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SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RESETTLEMENT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF MOLO DISTRICT

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of any degree in any other university.

Signature: Date 16 14 2009.

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

Signature: Date: 16/11/09

Prof: Preston O. Chitere

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my Uncle Germano and Aunt Racheal, my parents Julius and Caroline, who passionately worked very hard to enlighten me through education and for their love, to my brothers and sisters, cousins and the entire family for their love, to Fidelis Ngugi for her encouragement and for her love, and to all the people of goodwill all over the world who would work for peace where there is war.

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ACRONYMS

DFRD District Focus for Rural Development

IDPs Internally Displaced Persons

KHRC Kenya Human Rights Commission

RoK Republic of Kenya

SPSS Statistical Package for Social Sciences

MP Member of Parliament

ABSTRACT

This study used primary data from Molo district to investigate the role and significance of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs in Kenya. The general practice in the formulation of development policy in Kenya has often failed to take into account all the basic national resources, particularly social capital. The main focus has been on the development of other types of capital with the view to enhancing economic growth while ignoring the various dimensions of social capital and how these dimensions affect development and social welfare in general.

Descriptive methods were used to achieve the objectives of the study. Results from the descriptive analysis show that the role of social capital is very significant in the resettlement of the IDPs. There is evidence in the study area that social capital facilitated the resettlement of the internally displaced persons more particularly through social groups and networks. The findings further show the determinants of social capital as well as the dominant forms of social capital in the study area.

The findings of the study suggest recommendations that are expected to yield increased stocks of social capital in the country and in particular the war-wounded communities.

The findings can further be used to guide the reconciliation process as well as promoting social cohesion in the country.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1Background

Social capital may be defined as those resources inherent in social relationships which facilitate collective action. Social capital resources include trust, norms, and networks of association representing any group which gathers regularly for a common purpose. Simply defined it refers to those resources, often intangible such as information, ideas and support that individuals are able to obtain by virtue of interacting with other people. These resources "capital" are said to be "social" because they are only secured through social relationships unlike other forms of social capital such as human and physical capital. In the recent times, Social capital has increasingly been recognized by the World Bank as a vital asset for enhancing livelihood and the general welfare of people especially in most developing countries where poverty is endemic.

Grootaert and Bastelaer (2000) indicate that social capital is an important input and determinant of progress in development and a tool for poverty reduction. Studies have emphasized on the possible role of social capital as an asset that can be utilized for the purposes of promoting a broad range of important policy objectives in various sectors including education, health, economy, labor markets, poverty reduction, neighborhood improvement, crime protection, gender and social exclusion as well as enhancing the civic health of as people.

In most developing countries, Kenya included, individuals and households seek to maximize on all types of capital available to them to enhance their status. Scoones (1998) and Carney (1998) distinguishes five main types of capital as including natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital and social capital. According to Ellis (2000), those households endowed with social capital will promote rural development and their welfare in terms of increased growth in incomes, positive social changes in various sectors not excluding political and cultural transformations in traditions, customs, morals, ethics and attitudes.

1.1.1 Initiatives of harnessing social capital in Kenya since independence

The struggle for independence in Kenya arose from the desire to establish a democratic government after nearly a century of authoritarian British rule. The colonial administrator was responsible for the deep widespread poverty, economic hardship and social strife for the African population in the Kenya protectorate and colony (Wanyande, Omosa and Ludeki eds. 2007). The attainment of independence in 1963 was anticipated to yield democratic governance and an improvement in the social and economic wellbeing of Kenyans everywhere in the country irrespective of their social status or ethnic background. Indeed gaining independence implied the establishment of a post-colonial governance regime that involved African self-rule, representation and government's accountability and respect for citizen's civil rights, individual freedoms, economic development and social welfare (Ibid.).

The achievement of these goals rested upon the creation of a Kenyan society rich in social capital that would promote development. To achieve this objective, the Kenyan

government developed an economic blue print Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 famously known as "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya". It set out to pursue and promote four main goals: Equality, social justice, human dignity and self-esteem and nation building. The four goals comprised the tenets of what later on became the ideology of African socialism, which yielded strong sentiments of brotherhood and neighborliness (social capital) among the Kenyan population. During this period, various development strategies and slogans further encouraged the building of social capital among various communities in Kenya. The "Harambee Self-Help" development strategy for example became the rallying slogan around which communities came together for a common purpose regardless of their ethnic affiliation.

According to Njeru and Njoka (2007), Harambee which means pulling together was born out of Kenyatta's search for nationhood and social cohesion (capital). Therefore, Harambee as a movement was an attempt to marshal social capital to promote development and address the needs of the less fortunate in society. Njeru and Njoka (Ibid) further observe that Harambee was a movement that was geared towards involvement of the Kenyan citizenry in the fight against ignorance, disease and poverty; consequently many social institutions and amenities such as many primary schools, health centers, dispensaries and community social halls were established. These infrastructures later turned to be the main fields for enhancing social capital among Kenyans.

The other approach that ostensibly contributed in building nationhood and social capital in the country is the Moi's Nyayoism which meant following in the footprints of

Kenyatta. The Nyayo philosophy was based on three main principles of peace, love and unity. These initial approaches after independence, such as the Sessional paper No. 10 of 1965, Harambee Self-help development strategy, the Nyayo philosophy and the deconcentration of power from the centre to the district through the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD), helped in enriching social capital and mobilizing the most needed resources for development. Important to note is the emergence of social self-help groups such as the women groups.

The development of such social groups was largely determined by the level of social capital in terms of trust and mutual respect among the group members irrespective of their ethnic background. Hence during the period between 1970 and 1980s the country was characterized by high levels of social capital which consequently propelled the country to greater social and economic development.

Indeed, in the 1960s and 1970s the international community and some neo-liberal academics referred to Kenya as a "success story" in Africa. During this period the average economic growth rate was more than five percent per annum with relatively high per capita incomes compared to many countries in Africa, thus Kenya was an exemplary example both in political and economic dimension worth replication elsewhere by the developing countries in general and Africa in particular. Kenya eulogized constantly by the west as one of few economic and political ornaments, to be placed high, admired and analyzed purposely in order to detect what might be transferable in its exceptional performance (Kanyinga 2003, Mulwa 1987, Samanta and Sen eds.2001).

1.1.2 Political pluralism and social capital in Kenya

The gains that Kenya had achieved by the end of 1970s can be attributed to the pragmatic economic management and relative political and social stability that prevailed at the time. However, in spite of the impressive economic performance in the country, this state of affairs never continued in the decades that followed. Political competition set in with the clamor for political pluralism in the early 1990s. In the context of nation-states, political competition is ultimately about the control of state power. Generally, it has been observed that politics in much of post-colonial Africa puts an unusually high premium on power (Ake 2000). Ake further argues that in this type of politics violence and instability are endemic. This is what characterized Kenya particularly in the mid 1990s when the country started experiencing some political instability.

The kind of instability that rocked Kenya in the 1990s was occasioned by the fact that the prevailing practice in much of post-colonial Africa those in power are inclined to share it only with a very small coterie of collaborators. This has led to the state being effectively privatized in the control of this small group, whose most powerful members are usually drawn from the leader's community, religious faith, geographical region or ethnic base (Ake 2000).

Kenya has not been an exception in this practice. The consequence has been the substantial negation of the spirit of nationhood and social capital among the various ethnic communities in the country, through increased ethnic polarization. There has been a considerable loss of trust and respect between and among different communities leading

to growing suspicion and tension as manifested in the bloody phenomenon of ethnic cleansing in 1992 where more than 1500 Kenyans lost their lives and another 500,000 displaced in the Rift valley, parts of Nyanza and Western provinces (Katumanga, 2001; KHRC, 1998).

In recent times, the spread and intensity of political instability and violence is responsible for deepening human crises and poverty in the country. Studies have shown that as a result of escalating violence, Africa has become a continent of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). According to Warren (1995), displaced persons must be people whose experience is such as to have disrupted their lives, and often their family relations, many of them in the extreme. According to Deng (1994), about 7 million of the world's estimated refugee population of 17 million are Africans, and nearly 16 million of the 25 million internally displaced persons worldwide is Africans. Musyoki (2001) provides less similar estimates.

Kenya has added into these figures more refugees and IDPs. The 2007 general elections in Kenya were characterized by an orgy of killings, violence, and destruction of property on an extended scale. The Rift valley, Western, Nairobi, Coast, Nyanza and Central provinces witnessed a bloody phenomenon of ethnic nature in which over 1000 people were killed and mass displacement of people took place with over 300,000 others internally displaced. The attendant outcome of the clashes was a tremendous decline of the national economy, which dropped from 6.7% to nearly 4% GDP.

