution and peace-building.

This study is hoped to embrace community cohesiveness and improved communication between the three tribes. At the same time it is aimed to reduce animist and build trust in each other. It is still unclear as to which methods can be adopted to foster equitable coexistence. Thus, this study was able to identify these methods and their contribution to coexistence. At the same time, empirical literature on interethnic coexistence is scarce and there is little evidence of the existence of prior research on the subject. There seems to be mere explanations as to what keeps groups apart than to what keeps them together.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the interethnic coexistence of the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii communities collectively participating in realizing harmony and development. This study focused on determining how the three groups perceive one another, identifying what makes it possible for them to coexist peacefully, investigating the causes and nature of conflict and

assessing how the groups resolve these conflicts. In the process, it involved a lot of flow of information tested to prove its accuracy and reliability.

The study population were the youths, elderly both men and women, performing different status roles within their communities. During the study, I encountered difficulties in getting appointments because some of the respondents had busy schedules especially the provincial administration like the DC, DO and the chiefs and even politicians. At the same time, most respondents could not be found because they were out on personal business; this was contributed to by the market days which are three days in a week forcing the researcher to reschedule the visits. Language problem cropped up and the researcher had to seek for the help of a translator. It is important to note that, my generalization was limited to Sondu area. This is because I was not able to spread out my study and therefore my conclusions and recommendations are applicable to Sondu area or any other area where different ethnic groups coexist and exhibit identical problems.

1.7 Definition of terms
1.7.1 Ethnic group

British sociologist Anthony D. Smith (1991) defined an ethnic group in connection with ethnic communities. He gave the group's name, beliefs and myths regarding common ancestors, a historical memory, and a common culture, emotional attachment to a certain territory and a consciousness or identity of belonging together that objectively separated ethnic community from ethnic category.

Alba (1985) defined ethnic group as a human group that entertains a subjective belief in its common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both because of memories of colonization and migration. In my study, I will embrace the definition of ethnic group to refer to individuals who share a common cultural background and a common sense of identity.

1.7.2   Interethnic coexistence

Weiner gives an elementary definition of coexistence: "To exist together, in conjunction with, at the same time, in the same place with another" (1998: 14). Thus, interethnic coexistence refers to the existence of different ethnic groups in the same place with one another working together to build each other. Bar-Tal (2004) defined coexistence to refer to the conditions that serve as the fundamental prerequisites for the evolvement of advanced harmonious intergroup relations.

1.7.3   Ethnic conflict

Gilley (2004:1160) defined ethnic conflict as sustained and violent conflict by ethnically distinct actors in which the issue is integral to one's ethnicity. According to Goude, Conflict is a way of expressing discomfort. Scarce resources like land, institutions, infrastructure and even power cause interethnic conflict; this is what is termed as structural conflict by Moore (1996). In his book, *Racial and Ethnic Competition*, (1983), Wood noted that conflicts are common where resources are limited and demand is high (1993: 84)

1.7.4   Intractable conflict

Conflicts that go on for many years, are intense and violent, and thus necessarily lead to deep animosity between groups or societies (Bar-Tal, 1998; Kriesberg, 1998a). An example is the Israeli-Arab conflict which has lasted many decades and which is violent with a high degree of involvement by society members.

1.7.5   Tractable conflicts

Conflicts that are temporary touch on unimportant issues and are resolved with institutionalized means.

1.7.6   Conflict resolution

Miller (2005:25) defined conflict resolution as a variety of approaches aimed at resolving conflicts through the constructive solving of problems distinct from the management or

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transformation of conflict. He stated that conflict resolution is multifaceted in that it refers to a process, a result and an identified field of academic study as well as an activity in which persons and communities engages everyday without ever using the term.

1.7.7 Conflict management

Refers to interventionist efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially, violent ones, of ongoing conflicts (Miller, 2005:23).

1.7.8 Stereotypes

Generalizations or assumptions that people make about the characteristics of all members of a group, based on an image about what people in that group are like.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Babbie (1995) argues that every research should be placed in the context of the general body of specific knowledge and that it is important to indicate where the research fits in the whole picture. In the quest to find out the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii, this paper tends to highlight key topics that illuminates the nature of relationships between the groups. An understanding of the concept of ethnicity, definitions of ethnic groups with clear historical backgrounds of the three ethnic groups are elaborated; meaning of interethnic coexistence and an understanding of the concept of interethnic conflicts are given. At the same time, historical causes of ethnic conflicts and an overview of the 1992 Rift Valley land clashes are highlighted. Finally, ways of conflict resolution and management strategies are discussed.

2.2 Concept of ethnicity

Ethnicity as a broad concept has been discussed by different authors to mean different things based on the subject of the study or faculty. According to Petersen (1980: 235), Ethnicity can be defined as the set of cultural characteristics that distinguishes one group from another group. Cultural characteristics like national origin, language, customs and values, religion have been used to distinguish one ethnic group with another. Biological connotation sometimes adheres still to 'ethnic'. Makoloo (2005) stated that ethnicity is often used to refer to the expression of the belief of 'difference', often suggestive of the superiority of one's own ethnic group over another.

According to Weber (1978:389) a group can be characterized by sharing beliefs and common descent. Political community also inspires the belief in common ethnicity. Weber argued that when groups of people share a common belief and descent, then definitely they are similar in kind.

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Otite, a professor of Sociology at the university of Ibadan in its publication on the *"cultivating the positive side of ethnicity"*, argues that ethnicity derives from the exploitation of a consciousness of cultural difference. He sees ethnicity as a social device for detecting the imperfections and weaknesses of the complex society. Basing his study on ethnic groups in Nigeria, Professor Otite argued that ethnicity must be utilized as an instrument for organizing and empowering minority ethnic groups to make their own contributions and exert their own claims on the scarce assets and resources of the state.

Weber in his book *Economy and Society* saw shared beliefs and common descent as key characteristics of an ethnic group or race. In his view, the political community inspires the belief in common ethnicity (1978: 389). In his definition, sharing a common background is seen as the basis for collective identity and togetherness.

In Kenya, it has taken the form of the '*ethnification* of political and economic processes' meaning people are made to treat ethnicity as increasingly relevant to their personal and collective choices in terms of choice of candidate during elections, investment, residence and even social interaction such as marriages. Makoloo (2005) stated political opportunity afforded by ethnic networks is easily exploited for political support.

Ochwada (2002) stated that ethnicity has come to play an important role in generating conflicts or clashes. He stated that the politicization and manipulation of ethnicity in order to have access to, and control of state apparatuses reached a disturbing point in the early to mid 1990s.

2.3 What are ethnic groups?

Back in the 19th Century, Kenya was stateless. Its people ethnicity and civility was shaped by their subsistence: farming, herding or a mixture of both. These ethnic groups were not tribes. Ethnic groups were constituted more by internal debate over how to achieve honor in the unequal lives of patron or client, than by solidarity against strangers. This inter-ethnicity was facilitated by the absence of central power, thus sustaining tribal rivalry.

Smith (1991:21) identified six criteria for the formation of the ethnic group as:

i. Ethnic group must have a name in order to develop collective identity
ii. The people in the ethnic group must believe in a common ancestry
iii. Members of the ethnic group must share myths (share historical memories)
iv. Ethnic group must feel an attachment to a specific territory that is, association with a specific homeland
v. Ethnic group must be aware of their ethnicity that is, have a sense of their common solidarity for significant sectors of the population
vi. Ethnic group must share one or more differentiating elements of culture based on language, religion, traditions, customs, laws, architecture and institutions

In this sense, Smith defined ethnic group in form of ethnic community as a named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements, a link with an historic territory and a measure of solidarity.

Studies have indicated that different people tend to coexist or live with other ethnic groups harmoniously when they embrace tolerance, reciprocity and trust. Walzer (1997:11) stated that tolerance which is openness to others and willingness to listen and learn is more important when living with other people in the same locality. On the other hand, Putnam (2000) stated that reciprocity in the short run brings about altruism and in the long run self –interest. At the same time, the confident expectation that people, institutions and things will act in a consistent, honest and appropriate way is essential if communities are to flourish. Social trust according to Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1990, allows people to cooperate and develop. Whether people are disposed to engage with one another is dependent upon the norms of a particular society or community and the extent to which de Tocqueville (1994:287) term as 'habits of the heart'. Interethnic coexistence has been observed to enhance the quality of social networks, building communities to commit themselves to each other and to knit the social fabric (Beem 1999:20).

My study focused on three ethnic groups including: the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii that coexist alongside each other in Sondu area. These are the detailed description of the groups.

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2.3.1   The Kipsigis

The Kipsigis is a sub-tribe of Kalenjin community and are the largest Kalenjin population. Kipsigis is a tonal language, classified as Nilotic with its origin from *"To"* believe to be located near Lake Baringo. According to Liyong T.L (1972), the Kipsigis displaced the Luo, Kisii and Maasai, and they called these people *"puniik"* meaning *"enemies"* or *"strangers"* and currently they are their neighbors to the West and South.

The relationship between the Kipsigis and the Luo was mainly hostile relationship frequented with cattle raids and fight for grazing land. Recalling back in 1992, there were frequent cattle raids between the Kipsigis neighboring Luo in Muhoroni District. Thus, they were nicknamed *"onjelo kwalo dhok"* meaning *"Kalenjins are cattle raiding."* This name became familiar with local famine and food insecurity within the region. Previous animosity between the Kipsigis and the Luo did not end their relationship as they intermarry and occasionally adopted one another's children. On the other hand, exchange with the Kisii was very frequent in terms of famine (exchange of cattle for the Kisii grains). They also intermarried.

History depicts that the Kipsigis are cattle-raising people with traces of cultivation of food and cash crops including tea and coffee. Livestock including goats and sheep are valued by the Kipsigis and they are used to pay bride wealth. Milk on the other hand is a favored food, which is considered crucial for the welfare of the young children. The growing market for milk sold through cooperatives to the government creameries has also been a determinant of livestock farming. Trade for livestock at weekly cattle markets have also contributed to this form of farming. Finger millet and sorghum used to be their staple food. This has been replaced by maize, which is nowadays grown in large scale for cash even though they are still grown at small scale for home consumption.

The Kipsigis still hold dearly ancestral land and thus a man find it hard to sell a portion of his land if his wife or elder sons object. Although rates of polygamy may be declining, the Kipsigis are polygamous. This is mainly influenced by the Christian structures and doctrines against polygamy and the local economy or even to say modern ways of living where people tend to embrace one wife, one husband affair.

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Traditionally, during a period of seclusion following circumcision, education was provided to the young men and women. They were taught how to be a functioning and productive adult member of the society. Even though they are still secluded after initiation, this is done for only shorter periods since they go to schools and colleges. Education has been transformed from the traditional way of teaching, which was under trees or in the elders' houses to formal form of education, which is done in classrooms. With the adoption of the new form of teaching, common culture is still taught within the school syllabus.

Peristiany (1964) in his study of "The social institutions of the Kipsigis", stated that there are seven sequentially recurring age sets, called "*ipinda*". One is free to dance, drink, and carry on with age mates but ought to be more circumspect in the company of seniors. Men should not marry the daughters of their age mates. Women also are initiated into age sets, but they take the age-set status of their husbands when they marry. He went on to state that the Kipsigis men also belong to patrilineal associations called "*boriet*", which, in the past, served as regiments in times of war. The *kokwet* is the hub of community life. People call on their fellow *kokwet* members for mutual aid. Members of the *kokwet* or of neighboring *kokwotinwek* also cooperate in public projects such as building schools. Church groups, particularly those formed by Protestant sects, are becoming important forms of association. Churchwomen have organized cooperative groups that crosscut *kokwet* ties. The social and economic distance between prosperous farmers and those who are less fortunate is growing. The social implications of such differentiation are yet unclear, but the emergence of a landless or land-poor rural proletariat seems a likely prospect.

2.3.2   The Kisii

Mainly Western Bantus and settled in the Kisii highlands. They like migrating to towns and in rich agricultural areas. This is the reason why a number of the Kisii are found within the vicinity of Sondu.

Statistics indicate that the Gusii are one of the most rapidly growing populations in Kenya, increasing by three to four percent each year. The Kisii are known for their hard work in farming and herding, they practice both farming and herding which supplement one another. The main crop grown was finger millet, which have been replaced by corn. The Gusii considered

finger millet very nourishing. Other crops grown include sorghum, beans and sweet potatoes. The Gusii in the highland also grow tea and coffee at smaller scale as cash crops. Kisii highland is known for its fertility and all kinds of vegetables sold in majority of markets in Nyanza province are believed to come from Kisii land.

Liyong (1972) was of the view that in pre-colonial Gusiiland, varieties of goods were manufactured: iron tools, weapons, decorations, wooden implements, small baskets for porridge, and poisons. Pottery making was limited, and most pottery was made by the Luo people and imported. The most technically complex and valuable items manufactured were iron implements, made from smelting locally obtained ore. Smithing was reserved for men and blacksmiths became wealthy and influential. Gusii soapstone carvings have become internationally recognized.

The intermarriage between the Luo and the Kisii; Kisii and Kipsigis is still evident. This has brought about the close link between these ethnic groups. Gusii consider marriage and initiation as the most important ceremonies within the society since they predict continuation of the society's lineage and ancestral background. Initiation among this community involves genital surgery i.e. clitoridectomy for girls and circumcision for boys. The initiation ceremony is supposed to train children as social beings who observe rules and regulations of the society and at the same time have respect for others in the society. These initiations are gender segregated with male and female specialists performing the operations.

The period of seclusion during and after initiation marked the time for education where the specialists could instill the values acquired of those initiated in the society, they are taught on how to hold themselves and how to relate with others in the society. An issue of culture was not ignored, as this is the strong hold of the society. There were no formal education during that time but this has changed tremendously as nowadays there are trained and qualified teachers who teach in class.

Naming a child for the Gusii people is very important to them, as it is one aspect of their culture. Naming a child after deceased person is very common among this tribe. At the same time, children are named after a recent event like the weather at the time of childbirth.

Wife beating was rampant in the traditional society as this a sign of discipline and problem solving technique. Though it still exists, people today, believe in the power of consensus and dialogue to solve conflict between couples.

2.3.3   The Luo

Belonging to the Nilotic peoples of East and Central Africa, the Luo migrated from the Bahr al-Ghazal region of Sudan over the past 500 years {Peristiany, 1964}. According to the national population census conducted in 2009, the Luo number over 3 million people, or about 13 percent of Kenya's total population. Along with the Luhya, the Luo are the second largest ethnic group in the country, behind the Gikuyu. The indigenous language of the Luo, referred to as *Dholuo*, is for most people the language of preference in the home and in daily conversation.

Luo are primarily cattle herders even though they till the land to produce food supply. Their primary crops are maize and sorghum. They also grow cash crops, which include sugarcane, coffee, cotton and rice. They rear animals like sheep, goats, chicken and cattle. Cattle are used mostly for bride wealth. Fish from Lake Victoria and its streams are important especially tilapia.

The traditional Luo community relied on fishing and small-scale farming as their means of production. Traditionally, the Luo community was held together by mechanical solidarity. They relied majorly in barter trade based on various changes in the society. However, today Luo community is held together by organic solidarity based on the differences among members making them interdependent. The use of monetary resource to buy whatever one needs has removed the barter system.