The clashes further created a new phenomenon of unfathomable human crisis - the emergent of IDP camps. The internally displaced persons sought refuge in the immediate social amenities such as open play grounds and other places with deprived facilities. The IDP camps are makeshift settlements characterized by lack of safe water and sanitation, no adequate food supply, poor or lack of medical services. They do not offer any sense of decency or dignity to the dwellers.

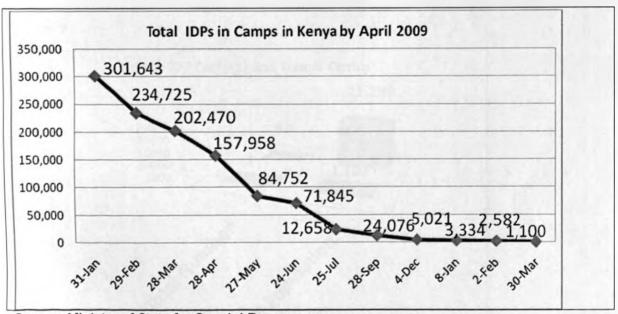
To address the human crises that faced the country, the government of Kenya hastily launched the IDPs resettlement program, an exercise that was baptized "Operation rudi nyumbani". The program experienced mixed outcome with some successes recorded on one hand and some challenges on the other hand. The resettlement process gave rise to two groups of IDPs where one group under the protection and support of the government readily volunteered to return to their homes while the other group emphatically refused to be resettled in their homes citing fear of renewed attacks by their neighbors.

1.2 Problem statement

For the first time since independence, the relations between some of Kenya's 42 ethnic communities became strained and took a negative turn towards violence of a magnitude that a country has never witnessed before (RoK 2008). The systematic violence of ethnic nature forced people to flee away from their homes en masse thus becoming internally displaced persons. The socio-economic and political effects of this kind of involuntary movements of this magnitude have profound negative implications not only to the national economy, but it also harms the national policies for poverty reduction.

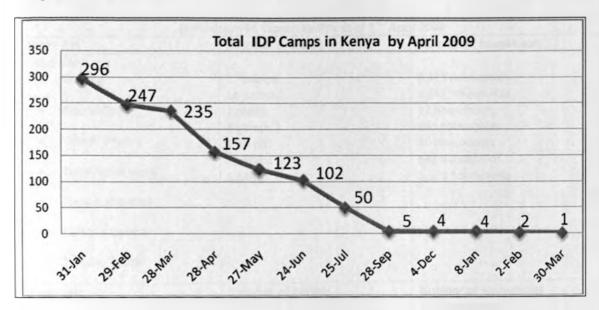
More so, the destabilization of the socio-economic and political order is not only a setback to the development of the affected country but also undermines the efforts of individual actualization. The issue of IDPs in the country raises difficult and complex question, that if resolved would minimize the effects of one of the major human crises in the country. The presence of IDP camps in the country up-to-date, long after the political resettlement was arrived at under the stewardship of Koffi Annan and other imminent persons, poses a challenge to academics, government and development organizations to explore the contributory factors to the standoff. The graph, charts and the table below shows the number of IDPs who have been resettled and those who are still in transit camps as of 30th March, 2009.

Figure 1



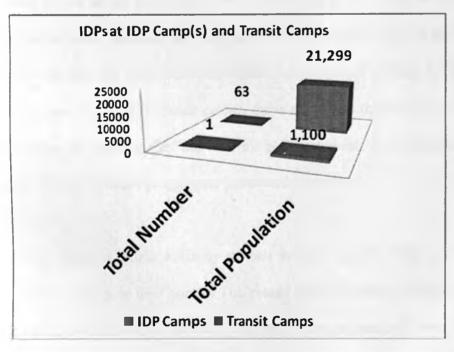
Source: Ministry of State for Special Programmes

Figure 2



Source: Ministry of State for Special Programmes

Figure 3



Source: Ministry of Special Programmes

Table 1.0

Breakdown of Transit Camps as of 1 st April 2009			
North Rift	Number of camps	Number of households	
Uasin Gishu			
 Wareng 	17 camps	6,183 households	
	16 camps	4,046 households	
Eldoret East	1 camp	12 households	
	8 camps	895 households	
Eldoret West	1 camp	40 households	
	2 camps	698 households	
Trans Nzoia west	1 camp	1,579 households	
Trans Nzoia East			
Turkana Central			
Turkana south			
South Rift	Number of camps	Number of households	
Molo	21 camps	923 households	
Total	67 camps	14, 376 households	

Source: Ministry of State for Special Programmes

The above presentations shows that over 1000 IDPs are still living in IDP camps long after the government launched the operation Rudi Nyumbani (Return Home) Programme. It further indicates that over 20,000 IDPs have opted instead of going back to their predisplaced homes to settle in transit camps- these are camps that provide close proximity to their farms. In addition they are near the police stations. A clear indication that the Operation Rudi Nyumbani programme had mixed outcomes.

Some IDPs chose to return willingly to their homes whereas others were adamant or categorical to go back to their homes. This means there are underlying problems of social integration. Hence the need to determine the role and significance of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs. This study is expected to provide critical insights on the benefits of social capital.

1.3 Research Questions

The overarching research questions the study will seek to answer are:

- a) What are the determinants of social capital?
- b) What are the forms of social capital in war-wounded communities?
- c) What are the effects of post-election crisis on households?
- d) What are the benefits of social capital in the war-wounded communities?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The study has both the broad and specific objectives.

Broad objective:

The broad objective of the study is to investigate the role of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- a) To analyze the determinants of social capital among households
- b) To investigate the effects of post-election crisis on households
- c) To investigate the forms of social capital among households in the study area
- d) To examine the benefits of social capital in the war-wounded communities
- e) To investigate the levels of settlement among the returnee households in the study area.

1.5 Significance of the study

The understanding of social capital in Kenya is very important not only at the macro level (state) but also at the micro level (community) for the following reasons:

- a) It can be employed to enable the war-wounded societies heal and re-knit the social fabric necessary for nurturing reconciliation and achieving enduring peace and development.
- b) The study will provide findings that would be instrumental in improving policy on ethnic relations and reconciliation in the country.
- c) The study further recognizes that even if other forms of capital are replenished, economic and social development will be hindered unless social capital stocks are restored.
- d) The study will also provide a framework for policy considerations both to the government and the affected communities, such as the harnessing and enhancement of social capital and identifying the constraints that inhibit accumulation of positive social capital.
- e) The findings emerging from the study will also play an instrumental role particularly in promoting the implementation of community-oriented projects that are initiated by the government with the view to achieving the national plans and the government visions e.g. Kenya Vision 2030.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the literature review. The contents of the review are grouped into various categories such as the concept of social capital, the role and significance of social capital in different sectors, forms of social capital, sources and determinants of social capital, theoretical literature, and the conceptual frame work.

2.1.1 The concept of social capital

The idea of social capital can be traced far back as 18th century during the period of Scottish enlightenment when it was recognized as important in guiding economic activities (Woolcock, 1998). According to Burke (1757), markets could not function at all without the norms and principles to regulate their activities. Woolcock (1998) identifies the proponents of modern concept of social capital as being Hanifan (1920) and Jacobs (1961). Hanifan invoked the concept of social capital to explain the importance of community participation in improving school performance while Jacobs researched on the culture of urban communities based on the theory of social interaction.

The concept of social capital has gained wide currency in the recent years especially among social scientists. The idea of social capital is not relatively new though it has taken sometime for the term to come into widespread usage. Most recently it has been the work of Robert Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995, and 2000) that has launched social capital as a focus for research and policy discussion. Other notable contributions in the contemporary usage of the term are primarily associated with sociologists Ronald Burt (2000), Nan Lin

(2001) and Alejandro Portes (1998). Others include Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1986, 1990). The World Bank has also picked social capital as a useful organizing idea.

In terms of its definition, various people have defined social capital differently; consequently, the concept of social capital does not enjoy a singular accepted universal definition. Nonetheless, all the definitions refer to the same thing; hence the prevailing variations in definition are a matter of syntax.

In the existing academic literature, social capital is discussed in two related but different ways. Sociologists (Ronald Burt, 2000 and Nan Lin, 2001) refer to the resources such as information, ideas and support that individuals are able to secure by virtue of their relationships with other people as capital. They further explain that unlike physical capital which includes tools, technology etc or human capital which is essentially the property of individuals, these resources or capital are social in that they can only be obtained in and through these relationships. Thus reciprocity is a crucial aspect since for social capital to have functional value, there must be exchange between either two or more people.

Another less similar approach to social capital is the work of Robert Putnam (2000). Putnam indicates that the nature and extent of individual's participation in the various informal networks and formal civic organizations constitute social capital. This ranges from talking with neighbors to getting involved in recreational clubs, environmental groups to political parties. In this sense social capital essentially defines how the

community's members interact. The author thus views social capital as referring to the collective value of all social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other.