Family is an important institution among the Luo community as it is in any other community since it indicates the continuation of a lineage. Different with the traditional Luo community where a marriage partner was a choice of the parents, it is nowadays the choice of individuals to choose whom they want to marry based on their preference. Marriage is seen to be valid if the bride prize have been paid and required marriage ceremonies performed. In the pas intertribal marriages was unheard of or minimal. This was because the Luo believed that such kind of marriages broke their culture and values. This is almost ending because many the Luo are

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nowadays intermarrying with other tribes within their borders including the Kalenjin and the Kisii. Extended family was highly recognized and this was based on economic functions since most of the goods for consumption were made at home. Nuclear family is nowadays more preferred because of the high cost of living making taking care of bigger family difficult. Traditionally, Luo were polygamous, as it was demanded by culture. This has changed to some extent only that few people are still polygamous.

The Luo community is typically patrilineal and believes that the man or the husband in the family is the head of that household thus a breadwinner. All issues or decisions have to be made or solved by the head of the household, which in this case is the man. Women were not allowed to inherit property but were given usage rights. This however with the promulgation of the new constitution will change with time.

Education was initially informal, where their grand parents and parents taught children. Later on, formal education was the product of emergence of Christianity (Majority of the Luo are Christians with many in South Nyanza being SDA), which led to the emergent of schools, where pupils were able to acquire writing, reading and communication skills. Adult education also came into existence with the primary skills involved doing basic mathematics which could help them in doing monetary transactions.

Based on politics, people live in the world of democracy. Power is not inherited, but based on a person's qualification, unlike in the past where power was inherited, and rules governing society handed down orally from one generation to another.

Funeral serves as the most important symbol for family and community identity. Burials must take place in Luo land, regardless of where a person may have lived during his or her adult years. This is because they value so much their ancestral land and if one is not buried in the ancestral land; they see that as throwing their own away. When an elder died in the society, he would be shown last respect by using large herds of cattle as a sign of mourning to run around the compound of the deceased; commonly know as *"tero buru" (taking the ashes)*. This practice is no longer practiced in the modern society.

When a woman gave birth to twins in the traditional Luo community, this was regarded as a cause of alarm as twins were associated with evil spirits, thus one of the twins was thrown away. This has changed and twins are regarded just like any other child. Naming of a child was influenced by events during birth. For example, a child born at night if a girl was named *Atieno*, if a boy, *Otieno*, born near garbage was named *Ayugi*, and if a boy was named *Oyugi*. This still exists as the Luo consider naming ceremony important.

Basing the interethnic relations in Sondu area to Peter and Bjarne (2001) study of the Balkans, it is evident that the ethnic groups especially the Kipsigis and the Luo have resident-resident relations in that they have lived together in the same region for long periods of time. On the same note, numerous resettlement and migration have led to the resident-immigrant relations especially between the Kisii migrants and the Kipsigis and the Luo residents. The migrants in most cases are attracted by the business opportunities in the market. With its potential to recurring ethnic conflicts, Sondu has attracted many NGOs, government bodies including anti-stock theft unit thus the residential population have a resident –stranger relation with those who are seasonal workers in the region. Sondu market attract diverse population from Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces to do business, thus they exhibit stranger-stranger relations. Each of the relations requires different social and communicative skills. In their quest to find out the socio-cultural knowledge that enabled people to cope with diversity, Peter and Bjarne (2001) assumed that the general fragmentation of the population into villages and neighborhoods, clans and families and the resulting parochialism, particularism and familism offered social and mental conditions that were probably conducive to interethnic coexistence.

2.4 What is interethnic coexistence?

Bar-Tal (2004) defined coexistence to refer to the conditions that serve as the fundamental prerequisites for the evolvement of advanced harmonious intergroup relations. It refers to the very recognition in the right of the other group to exist peacefully with its differences and to the acceptance of the other group as a legitimate and an equal partner with whom disagreements have to be resolved in non violent ways. Weiner (1998:14) defined coexistence to mean to exist together, in conjunction with, at the same time, in the same place with another. On the same note, Kriesberg (1998:182-198), *coexistence and the reconciliation of*

communal conflicts, stated that coexistence refers to the relationship between persons or groups in which none of the parties is trying to destroy the other. In his view, he tended to discuss coexistence based on its contribution to reconciliation. He was of the view that interethnic coexistence is likely to contribute to processes of reconciliation when it is equitable in the balance of resources in power, economic conditions and status. He goes on to discuss that it is important to consider the extent to which parties are integrated or separated from each other, the inequality that exist between them on a structural basis. In addition, he postulated that it is important to understand how individuals or groups view each other based on subjective level. He identified obstacles to achieving equitable coexistence as popular sentiments, ideologies and vested interest. On the other hand, Davies (1987:415-421) suggested that coexistence is a social practice which groups have to learn.

Zelniker and Lazarowitz (2005) stated that coexistence is the term used in Israel to signify peaceful existence of the two people, Jews and Arabs living side by side. The authors stated that however, the meaning of coexistence has been defined and interpreted differently by each group during different periods. For instance, the Jews define coexistence in terms of social and interpersonal relations, whereas majority of Arabs define coexistence in political, civic and inter-group terms.

Bar-Tal (2004) identified the following components of coexistence:

2.4.1 Nonviolence

He stated that although conflict and disagreement may still be intact, the involved groups have decided to abandon violent ways of confrontations and choose peaceful means to achieve their goals that is; the groups are ready to establish mechanisms of negotiation to deal with the list of contentions in order to resolve them.

2.4.2 Recognition in the legitimate existence of the other group

Bar-Tal stated that coexistence means recognition in the existence of the other group with its differences, which may be in the realm of goals, ideology, values, religion, race, nationality, ethnicity and culture. This recognition implies that the groups have the same right to exist and

live in peace and acknowledges the legitimacy of the differences between them. There is also recognition in the legitimacy of the groups to raise contentions and grievances that are then solved in nonviolent ways.

2.4.3 Personalization

Coexistence implies personalization of the members of the other group, viewing them as humane individuals with legitimate needs, aspirations and goals.

2.4.4 Equal partnership

Coexistence requires recognition in the principle of equal status and treatment of the other group without superiority. Bar-Tal (2004) stated that acts such as an agreement on cease fire, beginning of negotiation in case of conflict; conflict resolution or changes of laws are important parts of coexistence. The accompanying acts of cooperation, integration or exchanges are direct behavioral derivations of coexistence. He puts it that sole acts which come as a result of orders or laws, without psychological change by the society members, do not indicate the state of coexistence.

Kacowicz and Tov (2000); Lederach (1997) stated that full harmony is experienced when there is a stable and lasting peace characterized by mutual recognition and acceptance; interests and goals invested in developing peaceful relations, fully normalized-cooperative political, economic and cultural relations based on equality and justice, nonviolence, mutual trust and positive attitudes and sensitivity to and consideration of the other party's need and interests.

2.5 Understanding interethnic conflict

Lee and Newby (1983:57) stated that the fact that people live close to one another does not necessarily mean that they have much to do with each other. There maybe little interaction between neighbors, this brings about the issue of conflict between coexisting groups. Zartman (1997:197) stated that conflict is inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions.

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Behind this façade of stability, there have always been incidences of violent ethnic conflict. Very often, there are reports about armed conflicts and killings among different ethnic groups majority being pastoralist communities like the Pokot, Samburu, Marakwet and Maasai. Alienation which is most pervasive and insidious in the society comes about when an individual is no longer a true participant, when he no longer feels a sense of responsibility to his society, the content of democracy is emptied, when culture is degraded and vulgarity enthroned, when the social system does not build security but induces peril in inexorably. These values depicts when an individual is likely to engage in conflicting activity or pull out from the development process (King, 1967).

The term conflict derives from the Latin word 'to clash or engage in a fight', a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends. Conflict may be either manifest, recognizable through actions or behaviors, or latent, in which case it remains dormant for some time, as incompatibilities are unarticulated or are built into systems or such institutional arrangements as governments, corporations, or even civil society.

Bar-Tal (1990) gave a case in which negative intergroup relations originate from ethnocentric and conflict origins that are complementary to each other. The ethnocentric origin is based on a group's central beliefs in its own superiority, which provide epistemic basis to ethnocentrism.

Wallensteen (2002) identified three forms of conflict: interstate, internal and state-formation conflicts. Interstate conflicts are disputes between nation-states or violations of the state system of alliances. Wallensteen argued that there has been a rise in the frequency and intensity of internal conflicts which are contributing to the expanding nature, sophistication and at times legitimization of interventionist policies, at the same time, levels of ethnic conflict can be measured in number of incidents, casualties and number of people involved (Gilley, 2004:1156)

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According to Oucho (2002:83) the ethnic conflict in which the Kipsigis attacked the Luo along the border of Sondu eroded the cultural richness of the area along the long coexistence of the two neighbors.

2.5.1   Historical causes of ethnic conflicts

In *Undercurrents of ethnic conflict in Kenya,* Oucho (2002:22) stated that determinants of conflict could be analyzed by looking at both exogenous variables and intermediate variables, which are dependent. The exogenous variables include colonial background (administrative structures, labor and land alienation and colonial legacies which were put in place by the colonies), independent governance that involves the administrative structures and biases or prejudices put in place by the ruling government. The intermediate variables include geo-political factors (the geography, territoriality and political system of an area), historical factors (land use and sensitivities, cultural affinity or differences and land transfer or purchases), population issues (population size and growth, migration and spatial population distribution), and state intervention (prejudices, state security). On the same note, he stated that ethnic conflicts in Sondu Township in the neighborhood where the Luo and the Kipsigis live were politically manipulated as the border had been a buffer zone of white settlers' farms in the colonial period- a buffer created to stop inter-ethnic warfare (Oucho, 2002:82).

Nyukuri (1997) stated that one of the long-term causes of the clashes in Kenya is attributed to the colonial legacy. The indirect rule administered by British colonialists later turned out to be 'divide and rule' strategy that polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya. This in turn contributed to the subsequent incompatibility of these ethnic groups as actors on one nation-state, Kenya. Nyukuri stated that the early political parties in Kenya that championed the nationalist struggle against colonial establishments were basically 'distinct ethnic unions', for instance, the Kikuyu formed the Kikuyu Central Association, the Luhya formed the Luhya Union, the Luo formed the Young Kavirondo Association and the Kalenjin formed the Kalenjin Political Alliance.

Kenya has scarce national resources which according to Nyukuri (1997) intensified. Inadequate infrastructure, inadequate human resource capacity, inadequate human resource

capacity, inadequate capital, inadequate facilities and ethnicity became the main vehicle through which the dominance and preservation of power and resources could be achieved (Nyukuri, 1995).

Moore (1996) stated that the existence of impulses of ethnic conflicts among different ethnic groups is in many cases caused by competition over scarce resources like land, institutions, infrastructure and even power; this is what he termed as structural conflict. Just like Banton In his book, *Racial and Ethnic Competition* (1983), Wood noted that conflicts are common where resources are limited and demand is high (1993: 84).

Unequal distribution of resources is also another source of potential instability in Kenya. Nyukuri (1997) stated that the Kikuyu had easy access to land; the economic success of their region and this was enviable by other ethnic groups. The Kikuyu also enjoyed good modern roads, abundant school and education facilities and expanded health facilities during the first ten years of Kenya's independence (Hazlewood, 1979). The GEMA helped its members to acquire land and businesses. The visibly outdistanced other ethnic groups and this created ethnic tensions between the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups. In Moi regime, the same trend of unequal distribution of land and other national resources was witnessed where the Kalenjin were perceived to have benefitted more than others. Similarly, Blau noted that "competition occurs only among like units that have the same objective and not among unlike units with different objectives" (1964: 331). While there seems to be, a consensus that groups will compete if they are interested in the same thing (e.g. land), they will not necessarily appropriate it the same way. This is illustrated by continued clashes between the Luo and the Kipsigis pastoralists over mode of land-use.

On the other hand, groups conflict over Values, which arise over ideological differences. Ethnic conflict also has been explained in terms of culture. Furnivall (1948) and Smith (1965) wrote about the concept of "cultural pluralism" in which ethnic differences in culture, history, preferences and imputed attitudes are said to lead groups into conflict. Limitations in cross-cultural contact in non-plural societies (separate society) and lack of shared values are seen as fertile grounds for fomenting disharmony and conflict. Makoloo (2005:25) stated that the conflicts are as a result of the non-fulfillment of basic human needs- needs of autonomy, group

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identity, participation, recognition, security and poverty. Makoloo (2005) stated that failure of political institutions to accommodate diverse interests (ethnic, religious, linguistic) has generated conflicts that adversely affect political and economic outcomes. At the same time, he stated that the leader of the ethnic group that heads the state controls an enormous amount of resources, leading to discriminatory allocation of resources which has been the primary source of conflicts in Kenya. Wirth (1998:328) and Bond (2007) stated that at an intuitive level, it is reasonably obvious that in some cases certain kinds of environmental stress might somewhat exacerbate the risk of violent conflict. Similarly, Mkutu (2008) claims a strong link between drought and pastoralist violence (Oucho, 2002).

2.5.2 The 1992 Rift Valley 'tribal' clashes

The tribal clashes had a history back in 29th October 1991 at a farm known as Miteitei in Nandi district pitting the Nandi, a Kalenjin tribe against the Kikuyu, the Kamba, the Luhya, the Kisii and the Luo. The clashes quickly spread to other farms among them Owiro farm which was wholly occupied by the Luo and into Kipkelion division in Kericho district which had a multi-ethnic composition of people. Later in the early 1992, the clashes spread to Molo, Olenguruone, Londiani and other parts of Kericho, Uasin Gishu and many other parts of Rift Valley province. In 1993, the clashes spread to Enoosupukia, Naivasha, and part of Narok, Transmara districts and to Gucha district in Nyanza province. In these areas, the Kipsigis and the Maasai were pitted against the Kikuyu, the Kisii, the Kamba and the Luhya among other tribes. The clashes revived in Laikipia and Njoro in 1998, pitting the Samburu and the Pokot against the Kikuyu in Laikipia and the Kalenjins mainly against the Kikuyu in Njoro. In each clash area, non-Kalenjin or non-Maasai were suddenly attacked and their houses set on fire, their properties looted and in certain instances, some were either killed or severely injured with traditional weapons like bows, arrows, pangas, swords and clubs.

Before colonialism, Rift Valley province was home to scattered pastoral communities including the Kalenjin, the Maasai, the Samburu, the Turkana and sections of the Luhya which held land communally. Rift Valley has some of the best arable land that formed the core of the former 'white highlands' which led to requirement of sources of cheap labor to work in the vast plantations and farms (The Civil Service 1966-1969). This resulted into migration of people who

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had experience in farming from other parts of Kenya to the farms in Rift Valley to be squatters and workers in settler's farms. These people came from Luo, Luhya, Kikuyu, Kisii communities (Africa Watch, 1993).

Multipartism also led to another tribal clash in which the non-Kalenjins were displaced from the province so that they do not vote for the opposition as the law then required that for one to be a president, he has to gain 25% of the votes cast in his province. The causes of these clashes have been given as conflict over land, cattle rustling, political differences and ecological reasons. The report stated that other causes of ethnic clashes include: majimboism (regionalism) rallies which propagated the theory that the Rift Valley was for the Kalenjin and those espousing political parties other than KANU should leave the province (September 1991 rallies); rivalry over the distribution of the administrative posts; the reintroduction of multi-parties without proper education of citizens, which was misinterpreted by the Kalenjin as a direct attack on the presidency.

2.6 Conflict resolution and management strategies

King (1963) puts it that we must not satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred but must conduct our struggle on high plane of dignity and discipline and rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. According to Miller (2005) conflict resolution involves recognition by the clashing parties of one another's interests, needs, perspectives and continued existence. The most effective forms identify the underlying causes of the conflict and address them through solutions that are mutually satisfactory, self-perpetuating and sustaining. Gruber (2007:9) stated that the first step in solving ethnic conflicts is to understand the problem and its root causes. Root causes of conflict are factors that cause a conflict. It is important to identify them in order to get to the real problem and to resolve the conflict. It is possible to get to the root causes of a conflict by identifying the background and context of a conflict, identifying the parties involved the power, position, and interests and desired changes (IGAD, 2004). Conflict resolution can be practiced with a variety of emphases, including but not limited to cooperation, non-confrontation, non-competition and positive-sum orientation (Mensah, 2000). On the other hand, Miller (2005:23) stated that conflicts are rarely resolved completely. More often, they are reduced, downgraded or contained. Such

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developments can be followed by a reorientation of the issue, reconstitution of the divisions among conflicting parties, or even by a re-emergence of past issues or grievances.

Ethnic conflicts can be addressed by doing conflict analysis using tools like the timelines, stages of conflict, pillars of conflict, the conflict tree and force-field analysis. Different strategies also ought to be used including peace building from within, peace building from below and conceptual framework for peace building. To resolve these conflicts, there is need for diplomatic and non-diplomatic methods of conflict resolution. At the same time, introduction of conflict management and resolution courses in the educational curriculum would help in addressing conflicts while at the earlier stages before it manifest itself.

According to Bar-Tal (2004), education of society members is a pre-requisite to achieve coexistence because it is typically launched when society members hold ideas that contradict the principle of coexistence when they hold psychological repertoire that supports conflict, discrimination or exploitation. He proposed two approaches through which the society members can be educated, that is, through school system and societal approach.

According to Makoloo (2005), the large scale conflicts of the 1990s were resolved by the following resolution activities carried out by different actors; the government took a number of actions including provision of security officers to curb the violence; religious resolution activities involved preaching peace and using religious doctrines to call for respect and tolerance; the civil society and international community put pressure on the government and threaten and withholding financial aid to push the government into taking action; ethnically based organizations organized joint meetings between elders from the conflicting communities e.g. the GEMA- KAMATUSA talks thus lowering the scale of the conflict; women's organizations have lowered past conflict because a number of women peace-building and conflict resolution lobby groups have emerged in many parts of the world, for example, in Wajir, women have formed women for peace group through the assistance of Oxfam, they have persuaded their husbands and sons to hand in weapons and seek peaceful methods of resolving conflicts.

Crocker and Hampson (1996) stated that since 1945, only one third of the negotiated settlements of ethnic conflicts have resulted in lasting peace. The efforts of the international

community to promote peace in societies recovering from violent conflict are further complicated when there has not been a negotiated peace settlement, as in Rwanda after the genocide in 1994.

Nyukuri (1997) proposed that the strategies for conflict management includes the use of the strategy of political socialization and dialogue by various institutions, creation of forums for political participation from the grassroots to national and regional levels, enhance equitable distribution of national resources, leaders should encourage formation of national parties based on ideologies and policies that transcend the ethnic conglomeration and having equitable and transparent approach to recruitment into civil service and in all sectors dealing with the public. Conflicts are frequently managed directly by the society in which they occur. When not possible or when it becomes national in scope is when the government normally assumes the task, provided it is not a party to the conflict. Miller (2005:23) noted techniques that have been employed in conflict management efforts and they include: first, conflicting parties are brought together to establish a mutual agreement. Secondly, governments or third parties to the strife may directly intervene to introduce or impose a decision. Third, new initiatives, programmes or institutional structures like elections are implemented to address the conflict in question. Fourth, contending parties are compelled or coerced to utilize previously established means of resolution or containment and finally, government or another third party may use coercion to eliminate or instill fear among one or all those engaged in a given conflict, leading to subsidence.

Every individual has the right and ability to choose a conflict management style when confronted with a conflicting situation in order to respond to it appropriately. Thus according to Lambert (1999), an individual's choice of style in a conflict situation will vary depending on a variety of factors including the relationship between the disputants and the importance of the subject of the conflict to each individual, he therefore identified five styles which can be characterized by two scales of assertiveness and cooperation and named them as; competing, avoiding, accommodating, compromising and collaborating.

The competing conflict mode is high assertiveness and low cooperation. Competing mode is more appropriate when quick action needs to be taken, when unpopular decisions need to be made, when vital issues must be handled or when one is protecting self-interests.

Competing skills includes arguing, using influence and asserting opinions and feelings. Avoiding mode on the other hand involves low assertiveness and low cooperation. Many people avoid conflicts out of fear of engaging in a conflict or because they do not have confidence in their management skills. However, avoidance is important when you have issues of low importance, to reduce tension or when you are in a position of lower power. Avoiding skills include; ability to withdraw and ability to leave things unresolved. The accommodating mode involves low assertiveness and high cooperation. Accommodating mode is appropriate when one needs to show reasonableness, develop performance and keep peace. The skills include selflessness, ability to yield and obey orders.

Lambert (1999) stated that the compromising mode involves moderate assertiveness and moderate cooperation. Compromising mode is appropriate when you are dealing with issues of moderate importance or when you have equal power status and have a strong commitment for resolution. The compromising skills include negotiating, making concessions, assessing value and finding a middle ground. Collaborating mode, according to Lambert involves high assertiveness and high cooperation. It is more appropriate when the conflict is important to the people who are constructing an integrative solution, when merging perspectives and improving relations and learning. The skills include active listening, analyzing input and identifying concerns.

2.7   Theoretical Literature

This study used the Cycle of Race Relations, symbolic interactionism perspective and structural functionalism perspective to explain the issue of interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area.

2.7.1   The cycle of Race Relations

The Cycle of Race Relations postulated by Robert E. Park, maintain that when racial or ethnic groups come into contact, a specific sequence of events is set into motion. Park expressed his view as follows: "in the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself...." The race relations cycle held that racial or ethnic contact lead to competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation in that order. These processes are apparently

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progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial or ethnic barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate, reverse it"(Park,1964:150).

The stages of this cycle "are the processes by which the integration of peoples and cultures has always and everywhere taken place" (Park, 1964: 104). Groups of people first come into contact through exploration or migration. Once they are in contact, a competition between the groups is set into motion for land, natural resources, and various goods and services, a competition in which violent conflict frequently erupts. This is what Hebert Spencer termed as "progress through struggle," in that competition is a true feature of human species. Spencer argued that life is characterized by imperfection and that the imperfect would not be able to compete with those who are perfect to the environmental conditions. Essentially, he applied the notion of survival for the fittest to the social environment. After a period, Park said, overt conflict becomes less frequent as one of the two groups establishes dominance over the other. The groups develop some fairly regular or customary ways of living together; at this point, they are said to have accommodated to one another.[1]

Beginning with the first contacts, various individuals within the two groups learn some of the language, customs, sentiments, and attitudes of those in the other group. This process, initiated in the contact phase of the groups' relations with one another, gains momentum as the groups compete for such advantages as land and social dominance. It accelerates during the more or less stable period of accommodation. As the groups continue to live together, according to Park (1964:104), there occurs a "progressive merging" of the smaller group into larger. The members of the smaller group increasingly adopt the language, manners, and public customs of the larger group. In the case of physical differences, the process has erased the external signs, which formerly distinguished the members of one group with the other group. Erasing of the external signs followed by lack of distinction of members of the smaller group from the larger

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[1] An accommodation exists when the "antagonism of the hostile elements is, for the time being, regulated, and conflict disappears as overt action, although it remains latent as a potential force" (Park and Burgess 1921:665). It may last for many generations or for only a short period.

group, Park illustrate that assimilation has occurred. Although Park list eventual assimilation as the final stage in the cycle, the assimilation process commences with contact and occurs throughout the cycle, reaching its completion when all the distinguishing external signs of group membership in the smaller group have disappeared. Similarly, Gordon (1964:71) developed ideas and concepts dealing with the subject of assimilation where he made the point that, it is useful to think in terms of several specific sub processes of assimilation rather than a single broad process. Moreover, these sub-processes include; cultural, structural and marital assimilation. These sub-processes may lead to a situation in which subordinate and dominant groups become indistinguishable from one another.

According to Gordon, cultural assimilation occurs when members of a subordinate group gradually relinquish their own culture and at the same time, acquire that of heritage and behavior pattern for another i.e. cultural assimilation by substitution. At the same time, the subordinate group may decide to keep most or at least a significant portion of its own heritage (Mc Fee, 1972), thus subordinate group remains distinguishable. Gordon argues that the complete merging of one group into another requires more, however, than cultural assimilation by substitution. It also requires structural assimilation which focuses on the type of human relationships that is, primary relationships. These relationships are predominant within families, friendship groups and social clubs. Marital assimilation on the other hand refers to the gradual merging of subordinate and dominant groups through intermarriage. In many cases, merging takes place directly as members of the dominant group marry partners from various subordinate groups. It takes place less directly as out-group marriage occurs between the members of more-or-less assimilated groups without regard to ethnic distinction.

The theories of Park and Gordon and assimilation theories in general, are consistent with their view that ethnic differences decline with modernization, that is, those ethnic groups in a modernizing society gradually become more similar to one another. Additionally, they are consistent with the idea that as ethnic differences decline, the society's underlying order and unity rest increasingly on a consensus among the different groups concerning basic values and norms.

This theory is in deed applicable to my area of study concerning interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kisii and the Kipsigis in Sondu. This is supported by history, which depicts that these ethnic groups came into contact through migration and exploration leading to competition for the scarce natural resources, and land, which have been the cause of conflict in this area of study. These conflicts have been on and of. The absence of conflict illustrates that, some ethnic group has adapted to the process and thus accommodated in the cycle. Members of these ethnic groups can speak each other group's language and behave in more similar manner, which thus explains eventual assimilation. At the same time, intermarriages between these ethnic groups indicate that marital assimilation is present, thus the theory explains the nature of interethnic relations in Sondu.

2.7.2 Symbolic interactionism theory

Symbolic interactionism theory on the other hand, points out that humans are social beings who live in group existence. Human beings according to this school of thought are pragmatic actors who continually must adjust their behavior to the actions of other actors.

This perspective derives its inspiration from the works of Herbert Blumer who was a devotee of George H. Mead and was influenced by John Dewey. According to Blumer, symbolic interactionism rests on three basic premises which lead to conclusion about the creation of a person's self and socialization into a larger community. First, that human's act toward people and things based upon the meanings that they have given to those people or things. Secondly, that language gives humans a means by which to negotiate meaning through symbols, that is, meanings arise out of the interaction of the individual with others and thirdly, that an interpretive process is used by the person in each instance in which he must deal with things in his environment that is, thought modifies each individual's interpretation of symbols.

According to Blumer, the foundation of the social interactionist view of human conduct and human society can be understood through the "root image" which he identified to include: human groups or societies which are composed of human beings engaging in action; social interaction, where group life consists of interaction between members of a group leading to formation of human behavior; objects, which retain empirical reality outside off the process of

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social interaction that is, objects that have acquired meaning to the person. Blumer stated that since a human being is an acting organism, therefore persons must be constituted such that they can interact with others. The nature of human action follows from the ability to make indications to the self; finally, interlinkages of human actions are the building blocks of human group life. It is the process of corresponding these lines of individual action to those of others that best characterizes human society.

This theoretical perspective is used in this study to explain the nature of interethnic relations since the interethnic coexistence among these coexisting groups can be explained through group perception and the meanings that each ethnic group accord to one another which can only be realized after interaction of these different groups and interpretation of each groups' actions to match behavior

2.7.3   Structural Functionalism Theory

This perspective is rooted in the works of Emile Durkeim and Herbert Spencer among others. The central idea in the functionalist school is that human social aggregates involve differentiated units, which are interdependent. The major theme of this approach is the differentiation and interdependence among the different parts, both structurally and functionally. This school looks at society as a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in isolation from the whole, in other words, society is seen as an organism in which all parts function in a way that ensure the continued well being of the whole system just like the various systems in the human body functions. Society is of paramount importance than the subtotal of its parts. A change in any part is seen as living to a certain degree of balance, which in turn results in changes in other parts of the system, and to some extent to a reorganization of the system as a whole. Order, stability and cohesion are maintained in society through the mutual interrelation or interdependence of its parts.

This school of thought is relevant to my study topic in that this society is made up of different ethnic groups like the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii, which are differentiated units and are interdependent. These ethnic groups tend to work together to bring about order, stability and

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cohesion thus leading to development. In many cases, they strike a balance by observing societal norms and values to ensure that peace or order exist. For example, based on means of survival, a Luo farmer will depend on a Kisii businessperson for his farm products and depend on the Kipsigis for his cattle products. Thus, each group depends on each other for some products and general operation. The theory was used to explain the interethnic coexistence among the interacting ethnic groups and also highlight the coping strategies that the communities put in place.

2.8 The Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework employs the use of diagrams to explain the interrelationships between variables (Orodho, 2004). There are several factors that promote peaceful interethnic relations or coexistence in a community with more than one ethnic group. When individual ethnic groups come into contact with each other and are educated on the importance of coexistence with the help of institutions that preach peace, the members of these ethnic groups will learn to view one another as humane individuals with legitimate needs, aspirations and goals without prejudice, stereotypes and bias, this will strengthen the intergroup relation. Similarly, when members of different ethnic groups are given equal opportunities to participate in issues of societal development without superiority and denial, the probability of members' resistance to engage in societal development will be minimized and they will make rational choice based on alternatives which are present and develop positive group perception of other ethnic groups. In the process of interaction, the members will positively express their opinion and freely associate with others and if their ethnic groups' opinion is taken into account, it will definitely lead to the groups' full participation in ensuring peaceful interethnic coexistence.

On the other hand, functioning as a unified structure of ethnic groups with diverse cultural dimensions experience challenges in ensuring peaceful interactions. When groups relate with each other, members exhibit different interests, goals, values and even beliefs because people have differentiated and interdependent course of action or behavior. The predisposing factors like cultural pluralism, lack of cooperation, competition and unequal distribution of resources (including social, economic, political and institutional resources), overarching values and internal communal beliefs of separate sections advance to ethnic differentiation and even

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perpetuate ethnic conflict. At this point intervention is required to inhibit the conflict from overstretching. Identification of the root causes of interethnic conflicts at an early stage and resolving the conflicts through diplomatic and non-diplomatic methods with full participation of the ethnic groups will ensure lasting peaceful interethnic coexistence. Thus this leads to my adoption of Simmel's argument that conflict leads to development of relationship between conflicting groups. The description above is summarized in the diagram below.