Narayan (2000) refers to social capital as the benefits of membership within a social network. The social networks comprises of the social structures, social relationships and interaction among people. For example, Narayan and Petesch (2002), explains in a study done in Indonesia that poor people in the study communities feel closest to and rely most heavily on mutual support and self-help groups that they form themselves.

Grootaert et al (2004), explains that whereas physical capital (tools, technology) refers to physical objects and human capital to refer to such things as education and skills, which are the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Hence a society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.

The World Bank (1999) on the other hand views social capital as the institutions, relationship, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of society's interactions. It further observes that social capital is not just the sum of institutions that underpin a society; rather it is the glue that holds them together. Indeed, those elements of social structure and organization, such as trust, and norms that facilitate coordination and

cooperation are what are increasingly called social capital (Coleman 1988, 1990; Putnam 1993).

Bourdieu (1998) defines social capital in terms of social networks and connections and explains that social capital provides potential support and access to resources. Krishna and Uphoff (1999) and Helliwel and Putnam (1995) view social capital as a community level asset stressing that social capital may be entrenched in the society rather than in any one individual. The authors further argue that social capital is accorded value by actors who include individuals, institutions and organizations that draw on it to further their individual or collective interests.

2.1.2 Role and significance of social capital

A broad range of social problems which include crime, poverty, health, unemployment, and gender violence among others have been based empirically on the community's endowment of social capital or lack thereof, Grootaert et al (2003). This means social capital has an important role in the community. The World Bank has adopted social capital as a useful organizing idea. Indeed, it is argued that increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. This assertion is supported in a study by Putnam (1993) who observed that societies characterized by higher levels of social capital - commonly defined as norms of trust or cooperation experience a quick economic development and better institutional performance.

Social capital also plays vital role in solving crisis. In documenting the impact of economic crisis on urban community, Moser (1996) argues that their ability to cope depends not only on their material well-being, but also on their social capital- the trust, networks and reciprocal arrangements that link people with their communities. Narayan et al. (2000), also observes that social cohesion is described by the poor people as unity within a community where there is shared understanding, mutual support and reciprocity in relationships.

It is further described in terms of people coming together in informal and formal groups, often to solve community problems. The implication or the fundamental idea is that social capital constitutes an important asset, one that can be relied upon in times of crisis and that which can be used for material gain (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Thus in this case social capital is socially therapeutic. Indeed, is indicated by Narayan et al (2000) that where social relations are under stress, local organizations often suffer. They further on proceed to observe that the accessibility of additional resources through social affiliations enables poor people to address everyday needs. They therefore recognize social capital as an important form of insurance to poor people especially during crises and other emergence

Social capital enables individuals to realize self-actualization through acquisition of resources through networks, for example entrepreneurs. According to Burt (2000), the arrangement of a particular given network in terms of who interacts with whom, the regularity, and on what basis has a major bearing on the mobility of resources through

that network. He elaborates further by observing that those who take up significant and strategic positions in the social web, especially those whose social connections extend over important groups, are said to be richer in social capital than their peers, simply because their network position places them higher where they can have access to adequate and better resources.

Putnam (2000) views social capital as an instrumental component to building and maintaining democracy. It is useful in examining the community's state of its civic health. Ellickson (1996) has a similar view, arguing that the stock of previous cooperation among members and the existence of a credible system for enacting norms through self-help and other non-legal means build social capital.

.Narayan (2000) refers to social capital as the benefits of membership within a social network. The social networks comprises of the social structures, social relationships and interaction among people. For example, Narayan and Petesch (2002), explains in a study done in Indonesia that poor people in the study communities feel closest to and rely most heavily on mutual support and self-help groups that they form themselves.

Social capital is essentially about the quality of relationships among people. Relationships are maintained by the degree of reciprocity existing among communities. A study in Italy by Putnam (1993) revealed that some regions had prospered while others had stagnated. One conclusion of the study was that civic traditions accounted for much of the difference in the performance of the different regions.

It was apparent that the prosperous Italian communities had strong norms for reciprocity and dense networks of civil engagement, elements that made voluntary co-operation more possible. Hence success was realized through social capital. Emphasizing on reciprocity, Nan Lin (2001) sees social capital as investment in social relations with expected returns in the market place.

Apparently there is increasing evidence that social capital can have desirable impacts on various development outcomes including growth, equity and poverty reduction (Grootaert, 1996). He looks associations and institutions as having a functional role of providing an informal framework for information sharing, coordinating activities and making collective decisions.

2.1.3 Significance of social capital in Kenya

A critical review of literature shows that there is barely very little information about social capital in Kenya and African continent. The few studies on social capital in Africa that can be used for the purposes of extrapolation are the Tanzanian Social Capital survey by Narayan and Pritchett (1999) and Social Capital Survey in Ghana and Uganda (see Narayan and Cassidy 2001) However, this does not belittle the important contribution social capital has had in various sectors of the Kenyan economy.

2.1.4 Social Capital and Rural Development

Social capital is a valuable asset for rural communities because of its propensity to organize for rural development (Upholf, 1986). With social capital, rural communities become orderly and more organized in mobilizing resources for key development initiatives. Social capital improves efficiency in decision making, planning, communication, conflict resolution and implementation of community development projects. In Kenya, social capital played an instrumental role in the formation of various groups such as agricultural marketing groups, land buying groups, housing groups, sand harvesting groups, handcraft and fisheries among others (Republic of Kenya, 2002). The overall effect of these groups and organizations is improved livelihood of the rural people.

2.1.5 Social Capital and Micro-finance

Social capital plays a crucial role in mobilizing finance necessary for both individual and community investments. For example the merry-go-rounds among associates have been a main source of financial capital in rural areas. Today, the groups that are rich in social capital and enjoy high degree of social inclusivity are able to secure finance from microcredit institutions more readily than an individual or groups that lack social cohesion. Most of the community driven projects are sustainable depending on how the community is endowed with social capital. Those communities that are well endowed with social capital are more able to amass funds through fundraising for the common benefit.

2.1.6 Social capital and Education Development

Social capital since independence in 1963 has been the key driver of education development in Kenya (Coleman and Hoffer, 1987; Francis, 1998). The success of Harambee secondary school project is largely attributed to the willingness of the community members to come together and take charge of educating their children. To come up with the Harambee schools, it involved fundraising and physical participation of all members of the community, an exercise that would have been in futile if social capital was not abundant. Indeed, according to Rugh and Bossert (1998), the Harambee schools were spontaneous grassroots community initiative to enhance greater access to secondary education than what the government could provide at the time.

2.1.7 Social Capital and Political Development

With the help of social capital, the Kenyan society has been able to undertake substantive constitutional and political reforms. The political involvements during the pre-independence and post-independence reforms have considerably enhanced the state of democracy in Kenya. The clamor for multiparty politics in 1990s came to fruition because of the existing social cohesion.

However, just like a coin, everything has got two faces (positive and negative). The political reforms that were attained with the help of social capital, turned out to be a setback in consolidating the social cohesion that held Kenyans together for several decades. Instead, the Kenyan society got divided along ethnic lines. This shows that social capital can be used to improve the situation of a given community or otherwise.

2.1.8 Classification of social capital

Social capital is discussed and classified into various types. Grootaert and Bastelaer (2002) introduces two distinct forms of social capital namely; structural social capital and cognitive social capital. Cognitive social capital is defined by adherence to shared norms, trust, values, attitudes and beliefs while structural social capital is defined by membership in associations and networks that promote information sharing, collective action and decision-making through acceptable and established roles, social networks and structures governed by rules and procedures.

Putnam (2000); (Gittell and Vidal 1998); Woolcock (2000) and (Narayan 2002), classifies structural social capital and cognitive social capital into three types namely; (a) bonding, (b) bridging and (c) linking structural and cognitive social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the value assigned to social networks of homogeneous groups of people who are similar in terms of their demographic characteristics, such as family members, neighbors, close friends and work colleagues Bridging social capital refers to social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. I.e. networks that may make available the resources and opportunities that exist in one network to another network. This is made possible by providing contacts with different people with varied resources.

Linking social capital is the most recent conceptual classification. According to (Woolcock 1999, World Bank 2000), this dimension refers to one's ties to people in positions of authority, such as representatives of public (police, political parties and private institutions). In drawing the distinction between the bridging social capital and

linking social capital, Grootaert et al (2004) argues that where bridging social capital is essentially horizontal that is, connecting people with more or less equal social classes or position, linking social capital is more vertical, connecting people to key political and other resources and economic institutions, that is, across power differentials.

Portes (1998), Woolcock (1998), argue that it is important to recognize that the different forms of social capital, just like human capital can be used for purposes that hinder rather than help an individual welfare. In exemplifying, they note that group membership norms confer obligation to share rather than accumulate wealth, or even deny members access to services.