Figure 1: The study's conceptual framework
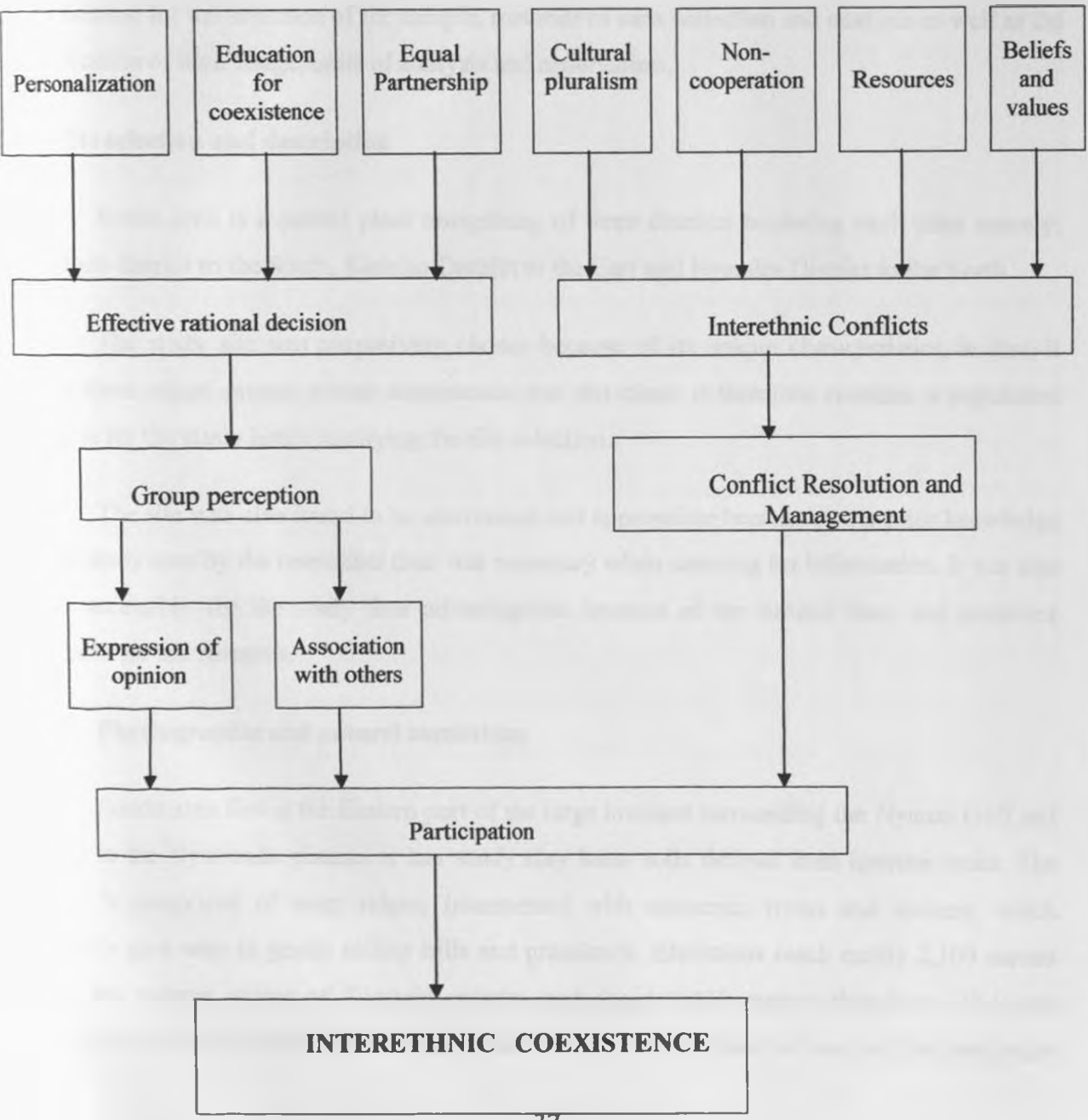
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Methodology refers to the philosophy of the research process (Bailey, 1978:26). This chapter is specifically concerned with methodological aspects of the study, site selection, justification for the selection of the sample, methods of data collection and analysis as well as the justification of their usage, units of analysis and observation.

3.2 Site selection and description

Sondu area is a central place comprising of three districts bordering each other namely; Nyakach district to the South, Kericho District to the East and Nyamira District to the North.

The study site was purposively chosen because of its unique characteristics, in that, it hosts three ethnic groups whose coexistence was not clear. It therefore contains a population suitable for the study hence justifying the site selection.

The site was also found to be convenient and appropriate because of the prior knowledge of the study area by the researcher thus was necessary when sourcing for information. It was also more accessible for the study thus advantageous because of the limited time and resources available for the research.

3.2.1 Physiographic and natural conditions

Sondu area lies in the Eastern part of the large lowland surrounding the Nyanza Gulf and it falls in the Nyabondo plateau. It has sandy clay loam soils derived from igneous rocks. The terrain is composed of steep ridges, interspersed with numerous rivers and streams, which gradually give way to gently rolling hills and grasslands. Elevations reach nearly 2,100 meters along the eastern extent of Kipsigis country and about 1,450 meters elsewhere. The area experiences bimodal rainfall with the long rains received from March to May and the short rains

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from September to November. The mean annual rainfall ranges between 600 mm to 1630 mm, while temperatures range between 20 degrees centigrade to over 35 degrees centigrade. Sondu area has Sondu Miriu River as the major river and also provides water for running Sondu Miriu Hydropower station that generates 60 megawatts of electricity.

3.2.2 Settlement pattern

Upper Nyakach division has the highest population density of 368 persons per kilometer squared. The settlement pattern is determined by physical set-up of the District and relative Agricultural potential of the area. Thus, majority of people who reside in this area are farmers and business people.

3.3 Unit of analysis and observation

Mugenda (1999) defined units of analysis as those units that we initially describe for the purpose of aggregating their characteristics in order to describe some larger group or abstract phenomenon. Singleton et al (1988:69), defines units of analysis as what or who is to be analyzed that is, the entities under study, which could include people, social roles, positions and relationships. Nachmias and Nachmias (1996:53) describe the units of analysis as the most elementary part of the phenomenon to be studied. In this study, the unit of analysis was the interethnic coexistence among the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:15), describe a unit of observation as the subject, object or entity from which a researcher measures the characteristics or obtains data required in the researcher's study, that is, the sources of data from which the required information was collected. The units of observation included individual households, various key informants including District Officer- Sigowet District, community leaders /elders, retired and current civil servants, religious leader, leaders and members of affiliation (social) groups.

3.4 Sampling design

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 they were selected. (Mugenda

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& Mugenda, 1999) According to Singleton et al (1988:137) sampling design refers to that part of the research plan that indicates how cases are to be selected for observation. Kerlinger (1964) asserts that sampling is taking part of a portion of the population as a representation of the population.

Both probability and non-probability sampling methods were used to collect data, thus, simple random, cluster and purposive methods of sampling were employed. The population was divided into three clusters, that is; South Nyakach, Kericho West and Nyamira districts representing the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii groups respectively. Simple random sampling method was used to select one location from each district thus South East Nyakach, Kaplelartet and Matongo locations were selected. In each location, a list of households which formed the sampling frame was obtained from the area chief, out of which 50 households were selected randomly. In South East Nyakach location, the residents were predominantly the Luo, while in Kaplelartet location, the residents were both the Kipsigis and the Kisii but only households on the list belonging to the Kipsigis were selected randomly, this was also applicable in Matongo location where the sampling frame contained both the Kisii and the Luo households but only the Kisii households were selected for the study. Care was exercised to ensure that there is proportional representation from both the randomly selected locations in terms of gender and numbers. Key Informants were selected using purposive sampling method. They included the District Officer- Sigowet District, community policing chairperson- Nyakach District, District Peace Committee secretary and IDP leader, Head teacher- Sondu Union primary school, retired Rae Girls' High school Principal and DPC treasurer, religious leader and local Community Based Organization's chairperson and community elders.

3.5 Methods and tools of data collection

This study assumed a cross-sectional survey and to a limited extent, a descriptive approach based on a sample of the individuals engaged in interethnic coexistence. To ensure validity and reliability of the data collected, both primary and secondary sources of data collection was used for this purpose.

3.5.1 Structured Interviews

This is a face-to-face, interpersonal role situation in which an interviewer asks respondents questions designed to elicit answers pertinent to research hypotheses (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996: 232). Due to its outstanding flexibility and the idea that the respondents are known to have been involved in a particular experience of interethnic coexistence, I adopted the structured Interview with high response rate.

Structured questionnaire was used to secure standardized results that can be tabulated and treated numerically. The objective of the questionnaire was to collect data scattered over a wide area. This tool was administered to the sampled respondents.

3.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

This involves getting in-depth information from Key Informants that is, seek people who have privileged information, the District Officer- Sigowet District, Community Policing chairperson- Nyakach District, District Peace Committee secretary and IDP leader, Head teacher- Sondu Union primary school, retired Rae Girls' High school Principal and DPC treasurer, religious leader and local Community Based Organization's chairperson and members. Key Informant Interview assisted in assessing consensus in communities and identifies further problems. Face to face, open and unstructured discussions using key informant interview guide was used.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

An in-depth discussion with nine elders from the three ethnic groups was used to gain knowledge and elicit views and opinions of the elders about the nature of interethnic coexistence among the three ethnic groups. Focus Group Discussion guide was used to collect data.

3.5.4 Observation

This refers to the method of gathering data through vision as its main source. I adopted structured observation checklist to collect information from the subjects, this is due to its ability

to offer first-hand information, it is less complicated and less time consuming thus, the techniques for recording data through observation included written descriptions.

3.5.5 Secondary data

The secondary data was obtained through desk review checklist by consulting sociology department library, Institute of development studies library at the University of Nairobi, journals, published and unpublished work, internet and the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics library.

3.6 Data analysis

After collection, data was keyed in and coded using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). It was then analyzed, interpreted and presented according to the responses and relating to the objectives of the study.

Descriptive statistics was used to condense raw data into forms that supply information efficiently. The Descriptive statistics used includes percentages, frequency distribution tables, graphs, pie charts and measures of central tendency.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the results and analysis of data collected from the field whose main purpose was to assess the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area using questionnaires, key informant interview guides and focus group discussion guides. 150 respondents at household level were interviewed; six key informants were interviewed and one Focus Group Discussion was conducted with nine participants giving a response rate of 100%.

The raw data was coded, evaluated and tabulated to depict clearly the results of the statement of the problem. The results are presented in tables to highlight the major findings. They are also presented sequentially according to the research questions of the study. Frequency distribution tables, percentages, pie charts, bar graphs; cross tabulations were used to carry out analysis of data collected.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

This basically involved the analysis of the demographics of the sample. The major aspects looked into included the frequency distribution according to age, gender, level of educational attainment and main economic activities of the various respondents.

4.2.1 Age of the respondents

The age distribution of the respondents as displayed in table 4.1 shows that most of the Luo and the Kipsigis respondents interviewed were aged between 31-40 years old (32.0% and 26.0% respectively) as compared to 26.0% of the Kisii respondents aged between 41-50 years. Generally, the age set of 31-40 years is the active group in the study (25.3%). This is basically because the younger generation is more likely to be continuing with education at different levels.

Table 4.1: Age of the Respondents

Age of the respondents	Ethnic group of the respondents							
	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
18-30 years	12	24.0	12	24.0	8	16.0	32	21.3
31-40 years	16	32.0	13	26.0	9	18.0	38	25.3
41-50 years	2	4.0	13	26.0	13	26.0	28	18.7
51-60 years	6	12.0	3	6.0	8	16.0	17	11.3
61-70 years	12	24.0	7	14.0	6	12.0	25	16.7
71 years and above	2	4.0	2	4.0	6	12.0	10	6.7
Total	50	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0	150	100.0

4.2.2 Sex of the respondents

Table 4.2 shows the sex distribution of the respondents. Almost 2/3 of the respondents interviewed were males and the rest females, comprising of 36.7%. This was mainly contributed by the role of women in the society in that majority of the women engaged in business which took place three times a week, thus majority of the male were available for the interview. Culture also played an important role on whom to speak with during the interview. All the three ethnic groups highly recognize the presence of a man in the homestead and his role as the head of the household, thus with his presence, no one else was interviewed apart from the 'home owner', this justifies the high percentage of male respondents interviewed per each ethnic group as indicated in the table below with the Kipsigis having the highest percentage of male interviewed (68.0%) and the Luo having the least male respondents (58.0%).

Table 4.2: Sex of the Respondents

Sex of the respondents	ETHNIC GROUP OF THE RESPONDENTS							
	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Male	29	58.0	34	68.0	32	64.0	**95**	**63.3**
Female	21	42.0	16	32.0	18	36.0	**55**	**36.7**
Total	50	100	50	100	50	100	**150**	**100**

4.2.3 Educational level

Table 4.3 shows the educational attainment of the respondents. Among the respondents interviewed, it is evident that 20.0% of the Luo attained university education as compared to only 2.0% of the Kipsigis and the Kisii. However, majority of the Kipsigis (76.0%) and the Kisii (40.0%) attained secondary education. This clearly shows that the Luo value higher education as compared to the other ethnic groups in Sondu. It was however discovered that after attaining secondary education, the trend tends to drop drastically across all ethnic lines and only few pursue higher education. This is perceived to be contributed by the poverty level, which highly determines whether one will continue with education or not. Majority of the respondents stated that after attaining secondary education, only few people can afford tertiary education thus justifies the range.

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Table 4.3: Educational level

| Educational level | Ethnic group of the respondents | | | | | |
| | The Luo | | The Kipsigis | | The Kisii | |
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
None	3	6.0	2	4.0	10	20.0
Primary	18	36.0			14	28.0
Secondary	8	16.0	38	76.0	20	40.0
Tertiary	11	22.0	9	18.0	5	10.0
University	10	20.0	1	2.0	1	2.0
Total	50	100	50	100	50	100

4.2.4   Main economic activity of the respondents

Table 4.4 shows main economic activities of the respondents. Only two main economic activities were mentioned to be undertaken by respondents with business being the dominant economic activity at 58.0% and farming at 42.0%. However, majority (74.0%) of the Kipsigis engage in business activities as compared to farming. This is because most of the Kipsigis as revealed by the study had leased out their land to either the Kisii or the Luo who are renowned farmers.

Table 4.4: Main Economic Activity of the Respondent

| Main economic activity | Ethnic group of the respondent | | | | | | | |
| | The Luo | | The Kipsigis | | The Kisii | | Total | |
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Business	25	50.0	37	74.0	25	50.0	87	58.0
Farming	25	50.0	13	26.0	25	50.0	63	42.0
Total	50	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0	150	100.0

4.3 MAIN FINDINGS

4.3.1   Perception of the ethnic groups

The first objective of the study sought to determine how the three ethnic communities perceive one another. The other issues discussed includes; the general perception by other ethnic groups, stereotyping, and the best and worst relationships among others. The study findings

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reveal that the perception of other groups revolves around stereotyping. The specific opinions are presented in the following subsections.

4.3.1.1 Ethnic Perception of the Luo

Table 4.5 shows the ethnic perception of the Luo by the Kisii and the Kipsigis. Whereas majority of the Kisii (72.0%) perceive the Luo as friends, a similar percentage of the Kipsigis perceive of them as enemies.

Table 4.5: Ethnic perception of the Luo

Ethnic group	Friends		Enemies		Neutral	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Kisii	36	72.0	7	14.0	7	14.0
Kipsigis	14	28.0	36	72.0	0	0.0
Total	50	100	43	100	7	7.0

4.3.1.1.1   Perception of the Luo as friends

Table 4.6 shows the ethnic perception of the Luo as friends by the Kipsigis and the Kisii. Among the Kisii interviewed, 63.9% stated that they do business with the Luo against 78.6% of the Kipsigis having the same view thus the Luo are considered as friends as a result of the interethnic transactions. Similarly, 11.1% of the Kisii consider the intermarriage between the Luo and the Kisii to be the source of their friendship. Religious affiliation was also recorded to have improved the friendship of the Luo with the Kipsigis and the Kisii at 21.4% and 8.3% respectively.

Table 4.6: Perception of the Luo as friends

Ethnic perception	The Kisii		The Kipsigis	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Good business men	23	63.9	11	78.6
Intermarry	4	11.1		
Mind their own business	4	11.1		
Religious affiliation	3	8.3	3	21.4
Good border relations	2	5.6		
Totals	36	100.0	14	100.0

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4.3.1.1.2   Perception of the Luo as enemies

The study findings reveal that 71.4% of the Kisii perceive the Luo to be their enemies against 27.8% of the Kipsigis who perceive them as enemies based on the reason that the Luo are not circumcised thus act with immaturity like children without considering the effects of their actions. The Luo are hated for their bragging and feeling superior than other ethnic groups and considering their cultures to be 'more superior' than other ethnic groups as depicted by the response rate of the Kisii and the Kipsigis at 14.3% and 44.4% respectively. A portion of the Kisii respondents stated that they perceive the Luo to be neutral because they are friendly in most cases.

Table 4.7   Perception of the Luo as enemies

Ethnic perception of the Luo	The Kisii		The Kipsigis	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
'Children'	5	71.4	10	27.8
Ethnocentric	1	14.3	16	44.4
Primitive			8	22.2
Jealous	1	14.3		
Political differences			1	2.8
Witches			1	2.8
Total	7	100	36	100

4.3.1.2 Ethnic perception of the Kipsigis

Majority of both the Kisii and the Luo perceive the Kipsigis as enemies (76.0% and 60.5% respectively) and 24.0% and 37.2% respectively as friends.

4.3.1.2.1   Perception of the Kipsigis as friends

Table 4.8 shows the perception of the Kipsigis as friends by both the Luo and the Kisii. Majority of the respondents perceive the Kipsigis to be friends based on business line through interethnic transactions which was witnessed to boost intergroup relations as illustrated by a response rate of 100% and 6.3% by the Kisii and the Luo respectively. However, 87.5% of the Luo perceive the Kipsigis to be friendly and loving.

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Table 4.8: Perception of the Kipsigis as friends

Ethnic perception	The Kisii		The Luo	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Good business relations	12	100	1	6.3
Friendly			14	87.5
Political alliance			1	6.3
Totals	12	100.0	16	100.0

4.3.1.2.2   Perception of the Kipsigis as enemies

Negative attribution in most cases weakens group relations. The presentation below represents the perception of the Kipsigis as enemies by both the Luo and the Kisii. This has to do with competition over resources like land and cattle thus 86.8% of the Kisii assert that the Kipsigis are land grabbers, while 50.0% of the Luo perceive the Kipsigis to be cattle rustlers. The level of trust was also reported to be low among the Kipsigis and the Luo (34.6%). Business is seen to be a binding factor for all the groups, thus 100% of the Luo perceives the Kipsigis as neutral on the basis of business activities.

Table 4.9: Perception of the Kipsigis as enemies

Ethnic perception	The Kisii		The Luo	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Cattle rustlers	1	2.6	13	50.0
'Land grabbers'	33	86.8		
'Criminals'	4	10.5		
Deceitful/Canning			9	34.6
Primitive/ inferior			3	11.5
Political differences			1	3.8
Total	38	100.0	26	100

4.3.1.3 Ethnic perception of the Kisii

Half of the Kipsigis perceive the Kisii as friends and half as enemies. However,more than half(55.8%) of the Luo perceive the Kisii as enemies.

4.3.1.3.1   Perception of the Kisii as friends

The findings reveal that majority of the Kipsigis (52.0%) perceive the Kisii as friends, while only 11.2% of the Luo consider them friends. This is mainly because the Kisii are renowned for their success in business especially trade and transport business, which are leading in the region. At the same time, other ethnic groups depend on them for their vegetables since they are the main suppliers in the region. Basically, 48.0% of the Kipsigis perceive the Kisii to be friends because they have good border relations. This is because most of the Kisii migrated and bought land in the region thus only considers their own borders, which is not ancestral. On the same note, 31.5% of the Luo consider the Kisii as friends because the Kisii do not interfere with any person since they are just committed to performing their chores.

Table 4.10: Perception of the Kisii as friends

Ethnic perception	The Kipsigis		The Luo	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Good business relations	13	52.0	2	11.2
Good border relations	12	48.0		
Friendly/loving			4	22.2
Mind their own business			8	31.5
Individualistic			3	16.7
Witches			1	5.6
Total	25	100	18	100

4.3.1.3.2   Perception of the Kisii as enemies

Among the Kipsigis who were interviewed, 80.0% perceive the Kisii as enemies because they are stereotyped to practice witchcraft. Similarly, 25.0% of the Luo considers the Kisii to engage in 'criminal' activities like murder cases which they believe have been contributed to by the 'high temper' of the Kisii. An aggregate percentage of 20.8% of the Luo perceive the Kisii as enemies because they are *'brutal'*, *'arrogant' and 'self-centered'*. One respondent stated that "the Kisii love *'their own'* and cannot betray their own". However, 100.0% perceive the Kisii as neutral because they are good businessmen.

Table 4.11:   Perception of the Kisii as enemies

Ethnic perception	The Kipsigis		The Luo	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Witches	20	80.0	3	12.5
Individualistic	5	20.0		
'Arrogant'/ 'brutal'			5	20.8
Deceitful/ canning			4	16.7
'Criminals'			6	25.0
'Man eaters'			3	12.5
Primitive/ inferior			3	12.5
Total	25	100.0	24	100.0

4.3.2   Ethnic Stereotyping

Horowitz (1985) stated that ethnic groups that share physical space have myths about their relative values and stereotypes about one another, this view explains the ethnic stereotyping in Sondu area.   Ethnic stereotypes influence human action and how groups are perceived by others thus highlighting the differences of different ethnic groups and as a result a description of coexistence. Basing my findings to Ericksen (1995), stereotypes do not take individual variations into account and are morally condemning but in the same time strengthen group cohesion. At the same time, stereotypes give identity and self-respect to people whose status might otherwise be low (Peil and Oyeneye, 1998).

Table 4.12 presents the proportions of respondents who stereotype other ethnic communities. A significantly high proportion (68.7%) of the respondents is engaged in ethnic stereotyping. High proportion of the Kipsigis (84.0%) and the Luo (72.0%) engage in ethnic stereotyping. However, it was noted that half of the Kisii engage in ethnic stereotyping and half do not stereotype.

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Table 4.12: Ethnic Stereotyping

Ethnic stereotype	Ethnic group							
	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Engaging in ethnic stereotyping	36	72.0	42	84.0	25	50.0	103	68.7
Not engaging in ethnic stereotyping	14	28.0	8	16.0	25	50.0	47	31.3
Total	50	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0	150	100.0

4.3.2.1 Luo stereotypes

Table 4.13 presents the Luo stereotypes and the proportions. The most common Luo stereotype is that they are *'children'*. Majority of the Kipsigis (76.5%) refer the Luo as *'ngeta'*, meaning they are not circumcised and that according to their culture anybody who is not circumcised is considered as a *'boy'*. A proportion of the Kisii (16.7%) however, stereotype the Luo based on their feeling of being 'superior to other ethnic groups'. A respondent stated that: *'the Luo feel superior especially when it comes to intelligent rating where they see other tribes to be having low IQ'*. Other stereotypes constitute less than 10.0%.

Table 4.13: Luo stereotypes

Luo stereotype	The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnocentric	10	19.6	2	16.7	12	19.0
'Children' *"Ngeta"*	39	76.5	8	66.7	47	74.6
Friendly			2	16.7	2	3.2
Cultural differences	2	3.9			2	3.2
Total	51	100.0	12	100.0	63	100.0

4.3.2.2 Kipsigis stereotypes

Kipsigis stereotypes are presented in Table 4.14. The most common Kipsigis stereotype among the Luo and the Kisii is that they are 'cattle rustlers' (51.3%) this is because they usually engage in cattle raiding. On the contrary, 47.8% of the Kisii stereotype the Kipsigis to be individualistic/ reserved. Only 17.9% of the Luo stereotype the Kipsigis as *'arrogant'* and *'brutal'* especially during cattle raiding exercise and during ethnic conflicts which they say the Kipsigis engage in war using arrows and harm brutally. Both the Kisii and the Luo have been having wrangles over cattle raids by the Kipsigis. It is evident that not all Kipsigis are cattle raiders but indeed are generalized to be so.

Table 4.14: Kipsigis Stereotypes

Kipsigis stereotype	The Luo		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	**Percent**	**Freq**	**Percent**	**Freq**	**Percent**
'Cattle rustlers'	20	51.3	12	52.2	32	51.6
Individualistic/reserved	12	30.8	11	47.8	23	37.1
'Arrogant'/'hostile'/ 'brutal'	7	17.9			7	11.3
Total	**39**	**100.0**	**23**	**100.0**	**62**	**100.0**

4.3.2.3 Kisii stereotype

The commonest Kisii stereotype is that they are witches as stated by 100.0% of the Kipsigis respondents. A respondent who was a Kipsigis confirmed that some of the Kisii neighbors are indeed practicing witchcraft. He noted that: *"If you share a border with a Kisii farmer and you disagree over a small issue and you refuse to ask for forgiveness, then you will be sure that when milking your cows, you will get blood instead of milk, and if you have plantations then your crops will never do well, they will all wither on the farm"*. Majority of the Luo stereotype the Kisii to be 'individualistic'/ 'reserved' (52.9%), and *'man eaters'* (25.5%) One of the Luo respondent stated that the Kisii especially those who ail from Nyamira district are indeed *'man-eaters'*. He further explained that word goes round that whenever anybody is buried; the body is exhumed by the Kisii who feast on the body and use the coffin as a box to ripen bananas.

Table 4.15: Kisii stereotypes

Kisii stereotype	The Luo		The Kipsigis		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Witches	11	21.6	50	100	61	51.8
'Individualistic'/ 'reserved'	27	52.9			27	32.5
'Man eaters'	12	25.5			12	15.7
Total	50	100	50	100	100	100

4.3.3 Understanding the dimension of ethnic relationship

The study sought to identify the inter-ethnic relations among the Luo, the Kisii and the Kipsigis. The study revealed that group perception influences group relations. The proportions of 'worst' inter-ethnic relations are presented in figure 4.1 and the proportions of better relations are presented in figure 4.2.

4.3.3.1 "Worst" ethnic relations

In pursuit to discover the ethnic relations, it was discovered that the Kisii and Kipsigis have the 'worst' relations (62.8%) followed by the Kipsigis and the Luo 27.6%).

Figure 4.1: "Worst" ethnic Relations
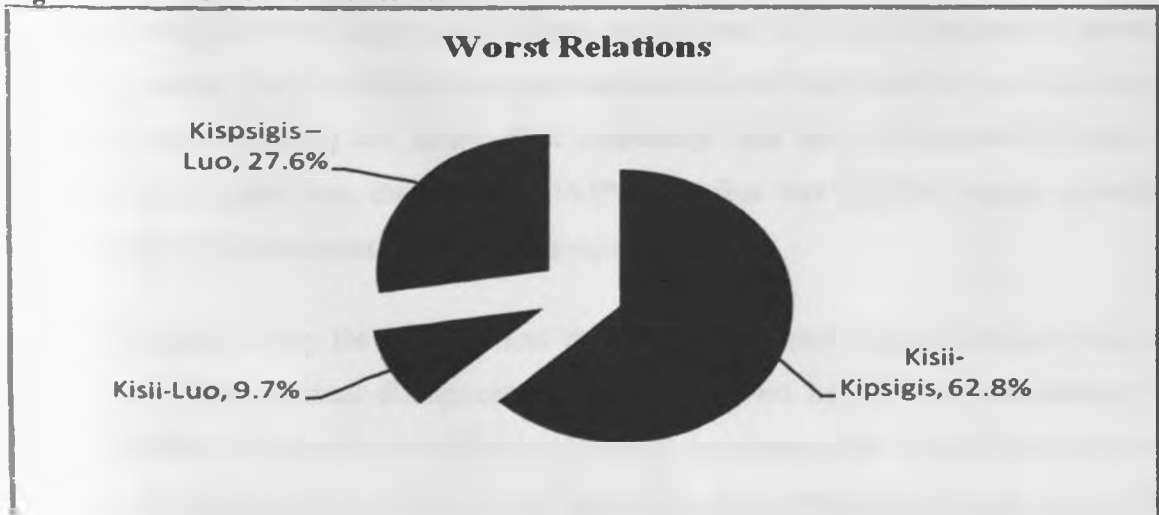
Majority of the Kisii (80%) and the Kipsigis (60%) agreed that indeed they have 'worst' ethnic relations, while a proportion of the Luo (24.4%) and the Kipsigis (40.0%) also commented that they have 'worst' ethnic relations with each other. However, 28.9% of the Luo and 2.0% of the Kisii confirmed that they have 'worst' ethnic relations.

Table 4.16: "Worst" ethnic relations

'worst' ethnic relations	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Kisii and the Kipsigis	21	46.7	30	60.0	40	80.0	91	62.8
Kisii and Luo	13	28.9			1	2.0	14	9.7
Kipsigis and Luo	11	24.4	20	40.0	9	18.0	40	27.6
Total	45	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0	145	100.0

The main reasons for 'worst' ethnic relations among the Kipsigis and the the Kisii as presented in table 4.17 is mainly attributed to competition over land as indicated by the Kisii respondents (50.0%). The main complaint for competition over land as stated by the Kisii is that majority of the Kipsigis sell or lease out their lands to them and do not issue title deeds and in many instances sell the same portion of land to multiple buyers, sometimes the Kisii are forced out of the land before the lease period expires and this has led to rise of animosity between the two ethnic groups. The Kipsigis on the other hand complained that whenever one Kisii buys your land, he or she will bring the *entire Kisii community*' and they will exploit the land to the maximum at the same time, the Kipsigis (16.0%) also fear that the Kisii engage in witchcraft which hinders the development of their counterparts.

The reasons why the Kipsigis and the Luo have 'worst' ethnic relations was mainly because they have political differences(31.1%) as indicated by the Luo and rampant cattle rustling (24.0%) as indicated by the Kipsigis. A small proportion of the Luo (20.0%) believe they have 'worst' ethnic relations with the Kisii because the Kisii practice witchcraft, while 2.0% of the Kisii stated that the Luo feel superior and do not see other ethnic groups to be equal partners in most activities. These findings concurs with Bar-Tal, Kruglanski and Klar (1989) and

Kriesberg (1982) findings which stated that negative relations evolve as a result of intergroup conflict caused by contradictory goals and interests between the groups over territory, resources, economy, religion and values. On the same note, Bar-Tal (1998) gave a case in which negative intergroup relations originate from ethnocentric and conflict origins which are complementary to each other.

Table 4.17: Reason for 'worst' relations

Reasons for 'worst' ethnic relations	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Witches	9	20.0	8	16.0			17	11.7
Cattle rustling			12	24.0	16	32.0	28	19.3
Arrogant/hostile/brutal	3	6.7			1	2.0	4	2.8
Individualistic/reserved	1	2.2					1	0.7
Inhuman					5	10.0	5	3.4
Superiority					1	2.0	1	0.7
Competition over land	6	13.3	19	38.0	25	50.0	50	34.5
Political differences	14	31.1	11	22.0	2	4.0	27	18.6
Cultural differences	8	17.8					8	5.5
Others	4	8.9					4	2.8
Total	**45**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**145**	**100.0**

4.3.3.2 "Better" ethnic relations

Apart from the worst relations presented above, the study also sought to identify better inter-ethnic relations and the findings of relations as presented in figure 4.2 indicates that the Kipsigis and the Luo have much better relations (40.0%) followed by the Kisii and the Luo (35.7%).