This distinction is useful in highlighting how social capital may not always be instrumental in benefiting the whole community (though it is always an asset for those individuals and groups involved). Those networks of individual citizens and groups that promote productivity and social cohesion are said to be positive elements of social capital whereas self-serving exclusive gangs and hierarchical patronage systems that operate at cross purposes to communal interests can be thought of as negative features of social capital.

2.1.9 Sources and Determinants of Social Capital

The World Bank (2001) identifies eight sources of social capital as follows: The household or the family, local communities, schools, firms, civil society, the public sector/institutions, gender and ethnicity. The individual's social capital may vary due to

various factors such as age, gender, health, level of education, occupation, attitudes and values among other factors.

Rose (1997) identifies determinants of social capital according to individuals, households and communities. Factors that compel some individuals to get involved in certain types of informal networks while others don't include education, age, gender, physical health and all these have a bearing on the individual's capacity to be productive. In the household, social capital varies with a number of factors such as level of education of household members, income of the members of the household, access to means of production among other factors.

2.1.10 Summary of Literature Review

It is apparent that from the various studies reviewed, emphasis is on the role of social capital on improving the welfare of a people. In the literature, various components considered essential in the formation of social capital have been highlighted. The identified categories include: Groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, social cohesion and inclusion and empowerment and political action.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

This study adopts the social exchange theoretical perspective, social networks theoretical perspective and the social capital theory perspective. These perspectives will play a fundamental role in guiding the entire study including interpretation of research findings.

2.2.1 Social Exchange Perspective

The social exchange theory is heavily influenced by the work Homans (1961) and Blau (1964). Homans and Blau are the main proponents of social exchange theory and they used both behaviorism and elementary economics to explain human behavior. This theory is concerned with the factors that mediate the formation, sustainability and breakdown of exchange relationships.

The core assumptions of the theory are: (a) social exchanges are characterized by interdependence, that is, the ability to obtain profits in a relationship is based on the ability to provide others with the rewards, (b) social exchanges are governed by norms like trust, reciprocity, justice and fairness, (c) trust and commitment result from the emergent experiences of individuals within relationship and help to strengthen relationships over the longer term.

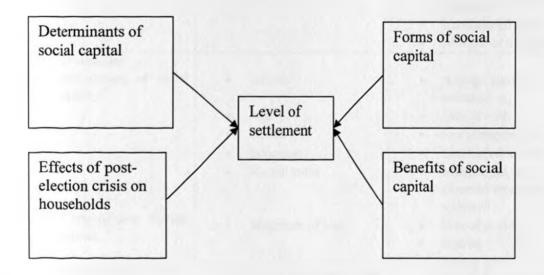
2.2.2 Social Network Theory

Social network theory was advanced by Granovetter (1973). The theory views social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks and ties are the relationships between the actors. It argues that there can be many kinds of ties between the nodes. In its simplest form, a social network is a map of

all the relevant ties between the nodes being studied. The theory further suggests that the network can be used to determine the social capital of individual actors.

Social network theory has been used to examine how companies interact with each other, characterizing the many informal connections that link executives together, as well as associations and connections between individual employees at different companies. Thus this perspective assumes that the actors whether are individuals, groups or organizations are embedded within a network of interrelationships with other actors. It is this intersection of relationships that defines an actor's position in the social structure and provides opportunities and resources as well as constraints on behavior

2.3 Conceptual Framework



2.4 Study Hypotheses

i. Household characteristics do not determine social capital

- ii. Households with higher social capital were not badly affected by the post-election crisis
- iii. Households with higher social capital settle quickly after displacement

2.5 Operational definition of variables

Table 2: Study variables

Variable type		Measured through	Indicators
Depen	ent variable Levels of settlement		
		i. Fully settled	Fully renovated or new permanent houses
			Well cultivated farms
			Presence of livestock
		ii. Semi-settled	Houses not fully
			renovated or under
			construction
			Farms under cultivation
			Absence of livestock
		iii. Not settled	Presence of makeshift
			structures
			Uncultivated farms
			Absence of livestock
Indepe i	ndent variables Determinants of social		
1.	capital	• Income	Average monthly earnings
		• Age	Date of birth
		Gender	Sex of respondent
		Education	Level of education
		Marital status	Married, single, divorced/separated or
			widowed
ii.	Effects of post election	Magnitude of loss	Loss of property
	violence		• Injuries
			• Loss of life
iii.	Forms of social capital	Group membership and networks	Extent of interaction
iv.	Benefits of social capital	Type of support	Resources members ge from groups

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief description of the methods adopted in this study. It also includes information about the site of study, the sampling procedure used, and the methods of data collection, limitations of the study, data presentation and data analysis.

3.2 Site Description

Data on social capital was collected from the New Molo district of Rift Valley Province in Kenya. The New Molo district was recently curved from the larger Nakuru district. Molo is divided into two constituencies namely; Kuresoi and Molo. Kuresoi constituency has ten administrative divisions while Molo has six. During the post-election violence the Kuresoi divisions of Keringet, Kuresoi, Kamara and Olenguruone were the most affected by violence. The dominant tribal groups in this area are the Kalenjin, Kikuyu and the Kisii.

Molo is a high potential agricultural zone characterized by good climate in terms of temperatures and rainfall which combined with good arable land influences agricultural activities. Much of agriculture is carried out on smallholder farms. Since 1992 tribal clashes, Kamara division has persistently been affected by ethnic clashes including the 2007 political violence. It is against this backdrop that Kamara division is purposively identified as the site for data collection. Kamara division is constituted of three administrative locations namely; Kamara, Sirikwa and Mau Summit. In Kamara location, only few IDPs have returned while in Sirikwa and Mau Summit, the IDPs have returned

in significant numbers. It is for this reason that the latter two divisions were purposively considered as the actual sites of data collection.

3.3 Unit of Observation

The main units of study were the households in Sirikwa and Mau Summit locations of Kamara division in Molo district. A total of 150 households were interviewed including four key informants. The latter are the individuals who mainly due to their position or prolonged residence in the area are deemed to be custodians of vital information about the historical and daily occurrences in the community.

3.4 Sampling procedure

The snowball non-probability sampling procedure was adopted. Since the study mainly targeted those households that were victims of post-election violence, the identification of the sample began by identifying the household that met the criteria of having been displaced and returned to their homes. Once the first household was identified, it assisted identifying other households with similar characteristic. This sampling procedure was used because of the difficulties inherent in identifying returnees of post-election violence. Furthermore, snowball sampling is considered suitable because it eases the process of data collection thus saving time and other resources.

3.5 Sample size

A total of 150 households were interviewed, 75 from each location. The sample size was arrived at after reaching the saturation point where getting more samples was not necessary since they could not give information with new data-value.

To corroborate the data and fill the gaps that respondents could have left, four key informants were purposively selected and interviewed using key informant guide. The key informants comprised of people who both hold a social position in the community, or someone knowledgeable and has lived in the area for many years to the extent that he/she is aware of the daily occurrences taking place within that area. The four key informants were the chiefs of Mau-Summit location and Sirikwa location while the other two comprised of an elder from Mau-Summit location and an officer from the Ministry of Sports, Gender, Culture and Social Services of Molo district headquarters.

3.6 Methods of data collection

The study was based on primary data collected from the site. The main tool of data collection was structured questionnaires which were administered to the identified sample. The use of the structured questionnaire was considered most suitable because of its non-intrusive nature. The use of structured questionnaires ensured that the respondents readily responded to those questions that appeared humiliating to them should an interview method have been used. However, for the key informants, key informant guide was used to generate qualitative data. The interviews with key informants were conducted to enable the researcher probe those issues that otherwise would be difficult to probe using a structured questionnaire.

The questionnaires were divided into five substantive sections each of them representing the variables that the study sought to investigate. These included the characteristics of households also interchangeably considered determinants of social capital, effects of post election crisis on households, forms of social capital among households, benefits of social capital in the areas affected by post-election violence and also the levels of settlement. These five substantive sections were basic in generating relevant household information that greatly helped in mapping out the distribution and manifestations of social capital in the study area.

In exploring the characteristics of social capital, the questionnaire to generated data on such variables as age, gender, occupation, income, level of education and marital status among others. These variables were considered critical in influencing the accumulation of social capital or lack of it thereof. In forms of social capital category, questions were phrased in a manner to generate the fundamental information that show the presence or lack of a particular type of social capital in the study area. The effects of crisis on households were explored at personal level and assets. Other variables included data on benefits of social capital and the levels of settlement.