Figure 4.2: "Better" ethnic relations

The major reasons behind this better ethnic relations are as presented in table 4.19
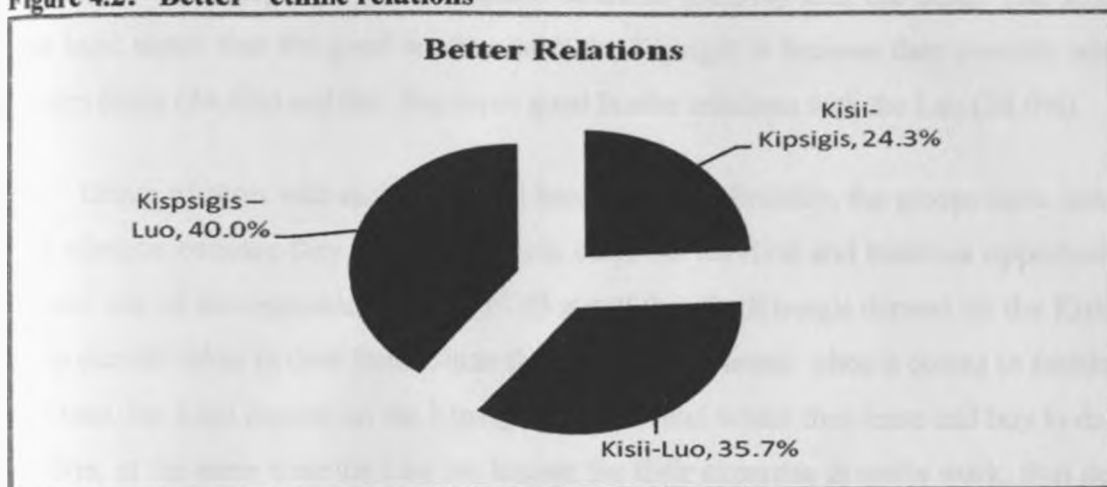
Among the Luo respondents interviewed, 65.0% believe that they have better ethnic relations with the Kipsigis who agree at 44.0%. However, 64.0% of the Kisii stated that they have better ethnic relations with the Luo and 32.0% of the Kipsigis believe they have better ethnic relations with the Kisii as presented in table 4.18 below.

Table 4.18: "Better" ethnic relations

Better ethnic relations	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Kisii and Kipsigis	8	20.0	16	32.0	10	20.0	34	24.3
Kisii and Luo	6	15.0	12	24.0	32	64.0	50	35.7
Kipsigis and Luo	26	65.0	22	44.0	8	16.0	56	40.0
Total	40	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0	140	100.0

The major reasons behind this better ethnic relations are as presented in table 4.19 indicates that 44.4% of the Luo believe that they have better ethnic relations with the Kisii based on business activities that is, they are good business partners. On the other hand, 13.3% of the Luo believe they have better relations with the Kipsigis because they have good border relations and also because they engage in intermarriage activities. The Kipsigis however believe that they have better relations with the Luo because *"we are all Nilotes"*, thus, have similar origin

(16.0%), and that they have good business relations (56.0%) with the Kisii. The Kisii on the other hand stated that the good relation with the Kipsigis is because they provide labor at the Kipsigis farms (24.0%) and that they have good border relations with the Luo (28.0%).

Group relation with each other has been dynamic. Initially, the groups have been having good relations because they depend on each other for survival and business opportunities. For instance, one of the respondents in the FGD stated that the Kipsigis depend on the Kisii and the Luo to provide labor in their farms since the Kipsigis are *'weak'* when it comes to farming, at the same time, the Kisii depend on the Kipsigis for their land which they lease and buy to do farming activities, at the same time the Luo are known for their expertise in crafts work, thus depend on their products. All the groups depend on each other for business purposes. For instance, a respondent stated that the Kipsigis are cattle rearing group thus other groups depend on them for their cattle products like milk and meat and maize. The Kisii on the other hand are *'farmers of the soil'*, thus produce vegetables, bananas, onions and tomatoes. The Luo being fish farmers and fishermen are depended on for their fish, sweet potatoes and mats. Intermarriages and education also promotes good relations between the groups. A respondent stated that an individual relate better with his or her in-laws as required by the customs and traditions of both the groups. On the same note, schools act as a social place where any child of any ethnic group could attend, and this has led to the respect and embrace of each others' culture. Teachers also teach in any school in any location irrespective of the ethnic group.

Table 4.19: Reason for better relations

Reasons for better relations	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Good business partners	20	44.4	28	56.0	16	32.0
Intermarry	6	13.3	7	14.0		
Good border relations	6	13.3			14	28.0
Have the same origin	2	4.4	8	16.0	4	8.0
Relate well in politics	4	8.9	2	4.0		
Have similar ideologies					1	2.0
Provision of labor on the farms			1	2.0	12	24.0
Others	7	15.6	4	8.0	3	6.0
Total	**45**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**

4.4 Identification of the underlying contributions to coexistence among the groups

The second objective of the study sought to identify the underlying contributions to coexistence among the three ethnic groups. The aspects that were looked into regarding the issue included the meaning of interethnic coexistence and identification of whether one can talk of peaceful coexistence in Sondu area, contributions to coexistence and the obstacles to achieving equitable coexistence. The specific opinions are presented in the following subsections.

4.4.1   Understanding of the concept of interethnic coexistence

Interethnic coexistence according to the respondents refers to the existence of different ethnic groups in the same place in harmony with one another and depending on each other for survival. It involves absence of ethnic animosity and conflicts. This definition matches with Bar-Tal's (2004) definition. However, 68.0% of the respondents believe that there is peaceful coexistence in Sondu as guided by the reasons that there are exchanges of goods and ideas

without considering a person's particular tribe, full equality with regard to ethnic group, interaction without animosity, harmonious living. The findings reveal that peaceful coexistence concurs with what Bar-Tal (2004) referred to as the components of coexistence. On the same note, Lederach (1997) stated that full harmony is experienced when there is a stable and lasting peace characterized by mutual recognition and acceptance.

4.4.2 Contributions to coexistence

The interacting ethnic groups have adopted certain coping strategies in their daily interethnic relations which may be assessed based on the activities the communities engage in together. Business engagement is the major activity shared among communities. This involves buying and selling of commodities in the market place. It is unlikely to find an individual selling his products only to people of his or her ethnic origin in the market. Interethnic transaction strengthens interethnic relations. This is because a bond is created between the buyer and the seller leading to maintenance of the relationship.

Agriculture or farming activities have also contributed to coexistence. The study revealed that different ethnic groups work in the farms belonging to other ethnic groups for survival. For instance, the Kisii and the Luo were reported to be working as laborers in the farms belonging to the Kipsigis. The Kipsigis also lease out their farms to other ethnic groups and this contributes to good relations between the ethnic groups.

Sporting activities where interethnic sport tournaments are organized and have been used as a coping strategy to promote coexistence. The respondents confirmed that football tournaments have been used in the past especially among the youths within the region to restore peace and bring about reconciliation among the warring communities.

The respondents also enumerated the intercultural activities that promote coexistence and it was reported that intermarriages promotes coexistence. This is related to Gordon's (1964) process of marital assimilation where he stated that when different communities live in a particular place, there is gradual merging of the subordinate and dominant groups through intermarriage. According to the head teacher of Sondu Union primary school, the community members engage in intercultural activities like attending weddings, funerals and circumcision

ceremonies and all these activities strengthen their interaction and relation, thus embrace each other's culture. The entire findings of the intercultural activities concur with Gordon (1964) study on the assimilation, which leads to groups becoming indistinguishable from one another.

4.4.3 The obstacles to achieving equitable coexistence

Achievement of equitable interethnic coexistence is hindered by various factors. Majority of the respondents believe that ethnic conflicts are obstacles to achieving coexistence. These ethnic conflicts are triggered by competition over scarce resources. It was also noted that political interference is a hindrance factor. Other factors mentioned include; border disputes, cattle rustling, stereotyping and ethnicisation of employment. These findings concur with Kriesberg's identification of the obstacles to achieving equitable coexistence as popular sentiment, ideologies and vested interests (Kriesberg, 1998).

4.5 Ethnic conflict as part of interethnic coexistence

The third objective of the study sought to investigate the causes and nature of interethnic conflicts among the Kipsigis, the Luo and the Kisii. Mack (1969) stated that conflict may define, maintain and strengthen group boundaries contributing to the groups' distinctiveness and increased group solidarity and cohesion, thus justification of ethnic conflict as part of interethnic coexistence. When asked about the role ethnicity plays in the continued ethnic discord in Sondu, The chairperson of Nyakach district Community policing stated that ethnicity embraces identity thus each ethnic group is able to identify with their own people. This is triggered by cultural differences which in the end increases ethnic tension and continued ethnic rivalry and conflict in the area. In the same event, ethnicity has led to stereotype and prejudice which causes ethnic conflict. An informant, who is a Kisii stated that the Kipsigis look down upon them and stereotype them to be witches. He however did not deny that there are some Kisii who practice witchcraft and this has led to the generalization that all the Kisii are witches. The Kisii on the other hand believe that the Kipsigis are arrogant and brutal at the same time land grabbers based on past conflict in 1992 and 1997, because some Kipsigis men chased away a section of the Kisii from their lands. According to the chairman of RESSO, ethnicity determines which political party one should be a member of thus leading to ethnic politics.

4.5.1 Nature and causes of interethnic conflicts

The study sought to identify the nature and causes of interethnic conflicts in Sondu area. As presented in figure 4.3, most of communal conflicts occur between or among different communities compared to conflicts that occur between or among members of the same community.

Figure 4.3: Nature of interethnic conflict
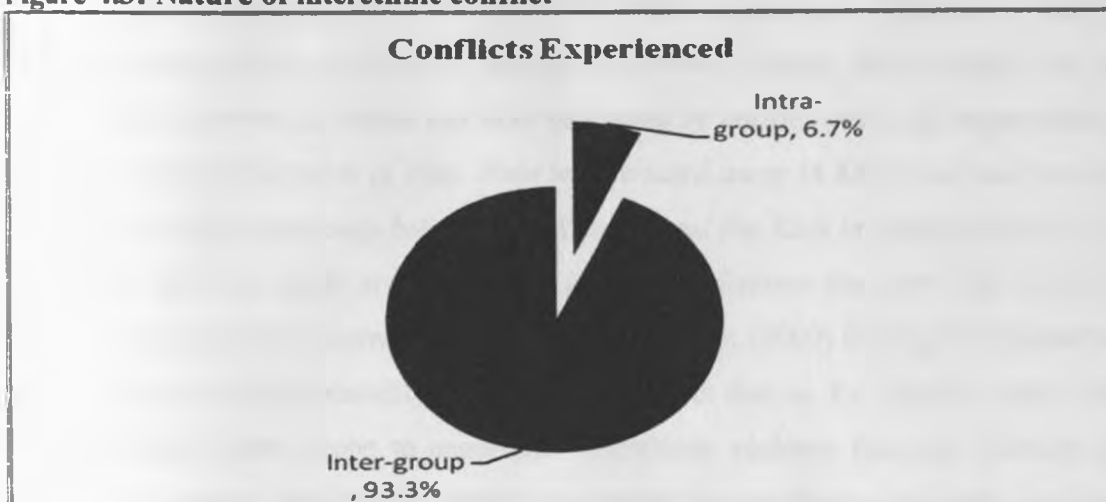
Among the respondents interviewed, 6.7% of the Luo consider presence of intra-ethnic conflict within the group. This is mainly contributed to by the border disputes which are rampant in the area. In some instances, some of the respondents stated that they have been having wrangles with each other because they believe that some of the Luo engage in cattle rustling activities and they are the ones who know their territories well than the Kipsigis, thus the Luo believe their cattle are raided by their own neighbors who collude with the Kipsigis men to raid their cattle. One respondent who was a Luo confirmed that the Luo are always jealous of one another and can eventually organize any crime against the other.

Table 4.20: Nature of interethnic conflict

Ethnic group	Intra-ethnic conflict		Inter-ethnic conflict		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Luo	10	20.4	39	79.6	49	100.0
Kipsigis			50	100.0	50	100.0
Kisii			50	100.0	50	100.0
Total	10	6.7	139	93.3	149	100.0

4.5.2 Main causes of conflict in Sondu

Among the Luo respondents interviewed, 46.9% explained that competition for political gains or power has been the major cause of interethnic conflict in Sondu area. This is because in most cases, politics have been along ethnic lines i.e. tribal politics where each ethnic group wants to support their own candidate. A respondent stated that, *"the 1992, 1997 and 2002 ethnic conflicts experienced in Sondu were highly influenced by ethnic politics; this was because the Kipsigis were supporting retired president Moi while the Luo were affiliated to 'their own' who was Hon. Raila Odinga, and this led to clash of interest. During 2007 elections, the interethnic conflicts that occurred in Sondu was also instigated by politics and it all began during election campaigns when delegation of Hon. Ruto were chased away in Kisii town and this marked the beginning of ethnic animosity between the Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu leading to eviction of some of the Kisii in Sondu area especially in Sigowet division that year. The Kisii wer evicted and had their properties destroyed by the Kipsigis.* Fjelde (2009) finding for Nigeria reveals that elections increase the probability of intergroup conflict that is, for Nigeria, years with election are significantly more prone to experience interethnic violence than non election years. The findings also concur with Oucho (2002) who stated that conflict is politically instigated by the manipulation of the borders. Makoloo (2005) stated that failure of political institutions to accommodate diverse interests has generated conflicts that adversely affect political and economic outcomes.

Competition over scarce resources (34.0%) as reported by the Kipsigis is also seen to be causing conflict in Sondu. Moore (1996) stated that the existence of impulses of ethnic conflicts among different ethnic groups is in many cases caused by competition over scarce resources like land, institutions, infrastructure and even power. Revenue collection in the market was identified to be one of the major sources of conflict in the area. The conflict come about as a result of distribution of the revenue collected in which 80% of cess collected goes directly to the Kipsigis county council and only 20% goes to the Nyando county council and yet majority of the buyers and sellers originate from Nyando county council. In the event, Akiwumi report indicates that ethnic conflicts in Rift Valley province in 1992 were triggered by competition over land. Nyukuri (1997) stated that unequal distribution of resources is a potential source of instability in Kenya. Makoloo (2005) stated that the leaders of the ethnic group that leads the state controls an

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enormous amount of resources which have been distributed in a skewed manner, favoring particular groups leading to conflict. Cattle rustling as stated by 26.5% of the Luo also cause interethnic conflict. The study revealed that cattle rustling is one part contributed by stringent cultural demands of dowry payment, thus, if an individual is not able to secure the required quantity, he is left with no option but to engage in frequent cattle raids. In Sondu, it was realized that the Kipsigis are well known for cattle theft, which has increased ethnic tension in the region. Thus the non-fulfillment of basic human needs as discussed by Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, explain the frequent cattle raids. Akiwumi report also indicated that cattle rustling were also the cause of ethnic clashes in 1992. The findings also revealed that negative stereotypes (26.0%) increase the chances of ethnic animosity and resultant ethnic conflicts. This was mainly figured out by the Kipsigis.The findings relate with Cottam and Cottam (2001) note that greater problems of disharmony occur where strong judgments are made by one group regarding the relative superiority/ inferiority of other communities. Ideological differences (18.0%) as stated by the Kisii are also a contribution factor to the rampant ethnic conflicts in the area. Training manual on conflict management (2006) justifies the causes of conflict by stating that in most cases conflict is as a result of different perception, different behaviors or attitudes, poor distribution of national resources, lack of basic human needs, ideological differences based on religion or political parties and different interests.