3.7 Challenges of the study

The volatile situation in the study area was the main constraint of the study. Since the researcher was very new in the area of study, it was particularly difficult to find somebody to assist the researcher identify the chief's office because of the heightened tension and suspicion of strangers. In Mau-Summit for instance, the residents thought the researcher was a government intelligent officer on a mission to identify the perpetrators

of post-election violence. The researcher went round these problems by clearly explaining the purpose of the study and by establishing a rapport with the respondents. Further, the researcher requested the chiefs of the respective locations to allocate him an elder to accompany him to the households. The two strategies worked well in favor of the researcher.

3.8 Data Analysis

This entails the process of interpreting the collected information in order to establish relationships between variables or obtain other messages. The data collected for this study was checked for completeness and consistency before processing. Checking was done with the view to detect errors and omissions and other discrepancies in the filled questionnaires so as to guarantee quality data that would give reliable results. The data were then coded and entered into an SPSS programme to run frequencies and cross tabulations.

Descriptive statistics such as frequency distribution tables and percentages were used to summarize and present the data. The findings were then presented in form of frequency distribution tables, charts and graphs. The qualitative data generated from the key informants was analyzed by noting the emerging themes. The study hypotheses were tested by running bivariate analysis through Chi square computations.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents descriptive analysis and findings of the study. The data used in the analysis was both quantitative and qualitative.

4.2 Determinants of social capital

The first objective of the study was to analyze the determinants of social capital among households in the area of study. The indicators used to measure the determinants of social capital are the household characteristics as indicated in Table 2 below.

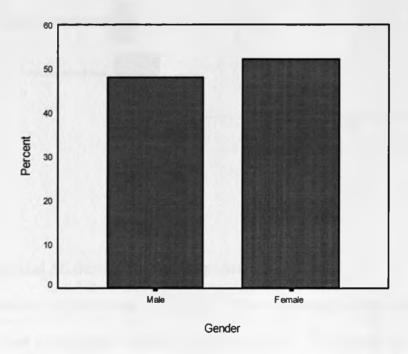
Table 3: Characteristics of respondents

Sex of respondent	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Male	72	48	48	48
Female	78	52	52	100
Total	150	100	100	
Marital status				
Single	14	9.3	9.3	9.3
Married	111	74	74	83.3
Divorced/Separated	8	5.3	5.3	88.7
Widowed	17	11.3	11.3	100
Total	150	100	100	
Level of education				
Secondary	53	35.3	35.3	35.3
Primary	78	52	52	87.3
Never went to school	19	12.7	12.7	100
Total	150	100	100	
Occupation				
Unemployed	9	6	6	6
Farmer	126	84	84	90
Businessman	5	3.3	3.3	93.3
Casual worker	8	5.3	5.3	98.6
Others	2	1.4	1.4	100
Total	150	100	100	
Income				
<3000	96	64	64	64
3001-6000	48	32.0	32.0	96.0
6001-9000	3	2	2	98.0
9001>	3	2	2	100.0
Total	150	100	100	100.0
Age	.50	100	100	
20-29	19	12.7	12,7	12.7
30-39	42	28	28	40.7
40-49	49	32.7	32.7	73.3
50-59	27	18	18	91.3
60 and above	13	8.7	8.7	100
Total	150	100	100	100
1 Ocas	130	100	100	

4.2.1 Gender distribution

Table 3 provides the descriptive statistics of the characteristics of the respondents. The sample constituted a fair gender distribution with 48 percent being male respondents and 52 percent being females

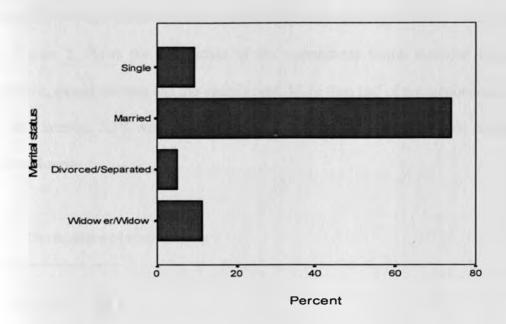
Figure 4: Gender distribution of respondents.



4.2.2 Marital status of the respondents

The marital status of the respondents was categorized as single, married, divorced/separated and widowed. More than half of the respondents 111 (74%) were married while 14 (9.3%) were single. On the other hand, 8 (5.3%) were separated from their spouses or divorced and 17 (11.3%) were widowed.

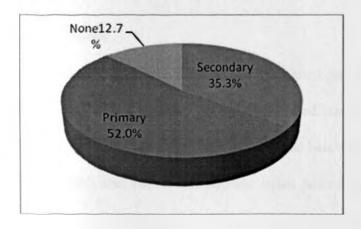
Figure 5: Marital Status of the Respondents



4.2.3 Educational Attainment of the Respondents

Table 3 also shows the percentage distribution of the respondent population according to the highest level of education attained. A large majority, 52.0 percent have not gone beyond primary level of education, while 35.3 percent have completed secondary education. About 19 (12.7%) said they have never gone to school.

Figure 6: Level of education of respondents



4.2.4 Occupation

The respondents were asked to state whether they were employed at the time of the survey. Figure 5 shows the occupation of the respondents which included farmers, business men, casual workers and the unemployed. More than half of the respondents 126 (84%) were farmers, 5.3% were casual workers, 4.7% business men and 6.0% said they were unemployed.

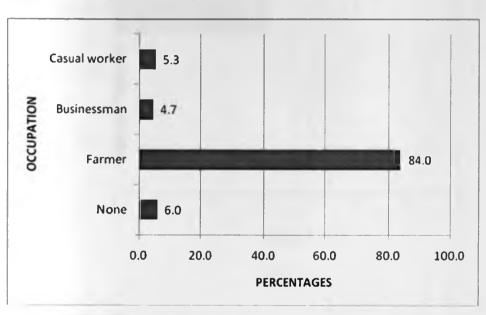


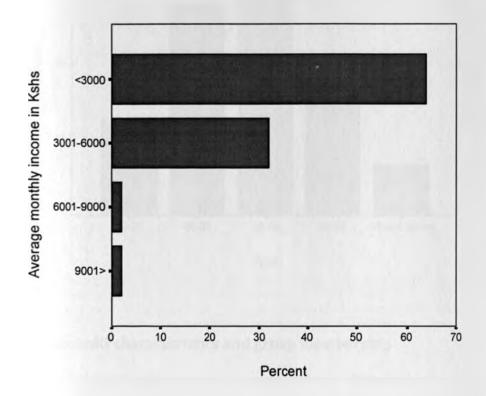
Figure 7: Occupation of respondents

4.2.5 Income

The average household income was computed and the results are shown in Figure 8. Majority of the respondents 96 (64.0%) earned less than Kshs 3,000 per month whereby less than 48 (32.0%) earned Kshs. 6,000 and below. On the other hand, 3 (2.0%) earned Kshs. 9,000 and below and another equal percent earned more than Kshs. 9,000 per

month. These findings suggest a low income population and may have a direct impact on their ability to obtain basic household commodities necessary for resettlement.

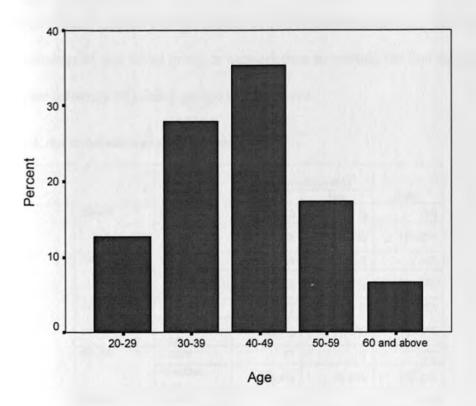
Figure 8: Income distribution of the respondents.



4.2.6 Age distribution of respondents

The majority of the respondents 53 (35.3%) were in the age category of 40-49 years and 42 (28.0%) were in the age category of 30-39 years. The two categories represent respondents of middle age. On the other hand, 26 (17.3%) were in the category of 50-59 years, 19 (12.7%) were in the age category of 20-29 years and 10 (6.7%) were in the category of above 60 years. The latter two categories represent the younger and the eldest groups respectively

Figure 9: Age distribution of respondents



4.3 Household characteristics and group membership

Household characteristics may act as an incentive or disincentive for individuals to join groups and networks. Assessment of each of the characteristics/factors and group membership was done and results presented in table form as follows.

Table 4: Gender and group membership

			Group memb	pership	
			Yes	No	Total
Sex	Male	Count	52	20	72
		% within Sex	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%
	Female	Count	65	13	78
		% within Sex	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	117	33	150
		% within Sex	78.0%	22.0%	100.0%

Table 4 shows more women 65(83.3%) than men 52 (72.2%) tend to join social groups and networks. A higher percent of men 20 (27.8%) than women 13 (16.7%), said they are not members of any social group or network thus supporting the finding that women have a higher tendency of joining groups and networks.

Table 5: Age distribution and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Age	20-29	Count	13	6	19
		% within Age	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
	30-39	Count	34	8	42
		% within Age	81.0%	19.0%	100.0%
	40-49	Count	47	6	53
		% within Age	88.7%	11.3%	100.0%
	50-59	Count	17	9	26
		% within Age	65.4%	34.6%	100.0%
	60 and	Count	5	5	10
	above	% within Age	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within Age	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

It is evident from Table 5 that the youngest age group between 20-29 years and the older group from 50-59 years had low group membership of 13(68.4%) and 17(65.4%) respectively. Perhaps because they are still at school investing in human capital or are retired or approaching retirement respectively. The membership tends to decline with increase in age since the eldest category of 60 and more years had the lowest group membership of 5 (65.4%). On the other hand, the middle age categories of between 30-39 years and 40-49 years higher group membership of 34 (81.0%) and 47 (88.7%)

respectively. These are the prime ages when an individual is very productive and may have the ability to afford the costs of being a group member.

Table 6: Distribution of marital status and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Marital status	Single	Count	13	1	14
		% within Marital status	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Married	Count	85	26	111
		% within Marital status	76.6%	23.4%	100.0%
	Divorced/Separat ed	Count	7	1	8
		% within Marital status	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Widower/Widow	Count	11	6	17
		% within Marital status	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within Marital status	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

The data in Table 6 shows that more than half, 85 (76.6%) of the married respondents are members of social groups and networks. On the other hand, 92.9% of the respondents whose marital status was single said they are members of social group or network, 87.5% of the divorced or separated also said they were members of group and 64.7% of those widowed said they were group members. From the foregoing, it is apparent that despite of an individual's marital status, the propensity to join groups and networks is high.

Table 7: Distribution of level of education group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Level of education	Secondary	Count	44	9	53
	% within leve education	% within level of education	83.0%	17.0%	100.0%
	Primary	Count	57	21	78
		% within level of education	73.1%	26.9%	100.0%
	Never went to school	Count	15	4	19
		% within level of education	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within level of education	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

The respondents' level of education was group into three levels; secondary level, primary level and those who never went to school. About 15 (78.9%) of those respondents who had never gone to school said they were members of social group or network while 57 (73.1%) of respondents with primary education also said they are members of groups and networks. On the other hand, 44 (83.0%) respondents had secondary education and they were members of groups and networks. All the levels of education including the never went to school have a higher percentages of group membership. This may suggest that group membership within the study area is not determined by the level of education.

Table 8: Distribution of occupation and group membership

			Group mem	Group membership	
			Yes No	No	Total
Occupation	None	Count	6	3	9
		% within occupation	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Farmer	Count	98	28	126
		% within occupation	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Businessman	Count	6	1	7
		% within occupation	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Casual worker	Count	6	2	8
		% within occupation	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within occupation	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

The majority of the respondents 98 (77.8%) said they were farmers and they had joined groups and networks. In the unemployed category, though 6 (66.7%) said they were group members; it was the category with the highest non-membership percentage of 33.3%. On the other hand, three quarters (75%) of the casual workers were group members while 6 (85.7%) of respondents engaged in business said they belonged to groups and networks.

Table 9: Income distribution and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Income	<3000	Count	66	30	96
		% within income	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%
	3001-6000	Count	44	4	48
		% within income	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	6001-9000	Count	3	0	3
		% within income	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	9001>	Count	3	0	3
		% within income	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within income	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

The data presented in Table 8 shows that all respondents earning over Kshs. 6000 belonged to groups and networks while 44 (91.7%) of the respondents with monthly income of between 3001-6000 also said they belonged to groups and networks. However, the category earning Kshs. 3000 and below had a higher non-membership percent of 30 (31.3%) compared to all other income categories.

4.4 Forms of social capital

The second objective of the study was to investigate the forms of social capital among households in the study area. The proxies used in this particular investigation are the memberships in groups, local associations and networks, and the extent to which groups and networks interacts with other groups both in the village and outside the village with similar or different goals.

Membership in local associations and groups was used as a proxy because groups and networks act as vehicles through which social capital is accumulated. To capture the aspect of membership into local networks and groups, respondents were asked to state whether they belong to any network or group.

Table 10: Group membership

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	116	77.3	77.3	77.3
	No	34	22.7	22.7	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Majority of the respondents (77.3 percent) said they were members of a group. Only a small number of the respondents (22.7 percent) said they never belonged to any group.

The high level of group membership as shown in Table 10 is an indication that there is high stock of social capital within the study area.

To determine the dominant type of capital in the study area, the key informants were asked various questions. The first question was on group membership; whether most of the members are of the same gender, ethnic or linguistic background, and occupation and education background.

The key informants confirmed that membership in most groups was not based on other factors such as gender, occupation and education but most of them comprised of members from the same ethnic and linguistic background. Indeed, one of the key informants gave the following comments about ethnicity and group membership.

"Ethnicity has been so pervasive in group membership to the extent that anybody a member of a group not of his/her ethnic background is taken like a spy."

This finding was supported by similar comments by another key informant who said;

"Group memberships in this area are purely based on which ethnic group you belong to, if you find it necessary go and look at the registry in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services at Molo to find out for yourself."

The key informants were further asked the extent to which groups and networks work or interact with other groups within or outside the village; the emerging theme from all the key informants was that there is minimal interaction between groups within the neighborhood with similar goals. However, seldom do the groups work or interact with

other groups outside the village whether with similar or different goals. In fact, one of the key informants responded in form of rhetoric by asking;

"How can you expect any healthy interaction among groups that have nothing in common? The only type of interaction you are likely to find, is between groups whose members share the same linguistic background and the locality."

Asked whether the groups associate with people in positions of authority such as the police, politicians and heads of department, the key informants confirmed that such association is common to find, indeed one of them said;

"Whenever an important person is around, say the area MP, or even a senior person from the government, you will always find many people near them. Even with the local administrators you will find many people associating with them. Perhaps they expect favors from such people such as security in the event of crisis"

Based on these findings and on literature distinguishing the three types of social capital, it was apparent that the dominant form of social capital among households in the study area was bonding social capital. Bonding social capital is defined as ties to people who are similar in terms of their demographic characteristics such as same ethnic and linguistic background.

In addition, the themes that emerged from the discussion with the key informants showed that the existing groups seldom work or interact with other groups either inside or outside the village with different goals. The key informants stated that this situation obtains from the heightened sense of ethnicity which has increasingly polarized the community into tribal enclaves. Hence the situation has been a major disincentive for the accumulation of

high stocks of bridging social capital. Bridging social capital on the other hand is defined as ties to people who do not share many of the characteristics as in bonding social capital.

Another theme that emerged from key informants was that there are elements of linking social capital, where individuals and groups are increasingly relating to people with positions of authority in the government to seek favors. Thus, the dominant forms of social capital in Molo district are the bonding social capital and linking social capital.

In conclusion, it may be argued that the reduced stocks of bridging social capital perhaps may have triggered the 2007 post-election violence since it was easy for tribal groups to organize and stage clandestine meetings and scheme attacks without the awareness of other groups.

4.5 Effects of post-election violence on households

The third objective was to analyze the effects of post-election crisis on the households. Descriptive analysis was used as well as content analysis of themes from key informants. The respondents were asked if they or any member of their household was injured during the violence. Table 4 below shows the frequency distribution of those injured during the violence.

Table 11: Distribution of household members harmed in the violence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	45	30.0	30.0	30.0
	No	105	70.0	70.0	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Table 11 shows that 30 percent of the respondents said either their family members or themselves were harmed during the violence. This is one of the direct effects of the post-election violence on the households. The respondents were further asked on whether any of their family member(s) was killed in the violence. Eleven respondents (7.3 percent) said they had lost their sons, followed by 6.0 percent who said they had lost their brothers. Five respondents (3.3 percent) further said that they had lost their brothers in-law, 2.7 percent lost their fathers and an equal percent said their daughters were killed in the violence. Two percent of the respondents also said their husbands were killed and one household said two of their daughters were killed. Finally, one respondent said he lost his wife. These findings indicate that apart from the physical injuries sustained by the survivors, there was also loss of family members. Table 5 below shows the frequencies and percentages of the household members killed in the post-election violence.

Table 12: Household members killed in the violence

Househo killed	old members	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		112	74.7	74.7	74.7
	Brother	9	6.0	6.0	80.7
	Brother in- law	5	3.3	3.3	84.0
	Daughter	4	2.7	2.7	86.7
	Father	4	2.7	2.7	89.3
	Husband	3	2.0	2.0	91.3
	One son	11	7.3	7.3	98.7
	Two daughters	1	.7	.7	99.3
	Wife	1	.7	.7	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Still on the effects of post-election violence on households, the respondents were asked on whether they had lost any assets and the type of assets they had lost. All the respondents (100 percent) said they had lost assets during the violence.