Table 4.21: Main Causes of Conflict in Sondu

Causes of conflict	The Luo		The Kipsigis		The Kisii		Total	
	Freq	**Percent**	**Freq**	**Percent**	**Freq**	**Percent**	**Freq**	**Percent**
Power/politics	23	46.9	13	26.0	22	44.0	**58**	38.9
Cattle rustling	13	26.5	7	14.0	7	14.0	**27**	18.1
Border dispute	4	8.2					**4**	2.7
Competition over scarce resources	8	16.3	17	34.0	8	16.0	**33**	22.1
Differences in ideologies	1	2.0			9	18.0	**10**	6.7
Ethnicity					4	8.0	**4**	2.7
Stereotyping			13	26.0			**13**	8.7
Total	**49**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**50**	**100.0**	**149**	**100.0**

4.5.3 Consequences of interethnic conflict

The Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo have experienced the consequences of interethnic conflicts. The respondents stated that social ties have been weakened resulting into the mistrust and reception of interethnic relations with suspicion. This has led interference with interethnic marriages, which are nowadays avoided at some cost. Displacement of residents was also reported; this has simultaneous effects to education activities, which became disrupted because several school going children were displaced and teachers belonging to the 'other' ethnic groups were forced to transfer to safer zones.

Indiscriminate loss of human life coupled with increase in insecurity rates was reported. The study revealed that many houses were set a blaze by the bandits to revenge. Criminals always take advantage of conflict situations and end up harassing the locals. For instance, it was reported that women and girls were raped in the area and many people killed by unknown people. Poor conditions of the IDP camps and poor sanitations have also led to spread of communicable diseases like cholera increasing the death toll. People experiencing conflicting situation often report psychological trauma that was recorded at a higher rate. The economic effects of communal conflicts that occur between the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo identified included decline in economic production as a result of disruption in agricultural activities as potential farmers ran away due to insecurity reasons and destruction of farms and farm produce. Destruction of property/business where some business premises were looted and set a blaze or even completely destroyed by the bandits, at the same time, transport and communication lines were broken down as the operators of the transport services especially matatu which were largely owned by the Kisii withdrew from conducting business along the routes. This led to hiking and fluctuation of prices of essential commodities. It was reported that many people took the advantage of the situation and grabbed the lands belonging to the 'enemy' community. In the same regard, the Kipsigis were mentioned to have chased away the Kisii away from their land and conquered the portions that belonged to the Kisii.

Political polarization/ethnic politics was reported as the most common political effects of conflict. Other effects include ethnic rivalry/hatred, loss of interest to participate in elections.

Majority of the respondents stated that they lost trust in political leaders who insight the locals and do not feel their pain when attacked by enemies.

The environmental aspect of communal conflicts that occur between Kipsigis, Kisii and Luo include destruction of vegetation cover by victims as a defensive strategy to destroy the hiding grounds of the attackers. This led to massive pollution of the environment and environmental degradation. Some farm produce was also reported to have been destroyed in the fields leading to idle lands.

The findings about the consequences of interethnic conflict in Sondu area, concurs with the findings of Nyukuri (1997) paper on the impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenya's stability and development.

4.6 Conflict resolution as part of coexistence

The fourth objective of the study sought to assess how the interethnic conflicts are resolved. Bar-Tal (2004) argued that acts like agreement on cease fire, negotiations, conflict resolution or changes of laws are important parts of coexistence. Similarly, Kriesberg, Northrop and Thorson (1989) stated that coexistence is a situation of resolved conflict.

4.6.1 How community members resolve interethnic conflicts

Interethnic conflicts are frequently managed directly by the society in which they occur. Most conflict resolution methods that are used by the community members include; negotiations, reconciliation, participation in social groups like women, men and youth groups that embrace development without considering ethnic lines, engaging in interethnic sporting activities to preach peace and advocacy for peace. The respondents assessed the role of men in conflict resolution and the results are as shown in the table below reveal that the most common role of men of in conflict resolution is participation in negotiation (35.3%) while the least common role is participation in socialization process (0.7%). The respondents also assessed the role of women in conflict resolution. According to the respondents, the most common role of women in conflict resolution is participation in social groups (33.6%) while the least common role is engagement in mediation processes (0.7%). According to the respondents, the most common role of youth in

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conflict resolution is engagement in sporting activities (34.2%) while the least common role is engagement in mediation processes (0.7%). In this regard, my findings reveal that diplomatic mechanism of conflict resolution is of paramount importance in resolving interethnic conflicts.

Table 4.22: How community members resolve interethnic conflicts

Roles	Adult Men		Adult Women		Youth (men and women)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Participate in negotiations	53	35.3	2	1.4		
Reconcile the communities	35	23.3	31	21.2	15	10.3
Engage in sporting activities	6	4.0	6	4.1	50	34.2
Intermarriages	15	10.0	11	7.5	2	1.4
Participate in social groups	10	6.7	49	33.6	13	8.9
Avoid getting involved in conflicts	2	1.3	3	2.1	6	4.1
Identify the root causes of conflicts	6	4.0			12	8.2
Advocacy	5	3.3	9	6.2	22	15.1
Provide security	5	3.3	8	5.5	15	10.3
Engage in mediation processes	6	4.0	1	0.7	1	0.7
Participate in socialization process	1	0.7	17	11.6		
Do business together	6	4.0				
Cooperate with peace builders			7	4.8	9	6.2
Nothing			2	1.4	1	0.7
Total	150	100.0	146	100	146	100

4.6.2   The role of other actors in conflict resolution process

Identification of interventions by key actors in conflict resolution is an important step in conflict resolution. The study findings reveal that the most active actors in the area include the government especially the provincial administration and the police, NGOs including USAID, CJPC and World Vision. Other actors include the CBOs like RESSO and finally religious organizations. The most common intervention reported were human security by the government is (30.7%). the government according to the D.O conducts inter-district security and intelligence meetings where the DCs from all the three districts meet to discuss security issues in their respective districts. In the district level, the DSIC is chaired by the DC and its members include the OCPD, NSIS, DAPC and the DCIO. The D.O stated that the inter-district security and intelligence meetings have been conducted in Kapsorok and Sondu and have achieved tremendous results in calming, provision of security and even taming trouble makers. The government has also provided shelter in police stations and chief camps for the displaced, peace caravans have helped to reconcile the groups and also chiefs call barazaas to preach peace and reconciliation. The NGOs have also contributed through reconciliation (90.9%), this was done in a different angle by engaging the community members in empowerment programs in which they mobilize the resources; for instance, a key informant commented that bee keeping project is on going for the victims of interethnic conflict financed by USAID. Peace evangelism by CBOs (53.8%) and reconciliation by religious organizations (66.7%) have promoted peace in the region. Retired principal of Rae Girls' High School stated that the continued efforts by the DPC calling peace meetings and conducting peace campaigns in order to reconcile the three ethnic groups have achieved its goal of reconciliation and awareness creation on the need for peace. This action however as she mentioned is constrained by finances since the government did not allocate funds for the project. Intermarriages, inter-district school exchange visits to compete in debates and sports, capacity building and empowerment by RESSO and evangelism were some of the actions that were mentioned.

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Table 4.23: The role of other actors in conflict resolution process

Roles	Government		NGOs		CBOs		Religious Organizations	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Capacity building	5	4.4			1	7.7		
Human security	35	30.7						
Advocacy	17	14.9	1	9.1				
Use of force	7	6.1						
Negotiations	21	18.4						
Mediations	5	4.4						
Reconciliation	24	21.1	10	90.9	5	38.5	4	66.7
Evangelism					7	53.8	2	33.3
Total	114	100	11	100	13	100	6	100

The respondents also evaluated their level of satisfaction of the actors in conflict resolution and the findings are presented in the table below. Majority of the respondents are very satisfied with CBOs than other actors. According to the respondents, government is the least performer in conflict resolution.

Table 4.24: Level of Satisfaction with Actors in Conflict Resolution

Actor	Very Satisfied		Satisfied		Not Satisfied	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Government	35	30.7	48	42.1	31	27.2
NGOs	4	36.4	7	63.6		
CBOs	12	92.3			1	7.7
Religious Organizations	5	83.3			1	16.7
Total	56	38.9	55	38.2	33	22.9

Key issues on how different actors can be utilized most effectively to combat ethnic conflict was sought and the responses were that for the government, they should fund peace initiatives and distribute them to the grassroots leading to appreciation of bottom-up approach for decision making. The government should also introduce inter-cultural centers and promote local tourism and reduce ethnicization of employment. It was felt by the respondents that the NGOs can commit themselves on community sensitization and fund vocational trainings to empower

the youths thus reduce their idleness which in most cases lead them to engage in criminal activities which also leads to conflicts. The CBOs on the other hand can mobilize resources and preach peace.

On a closing remark, the respondents felt that in order to strengthen conflict resolution process, peace campaigns should be strengthened to educate the citizens on the importance of peace, there is need to address the root causes of conflicts and embrace political socialization and dialogue.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the study

Human beings relate with one another in their everyday struggles. This relation involves cooperation, tolerance, disagreements which are later on resolved and leads to latent peace. Guided by the concept of societal coexistence, the study focused on studying the nature of interethnic coexistence among the Luo, the Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area.

Sondu is a cosmopolitan region comprising of three districts namely South Nyakach, Kericho West and Nyamira districts. The name was coined from the name of the river, *'risonto'* (meaning 'a big river') which was used as a boundary by the colonist to separate the Kipsigis and the Luo, thus the white man pronounced *risonto* as *Sondu*. Established in 1938, Sondu became a common market for the three ethnic groups which have now developed to serve the Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces.

The objectives of the study aimed at illuminating the context under study thus helped in achieving the research goal. The objective that was aimed at determining how the Kipsigis, the Kisii and the Luo perceive one another provided an understanding of the nature of interethnic relations and what contributes to that kind of relations. The findings reveal that intergroup perception revolves around ethnic stereotyping which both builds community cohesiveness and at the same time leads to mistrust. Majority of the respondents (68.7) acknowledged that there is ethnic stereotyping, with 74.6% stereotyping the Luo to be *'children'* meaning they are not circumcised, 51.6% stereotype the Kipsigis as *'cattle rustlers'* and 48.2% stereotype the Kisii to be *'witches'*. In addition, 62.8% of the respondents stated that the Kisii and the Kipsigis have the worst relations based on cultural differences and competition over land (57.1% and 54.9%g respectively) amongst others. Based on better ethnic relations, 40% of the respondents believe that the Kipsigis and the Luo have better relations and they attributed this to good business partnership, similar nilotic origin and intermarriages at 30.4%, 16.1% and 14.3% respectively.

The second objective identified the underlying contributions to coexistence among the groups revealed what the respondents understand the term interethnic coexistence to refer to the existence of different ethnic groups in the same place in harmony with one another and depending on each other for survival. This definition matches with Bar-Tal's (2004) definition. On the same context, 68.0% of the respondents believe that there is peaceful coexistence in Sondu as guided by the reasons that there are exchanges of goods and ideas without considering a person's particular tribe, full equality with regard to ethnic group, interaction without animosity, harmonious living. The findings reveal that peaceful coexistence concurs with what Bar-Tal (2004) referred to as the components of coexistence. On the same note, Lederach (1997) stated that full harmony is experienced when there is a stable and lasting peace characterized by mutual recognition and acceptance. Majority of the respondents (52.0%) believe that business (buying and selling of goods) promote interethnic coexistence in the area against 24.7% who believe that farming contributes to their coexistence with other ethnic groups. On the same note, 34.0% of the respondents believe intermarriages, while 24.7% believe sports improve group relations which in turn promote coexistence. Ethnic conflicts and political interference (75.9%, 9.8% respectively) hinder achievement of equitable interethnic coexistence. Other factors mentioned at a lower rate include competition over scarce resources, border disputes, ethnicization of employment in the civil service and stereotyping.

Mack (1969) stated that conflict may define, maintain and strengthen group boundaries contributing to the groups' distinctiveness and increased group solidarity and cohesion, thus justification of ethnic conflict as part of interethnic coexistence. However, 93.3% of the respondents stated that conflicts that occur in the region are intergroup conflicts that are conflicts that occur between or among different ethnic groups. The causes of these conflicts are attributed to politics (38.9%), competition over scarce resources (22.1%), cattle rustling (18.1%). Other factors include stereotyping and ideological differences at 8.7% and 6.7% respectively. The findings revealed that 29.5% of the respondents believe interethnic conflicts have weakened social ties including breakdown of marriages and families. This has changed how the groups view interethnic marriages with fear and suspicion and to greater extent mistrust. Ethnic conflicts have resulted into displacements (22.8%) where several school going children were displaced thus disruption of education activities. Families were also displaced from their lands.

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Economically, decline in economic production because many of the potential farmers run away for their life was rated at 33.6% with destruction of properties at 30.2%. Ethnic politics was also made a reality with 43.8% of the respondents agreeing that there was political polarization. Massive destruction of vegetation cover, destruction of farm produce by arsonists who set the farms on fire as a defensive strategy and resultant pollution was mentioned at 35.8%, 33.8% and 15.5% respectively.

Seeking to assess how interethnic conflicts are resolved in Sondu area, the findings revealed that community members engage in negotiations, reconciliation, participation in social groups and sporting activities and advocacy for peace. External actors who aid in conflict resolution include the government, NGOs, CBOs and religious organizations. However, it was noted that the government efforts in conflict resolution is limited. Thus for effective conflict resolution to be achieved, the respondents felt that peace campaigns for peaceful coexistence should be strengthened, there is need to address the root causes of conflict and there is need for political socialization and dialogue.

5.2 Conclusion

From the study findings, I can infer that ethnic group perception is highly influenced by ethnic stereotypes which on one hand strengthens inter group relations and on the other create ethnic mistrust and animosity. This implies that whenever there is positive stereotyping, the trust between the group members' increases and this leads to good inter group relations. Ridicule makes individuals of similar ethnic groups more united than ever before. On the other hand, ethnic stereotypes leads to ethnic mistrust and animosity, this is vastly contributed to by negative stereotyping where bad comments are put against the 'other' ethnic group.

Secondly, Interethnic coexistence if well harmonized is a good strategy for promoting a sense of sustainable nationhood in Kenya. Basing the findings to Emile Durkheim's structural functionalism perspective, no part of society can function properly in isolation of the other societal parts and this explains why different ethnic groups coexist in a given locality. However, achieving equitable coexistence is difficult because it is constrained by factors like struggle over scarce national resources including power, land, cattle and ideological differences.

Third, interethnic conflicts are always manifested externally to people by its consequences than through its real causes which are always hidden, thus the findings were clear that it is important to pay attention to the root causes of conflict than to its symptoms. Fourth, diplomatic mechanisms for conflict resolution are seen to yield better results and leads to lasting peace. The use of force in conflict resolution only leads to short-term peace and restored calmness but the conflict is still latent and hidden within the individual multiplying and later on explodes to a huger conflict. Thus when the root causes of conflict are dealt with and the parties to the conflict come into consensus, the chances of repeated incidents are unlikely to be witnessed.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations were highlighted and were categorized sequentially from the community perspective to the government, Non Governmental Organizations and finally areas of further research.

The Community:

i. The community members can mobilize their natural resources including land and expertise and engage in economic activities like commercial farming and sell the produce to further support other developmental projects within the community.

ii. Similarly, the community members should actively participate in developmental programs that foster peace and unity. For instance, sports which should be regularly organized to unite the community members fostering positive competition among the group members and also act as a learning process for the participants to learn about other cultures.

iii. Women worldwide have been witnessed to experience the vast effects of conflict, thus conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives should include gender perspective and to be precise a significant role of women in meaningful management of conflict.

The government:

i. The government on the other hand should intensify its role in conflict resolution and management operations and this can be done through popular participation, equality in distribution of resources and to a very limited extent use of force to curb insecurity.

ii. The government should introduce inter-cultural centers in this village and promote local tourism.

iii. Education is of outmost importance, thus education system should be reformed and ensure that there are national education units that address relevant issues of interethnic coexistence with the efforts to eradicate stereotypes, prejudice and negative attributions.

iv. To foster equitable coexistence, structural methods including policies aimed at reducing inequalities should be put in place.

The Non Governmental Organizations:

i. The Non Governmental Organizations on the other hand should commit themselves on community sensitization and campaign for peaceful coexistence. This they can do by mobilizing public resources and using affiliation groups as a channel for development and peace.

ii. Similarly, NGOs can fund vocational trainings to empower the youths in the villages who are idle and use their idle state to engage in immoral activities, which eventually leads to conflicts and chaos in the society.

Further Research

i. Harmonious coexistence can be used as a strategy in poverty eradication efforts. Traditionally, different ethnic groups have values and engage in different activities for survival. Not all ethnic groups engage in similar activities. Thus if all these values and activities are amalgamated, then development can be achieved within the region with practice of cultural pluralism.

ii.   The need to formulate strategies on how to harness interethnic cultures to bring about development as a result of harmonious coexistence arises. On the same note, politics or conflict over power was noted to be the main cause of conflict in Sondu area with 38.9%, this call for further research on how political differences can be harnessed and used as a turning point towards achieving interethnic coexistence within these warring communities.

iii.   National resources have been stated as another cause of ethnic conflicts and at the same time, utilization of these national resources have been noted to be important in fostering interethnic coexistence, this brings about the question, is national resource a prerequisite in achieving equitable interethnic coexistence?

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ANNEXES

ANNEX ONE: PARTICIPANTS FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Occupation/Position of the respondent	Number
District Officer-Sigowet	1
Chairman Community Policing-Nyakach District	1
Chairman CBO-RESSO	1
Secretary DPC-Sigowet District	1
Head teacher-Sondu Union primary school	1
Retired high school Principal and DPC Treasurer-Nyakach District	1
Total	**6**

ANNEX TWO: PARTICIPANTS FOR THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Category of the respondents	Number
Kipsigis	3
Kisii	3
Luo	3
Total	**9**

ANNEX THREE: HISTORY OF SONDU MARKET

It is quite interesting that the main economic activity that attracts many migrants from different parts of Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces is the market. This makes it possible to understand how this means of coexistence came into existence.

A talk with the secretary to the Sigowet District Peace Committee highlighted that Sondu market was established in 1938 at Kadinda by an elder known as Mzee Dinda who was brewing and selling native beer (*Changaa*). This beer attracted many people from the Luo side who socialized together while taking the beer. There was a need of socializing with people from across, the kipsigis also while taking the beer thus those Luo elders invited their Kipsigis friends to drink with them. On seeing his beer business growing, Mzee Dinda decided to construct a kiosk where his customers after drinking could buy something to take home like sugar or bread, several shops then emerged as the beer business was growing and this led to the establishment of Kadinda market named after the elder Dinda who started the beer business. The market became smaller because many business opportunities opened up and thus was the need for a larger space. Early 1940's the market was moved to Maraboi where the recent water filtering station is, this was because there was need for larger transaction space. In 1947, the market moved to Maemba and was known as *'risonto'* meaning *'a big river'* after River Miriu which was separating the Kipsigis and the Luo. The market was moved because in Maraboi it was difficult to get products from the farms, since businessmen moved to interior areas to get farm produce thus need for a strategic place. The large population necessitated security, thus in 1947 the first police station was established to check on the insecurity situation and also resolve any conflict that might occur. This was done by the white men and it marked the boundary between the Kipsigis and the Luo.

In 1958, due to increased insecurity in risonto, a man by the name Jabedo together with Mzee Apollo Orengo, the father to Honorable James Orengo, who was influential decided to establish another market known as *'kajabedo'* market and it served South Nyanza, Kericho and Kisumu Districts and thus the three ethnic groups could converge at the market. The market was mainly for food stuff with the Luo selling fish. cattle. and mats. sweet potatoes while the Kipsigis sold maize, milk, beans and cattle. The Kisii on the other hand sold onions, tomatoes, bananas,

vegetables and millet. With the growing of the market, insecurity became rampant in the region with increased ethnic conflicts over limited business space and boundary disputes. The white man on seeing this decided look for a neutral ground and build nine shops and one building with three doors for butchery for each ethnic group. (The shops are still there). Revenue was collected in one place and divided into three for each ethnic group. There were council workers from all the three zones thus the name Sondu mixed market. The name Sondu was coined from the name Risonto River which the white men pronounced Sondu. After the white men left the region in 1961. conflict of interest over market began when a councilor elected from the then Central Nyanza did not divide the revenues collected for the three groups. The Kipsigis and the Kisii on seeing this started to scramble over revenue collection and this continued up to 1980, when a delegation from Rift Valley went to the retired president Daniel Arap Moi and complained of the cess collection and this led to the subdivision of the market into two, that is Atela for the Luo and Sondu for the Kipsigis. The PC, Mr. Cheluget favored the Kipsigis when subdividing the market and moved the boundary which was put by the white men towards the Luo side. In spite of the subdivision of the market, residents managed to buy and sell goods in any side of the market but the revenue collected goes to the respective council. Nowadays, the Sondu market involves transactions and exchange of goods and services among different ethnic groups who live and stay along the border of Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces, also other ethnic groups and races including the Kikuyu, the Luhya, Nubians and Asians are among the groups that do business in Sondu. 80% of the revenue collected in Sondu goes to Rift Valley side and this has led to contributed to the rising ethnic animosity between the Kipsigis and the Luo because the Luo believe that they are the real contributors to the growth of the market and yet do not get any returns. The Kisii on the other hand are on the neutral grounds because they are just doing business and do not share any boundary within the market region.

ANNEX FOUR: TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

THE NATURE OF INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE AMONG THE LUO, THE KIPSIGIS AND THE KISII IN SONDU AREA

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Good Morning/Afternoon! I am Ms Dorine Odongo, an MA student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting an academic survey on nature of interethnic coexistence between the Luo, Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area. You have been randomly selected to participate in this survey. I would like to ask you some questions on social, economic and political issues. The interview will take about thirty minutes. Your answers will remain strictly confidential and they will be used only for research purposes on aggregate.

Do I have your consent to continue with the interview?

SECTION 1: BIODATA

1. Location of residence_____   _____

2. Gender
   1= Male

   2= Female

3. Highest level of education
   1= None

   2= Primary

   3= Secondary

   4= Tertiary college

   5= University

4. Main occupation of the respondent
   1= Farmer

   2= Professional

   3= Technical worker

   4= Businessman/woman

   5= Pastoralist

6= Laborer

7= Domestic worker

8= Housewife

9= Student

10=Other (Specify) ——————————————

5. Age of the respondent (years) ————————————————
6. What is your religion/denomination?
    1= Catholic
    2=Protestant
    3=Evangelical
    4= Islam
    5= Hindu
    6= other (specify)——————————————

7. What is your ethnic group
    1= Kisii
    2= Kipsigis
    3= Luo
    4= other (specify) ———————————————

8. What is the main economic activity in the area?————————————————————
——

9. What are the main problems facing the area today?
——
——
——

10. What do you attribute to the problems above?

Problem	Cause

11. a) Do you face any ethnic oriented problems?
    1=Yes
    2=No

b) If yes, which ones? ————————————————————————————————
——
——
——

c)   When faced with these problems, how do you deal with them?

Problem	Solution

12. In your opinion, how is the government dealing with the following issues? (**Tick as appropriate**)

Issues	Well	Average	Badly	Do not know
Poverty				
Insecurity/crime				
Ethnic conflict				
Corruption				
Construction of roads				
Water provision				
Population control				
Elections				
Others (specify)				

SECTION 3: INTERETHNIC PERCEPTION AND COEXISTENCE

13. a)   How are you perceived by other ethnic groups in this area?
         1=Friends
         2=Enemies
         3=Neutral
         4=others (specify)

b) Explain your answer above————————————————————————
_____
_____

c) How do you perceive the other groups?
   i.   Group perception of group 1

   _____
   _____
   _____

   ii. Group perception of group 2

   _____
   _____
   _____

14. a)   Do you stereotype one another?
         1= Yes
         2= No

b) If Yes, in what ways?_____
_____
_____

15. a) Of the three groups that live here, which two groups have the worst relationship? _____
_____
_____

b) Why?_____
_____
_____

16. a) Which two groups relate relatively better? _____
_____

b) Why?_____
_____

17. Are there activities that you do together with other ethnic communities in this area?

1= Yes
2= No

ii) If yes, state the activities that you engage in with the other ethnic groups.

_____
_____
_____

18. What do you understand by interethnic coexistence?
_____
_____

19. a) Can one talk of peaceful interethnic coexistence here?
1= Yes
2=No

b) If yes, what do you mean?

_____
_____

c) If No, explain

_____

_____

_____

SECTION 4: NATURE AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT

20. a) Are there instances of conflict arising between the coexisting ethnic groups?

    1= Yes
    2= No (if No, skip to question 27)

    b) If yes above, what is the nature of the conflicts?
    1= Very violent
    2= Violent
    3= Mild

21. What are the levels of these conflicts?
    1= Intra-group
    2=Intergroup

22. What are the main causes of conflict in this area?

    _____

    _____

SECTION 5: CONSEQUENCES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

23. What are the effects of these conflicts on?
    1= Social aspects

    _____

    _____

    _____

    2= Economic aspects

    _____

    _____

    _____

    3= Political aspects

    _____

    _____

    _____

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4= Environmental aspects

_____
_____
_____

24. Who are the key actors of peace in resolving conflicts in this area? What do they do and what is your level of satisfaction towards their initiative? 1=very satisfied 2= satisfied 3=not satisfied

Actor	Initiative(action)	Level of satisfaction

25. In your opinion, what do you think should be done to resolve interethnic conflicts in this area?

_____
_____
_____
_____

26. To what extent have the following strategies succeeded in resolving interethnic conflicts in Sondu area?

Strategy	Large extent	Moderate extent	Small extent	Not at all
Effective communication by updating ethnic group members on current issues has helped in conflict management				
Group members willingness to cooperate to reach a successful resolution of any issue				
Group members use avoidance to evade conflict				
Group members accommodate conflict by willingness to meet the needs of others at the expense of the other group's own needs				
Group members use negotiations so as to reach voluntary agreement about an issue				
Group members engage in reconciliation where they restore friendship and harmony				
The groups engage in compromise by finding a solution that will at least partially satisfy everyone				

27. What are the intercultural activities used to promote coexistence in this area?

_____

_____

_____

28. What is the role of the following in resolving conflict within the society?

a) Men

_____

_____

_____

b) Women

_____

_____

_____

c) Youths

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU

THE NATURE OF INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE BETWEEN THE LUO, THE KIPSIGIS AND THE KISII IN SONDU AREA

KEY INFORMANT GUIDE

Good Morning/Afternoon! I am Ms Dorine Odongo, an MA student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting an academic survey on nature of interethnic coexistence between the Luo, Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area. You have been randomly selected to participate in this survey. I would like to ask you some questions on social, economic and political issues. The interview will take about thirty minutes. Your answers will remain strictly confidential and they will be used only for research purposes on aggregate.

Do I have your consent to continue with the interview? ☐

SECTION 1: BIODATA

1. Name of the respondent————————————————————————————

2. Location of residence————————————————————————————————

3. Main occupation/position of the respondent   ——————————————————

4. Ethnic group of the respondent————————————————————————————

5. Gender——

6. Generally, discuss the main economic activities that different ethnic groups engage in, in the region. ───
───
───

7. Comment on the problems facing the area today and what you attribute them to
───
───
───

8. Which initiatives are taken to resolve these problems
───
───
───

SECTION 3: INTERETHNIC PERCEPTION AND COEXISTENCE

9. What is your understanding of interethnic coexistence?

_____

_____

_____

10. Comment about the ethnic groups that live here

_____

_____

_____

11. What is known about how they came to live together?

_____

_____

_____

12. How have the groups been relating?

_____

_____

_____

13. Comment on any changes in the ethnic relations

_____

_____

_____

14. a)   What are the coping strategies that the community have put in place to ensure coexistence

_____

_____

_____

b) What are the constraints against these strategies?

_____

_____

_____

SECTION 4: NATURE, CAUSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

15. State your understanding of the term conflict? ———————————————
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16. What role does ethnicity play in the continued ethnic discord in Sondu?————————
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17. a)   Comment on the effective course of action to solve some of the interethnic conflicts in the region today, active or passive methods?—————————————
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b) What are the pros and cons to each of the methods?
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18. Comment on the actions that NGOs and governments have taken to deal with the effects of interethnic conflicts? Have they been effective?
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19. How can the government, Non-Governmental and Community based organizations be utilized most effectively to combat ethnic conflict or alleviate its results?
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20. Comment on the widespread effects of interethnic conflict to different groups in the region———————————————————————————————————
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THANK YOU

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THE NATURE OF INTERETHNIC COEXISTENCE BETWEEN THE LUO, THE KIPSIGIS AND THE KISII IN SONDU AREA

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Good Morning/Afternoon! I am Ms Dorine Odongo, an MA student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting an academic survey on nature of interethnic coexistence between the Luo, Kipsigis and the Kisii in Sondu area. You have been randomly selected to participate in this survey. I would like to ask you some questions on social, economic and political issues. The interview will take about thirty minutes. Your answers will remain strictly confidential and they will be used only for research purposes on aggregate.

Do I have your consent to continue with the interview? ☐

1. Comment on how the different ethnic groups came to live together in Sondu area?

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2. What were the major reasons behind living together?

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3. Discuss how the groups have been relating with each other?

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4. In case of change in the interethnic relations, what has been the nature and causes of such changes?

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5. What do you understand by the concept of 'interethnic coexistence'?

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6. How do you perceive each other within the community?

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7. Discuss the similarities and differences in cultural practices of each ethnic group?

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8. Discuss the effects of interethnic conflict to the community affairs

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9. What do you understand by the term 'interethnic conflict'?

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10. Comment on the main causes of interethnic conflict in this area

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11. Discuss the strategies that community members employ to resolve these conflicts? What are their strengths and weaknesses of each strategy?

Strategy	Strengths	Weaknesses

12. How has the government and NGOs been involved in interethnic conflict management in the area?

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13. Highlight any other strategy that you think can be adopted to promote interethnic coexistence in the area and at the same time resolve conflicts

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14. Discuss the effects of interethnic conflicts in this region

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THANK YOU