Table 13: Assets lost in 2007 post-election violence

			Valid	Cumulative
Assets lost in violence	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent
Building materials	6	4.0	4.0	4.0
Business premises	3	2.0	2.0	6.0
Crops	4	2.7	2.7	8.7
Household goods	12	8.0	8.0	16.7
Houses and household goods	3	2.0	2.0	18.7
Houses, household goods and crops	8	5.3	5.3	24.0
Houses, household goods, livestock and				
crops	60	40.0	40.0	64.0
Livestock	16	10.7	10.7	74.7
Livestock, houses and household goods	38	25.3	25.3	100.0
Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Sixty respondents (40%) said they lost houses, household goods, livestock and crops. This is the category with a combination of more assets; hence the magnitude of loss was also as big. Thirty eight respondents (25.3%) said they had lost a combination of livestock, houses and household goods. Though, in this category crops were not mentioned, the magnitude of loss was also big. This was followed by 10.7 percent who said they had lost livestock and 8.0 percent who said they lost household goods. Those who had lost houses, household goods and crops were 5.3 percent while 4.0 percent said they only lost building materials and 2.7 percent lost crops only. Two percent and another equal percent said they lost their houses and household goods and business premises respectively.

In general, the effect of post-election violence had far reaching consequences on the livelihood base of many households.

Other effects of post-election violence on households as reported by the key informants include the following:

a) Loss of household livelihood

The key informants reported that many families had lost their source of livelihood after the violence. To substantiate this, the elder from Mau Summit expressed the extent of hopelessness and loss of livelihood with the following sarcasm;

"...nobody in Kenya would ever have imagined that people from this area could at any time in history rely upon people of good will for survival. Before the violence we used to feed the nation, but now the nation has to feed us. We used to have and do a lot then; still we have and do a lot now, but in wishing. The rest was fed on by the violence."

This observation indicates the extent to which people's livelihoods were affected by the violence. It further shows how big the magnitude of loss was as a result of post-election violence. In addition, it suggests a shift from self-reliance to a state of dependency.

b) Separation of family members

This was another theme that clearly emerged from the discussion with the key informants. They reported that when the violence broke out, some of the family members became separated with others and have since not been re-united. In Sirikwa location, a key informant observed;

"In this village there are some people you could not miss to find on any single day, some were the heads of households. Where they went nobody knows, ask their family members whether they were killed and they will tell you no. Since they fled they have never come back to their families"

The separation of family members has contributed in weakening the family structure and burdening some family members who have to uptake the responsibilities meant for the ones who left

c) Trauma

The encounters that some members of the family witnessed being done to their loved ones during the violence caused great trauma to some people to the extent of suffering mental degeneration. A key informant in Mau Summit observed the following in regard to trauma among family members;

"I know not of one person but several people who before the violence were in their complete health and very productive, but soon after the violence they lost their minds and are now at the mercy of other family members. The magnitude of loss was unbearable for some of us to come into terms with."

This situation has affected the family negatively especially those households whose affected members were the bread providers.

d) Destitution

Destitution was another effect of post-election violence on families according to the key informants. The key informant from the Ministry of Sports, Gender, Culture and Social Services at Molo noted that;

"the violence that occurred robbed off many households most of the basic needs and subjected them into unfathomable hardship, reducing people who once had beautiful homes into homeless lot with nothing to assure them of a promising tomorrow, they are poor destitute."

4.6 Benefits of social capital

The fourth objective of the study was to examine the benefits of social capital among households in the war-wounded communities. To study the benefits of social capital, respondents were asked to state the benefit(s) they get from being a member of a group or network. The responses are indicated in Table 8 below.

Table 14: Benefits of social capital

			Valid	
Benefits from groups	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent
No response	33	22.0	22.0	22.0
Acquired a plot	3	2.0	2.0	24.0
Acquired livestock	10	6.7	6.7	30.7
Financial benefit	18	12.0	12.0	42.7
Funeral expenses	9	6.0	6.0	48.7
Housing	6	4.0	4.0	52.7
Increased household income	22	14.7	14.7	67.3
Mutual interaction	19	12.7	12.7	80.0
No benefits	4	2.7	2.7	82.7
Obtained household items	20	13.3	13.3	96.0
Raised school fees	6	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Table 14 depicts social capital as an effective asset for improving household welfare particularly to the families that have undergone through crisis. Groups and networks are the vehicles through which social capital is accumulated and by extension they serve as the channels through which benefits of social capital are transmitted. Twenty two (14.7%) said they benefitted through increased household income, 13.3 percent said they obtained household items, 12.7 percent mentioned mutual interaction as a form of benefit they got by being members of a group or network, 12.0 percent mentioned financial benefits, 6.7 percent acquired livestock and 6.0 percent were supported in meeting funeral expenses.

Other benefits mentioned by 4.0 percent of the respondents and another equal percent were housing and school fees. Two percent of the respondents also said they obtained plots by virtue of group membership. Only a small number of 2.7 percent said they never benefitted from group membership. Twenty two percent did not give their response on benefits they get from groups because they had indicated they are not members of any group or network.

The foregoing findings indicate that social groups influence the formation of social capital that becomes a necessary tool for overcoming household challenges through reciprocal social relationships. These benefits portray social capital as an important asset that enables poor people to meet their daily needs. This observation is supported the findings Table 15, generated from the data relating to whether the group(s) would assist with money enough to pay for household expenses for one week.

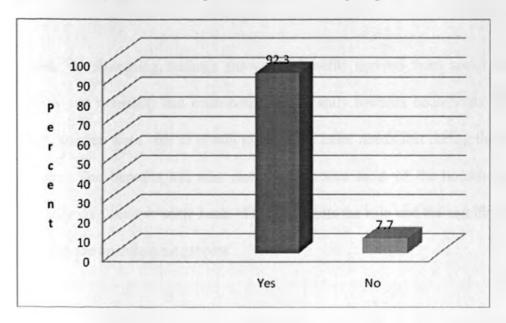
Table 15: Group financial assistance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Definitely	88	58.7	75.2	75.2
	Probably	14	9.3	12.0	87.2
	Unsure	2	1.3	1.7	88.9
	Probably not	5	3.3	4.3	93.2
	Definitely not	8	5.3	6.8	100.0
	Total	117	78.0	100.0	
Missing	System	33	22.0		
Total	•	150	100.0		

The table shows that 75.2 percent said that they would benefit since the group would be willing to assist. An indication that people's social networks are beneficial to the household's welfare. Only 6.8 were definite that the group would be unwilling to provide

the assistance. Similarly, graph 4.0 supports the findings that social capital is of great benefit since 92.3 percent of respondents said that the group would provide assistance in the event of other problems. Only a small section of respondents, 7.7 percent stated that the group would not assist.

Figure 10: If you had other problems, would the group assist?



The respondents were asked to state other problems that the group would be willing to provide assistance. Table 16 provides the frequencies and percentages of the problems mentioned.

Table 16: Other problems group would provide support

Problems		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		41	27.3	27.3	27.3
	Death	11	7.3	7.3	34.7
	Farm work	1	.7	.7	35.3
	School fees	12	8.0	8.0	43.3
	Sickness	23	15.3	15.3	58.7
	Sickness, death	62	41.3	41.3	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Sickness and death was reported by 41.3% of the respondents as the common problems that the group would be willing to assist other than providing financial assistance only. It was followed by sickness and school fees having been reported by 15.3 % and 8.0 % of the respondents. Death alone was mentioned by 7.3 % respondents while farm work was the least mentioned with only 0.7% respondents.

Indeed, the foregoing findings show that benefits derived from social capital assets (groups and network) had contributed significantly towards households' welfare since many families were able to obtain most of the basic needs lost during the post-election violence. The benefits had also directly facilitated most of the households that were internally displaced to settle back. This highlights the role and the significance of social capital in the resettlement process.

4.7 Levels of settlement

The fifth objective of the study was to investigate the levels of settlement among returnee households. The table below contains the frequencies and percentages on levels of settlement as obtained from the field survey.

Table 17. Levels of settlement and factors hindering resettlement

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Levels of				
settlement				
Fully settled	45	30.0	30.0	30.0
Semi-settled	84	56.0	56.0	86.0
Not settled	21	14.0	14.0	100.0
Type of shelter				
Permanent house	5	3.3	3.3	3.3
Semi-permanent	127	84.7	84.7	88.0
Makeshift	18	12.0	12.0	100.0
Level of farming				
Well cultivated	45	30.0	30.0	30.0
Under cultivation	97	64.7	64.7	94.7
Not cultivated	7	4.7	4.7	99.3
No farm	1	0.7	0.7	100.0
Keeping livestock				
Yes	25	16.7	16.7	16.7
No	125	83.3	83.3	100.0
Hindrance from				
settling				
Insecurity	110	73.3	73.3	73.3
Lack of funds	19	12.7	12.7	86.0
Lack of shelter	20	13.3	13.3	99.3
Trauma	1	0.7	0.7	100.0

On levels of settlement, various indicators were used to measure the levels of settlement. They included whether the returnee was fully settled, semi-settled or not settled. It also included identifying the type of housing; whether permanent house, semi-permanent house or makeshifts such e.g. tents. Other indicators were the level of farming and whether the respondent had began keeping livestock.

The data in Table 17 show that 30 percent of the household that had returned from the IDP camps had fully settled while 56 percent were semi-settled. Only a relatively small proportion of 14 percent of the households had not settled. The findings also indicated that the majority (84.7%) of the returnees lived in semi-permanent houses while only a small number of 3.3 percent lived in permanent houses. The data further shows that 64.7 percent of returnees have started working on their farms and another 30 percent have their farms well cultivated. Many of the respondents stated that they had incurred big losses during the clashes and this had deprived them off the resources necessary for acquiring some livestock. Hence only 16 percent, a small number of returnees were able to buy some livestock.

The levels of settlement are associated with the available stocks of social capital from groups and the benefits members are able to procure from the groups. The findings from the analysis of benefits of social capital (see pg. 51) show the type of resources members are able to obtain from groups and networks. Indeed, the findings show that some of the benefits have contributed immensely in the resettlement of IDPs through acquisition of basic household commodities; hence social capital had a positive role in the resettlement of the internally displaced persons.

4.8 Factors hindering the resettlement/return process

The study further identified various factors that were hindrance in the resettlement process. The respondents were asked to state the factors that hindered them from settling and the statistics are tabulated in Table 17

a) Insecurity

Over 70% of those interviewed cited insecurity as the main cause of non-return factor. Fear and uncertainty result from, severe tension between communities, coupled by little interaction. Those who had left the area feared going back because of intense hostility. Some cited being issued with threats and warned of fatal consequences had they attempted going back.

b) Lack of shelter

About 13% of the respondents identified lack of housing as another factor that hindered their resettlement. They stated that in as much as they wanted to return, they had no place to abode since their houses were burnt down during the clashes and had to wait in the camps until the government pledged to provide support in reconstructing their homes. During the field interview, a respondent said;

"Nobody found comfort in those tents and the idea to return kept on beckoning, but it was suppressed by the understanding that we had no place to sleep."

c) Lack of funds/poverty

There are families who wished to go back, but had no means of rebuilding their homes or starting new livelihood activities. Nineteen respondents, 13 percent cited lack of capital/poverty as another non-return factor.

d) Trauma

An insignificant number of respondents 0.7% also cited the horrendous encounters they had during the violence as a non-return factor. The lingering memories of hurts and mutual mistrust contributed to a delayed resettlement since it caused anxiety and fear of fresh attacks.

4.9 Bivariate Analysis

Further statistical analysis was done by use of Chi-square to test the hypotheses and to compare and define between independent and dependent variables. The findings are presented in the following section.

4.9.1 Household characteristics and social capital

Social capital was defined in this study as group membership. It was also the dependent variable while household characteristics were the independent variables. To determine the association, a cross tabulation of each of the independent variables against group membership was done and results were presented in tables.

4.9.2 A. Relationship between gender and group membership

Respondents' gender was cross tabulated against group membership and the results are shown in Table 17. There was no statistical relationship between gender and group membership.

Table 18: Cross tabulation between gender and group membership

			Graup memberabip			
			Yes	No	Total	
Sex	Male	Count	52	20	72	
		% within Sex	72.2%	27.8%	100.0%	
	Female	Count	64	14	78	
		% within Sex	82.1%	17.9%	100.0%	
Total		Count	116	34	150	
		% within Sex	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%	

$$X^2 = 2.064$$
 df = 1 p = 0.151

$4.9.3\,\,B.$ Relationship between marital status of respondents and group membership

Marital status was cross tabulated against group membership. Table 18 shows that there is no significant association between marital status and group membership.

Table 19: Cross tabulation between marital status and group membership

			Group membership		
		The second second	Yes	No	Total
Marital status	Single	Count	13	1	14
100		% within Marital status	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Married	Count	85	26	111
Divorced/Separed		% within Marital status	76.6%	23.4%	100.0%
	Divorced/Separat	Count	7	1	8
	ed	% within Marital status	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Widower/Widow	Count	11	6	17
R. Santa	% within Marital status	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%	
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within Marital status	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 3.979$$
 df = 3 p= 0.264

4.9.4 C. Relationship between level of education and group membership

Table 19 shows a cross tabulation of level of education of respondents whether they were group members. There was no statistical association between level of education and group membership.

Table 20: Cross tabulation between level of education and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Level of education	Secondary	Count	44	9	53
		% within level of education	83.0%	17.0%	100.0%
	Primary	Count	57	21	78_
		% within level of education	73.1%	26.9%	100.0%
	None	Count	15	4	19
	1	% within level of education	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within level of education	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 1.812$$
 df = 2 p= 0.404

4.9.5 D. Relationship between occupation and group membership

The cross tabulation between occupation of the respondents and group membership did not show any statistical association.

Table 21: Cross tabulation between occupation and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Occupation	None	Count	6	3	9
	M	% within occupation	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Farmer	Count	98	28	126
		% within occupation	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Businessman	Count	6	1	7
		% within occupation	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Casual worker	Count	6	2	8
		% within occupation	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within occupation	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 0.904$$
 df = 3 p= 0.825

4.9.6 E. Relationship between income and group membership

Income of the respondents was cross tabulated against their membership into groups and the results are shown in Table 21. There was a statistically significant association between income and group membership.

Table 22: Cross tabulation between income and group membership

			Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Income	<3000	Count	66	30	96
		% within income	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%
	3001-6000	Count	44	4	48
		% within income	91.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	6001-9000	Count	3	0	3
		% within income	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	9001>	Count	3	0	3
		% within income	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within income	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 11.419$$
 df = 3 p= 0.010

4.9.7 F. Relationship between age and group membership

Respondents' age in categories was cross tabulated against group membership. The results in Table 22 show a statistically significant association between age and group membership.

Table 23: Cross tabulation between age and group membership

		3	Group membership		
			Yes	No	Total
Age	20-29	Count	13	6	19
		% within Age	68.4%	31.6%	100.0%
	30-39	Count	34	8	42
		% within Age	81.0%	81.0% 19.0% 100	100.0%
	40-49	Count	47	6	53
		% within Age	88.7%	11.3%	100.0%
	50-59	Count	17	9	26
		% within Age	65.4%	34.6%	100.0%
	60 and	Count	5	5	10
	above	% within Age	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within age	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 11.447$$
 df = 4 p= 0.022

4.9.8 Findings of household characteristics and social capital.

Among the cross tabulated household characteristics, which included gender, marital status, level of education, occupation, income and age, only the latter two showed a statistically significant association with social capital. Hence in the study area not all the household characteristics are determinants of social capital.

4.9.9 Relationship between social capital and effects of post-election crisis

Social capital (group membership) was cross tabulated against the number of households harmed in the post-election violence and the findings presented in Table 23. The Chisquare results showed that indeed households with higher social capital settle quickly after displacement. Perhaps the households with higher social capital are able to obtain more resources and support from groups that facilitate their quick resettlement compared to households with low social capital.

Table 24: Cross tabulation of household members harmed and group membership

			Group mem	bership	
			Yes	No	Total
Household	Yes	Count	31	14	45
members harmed		% within household members harmed	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
	No	Count	85	20	105
		% within household members harmed	81.0%	19.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	116	34	150
		% within household members harmed	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%

$$X^2 = 2.615$$
 df= 1 p= 0.106

The hypothesis is also supported by the frequency distribution in Table 23 where majority 85 (81%) of the respondents were members of groups and networks and had none of their household members harmed in the violence; a proof that households with higher social capital were not badly affected by the violence.

4.10 Relationship between high social capital and settlement

The third hypothesis was households with higher social capital settle quickly after displacement. To test this hypothesis, Chi square was computed by cross tabulating the

levels of settlement with group membership as shown in Table 24. There is a statistically significant association between higher social capital and quick settlement.

Table 25: Cross tabulation between levels of settlement and group membership

		Group membership		
		Yes	No	Total
Level of settlement	Fully settled	32	13	45
	Semi-settled	71	13	84
	Not settled	13	8	21
Total		116	34	150

$$X^2 = 6.323$$
 df = 2 p = 0.042

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study focused on investigating the role and significance of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs in Kenya. The main driving thought of the study was to make some contribution that may lead to improvement of social welfare in the war-wounded communities as well as promoting social cohesion through harnessing of positive elements of social capital. This would also include developing strategies and programs that would help in uprooting the negative elements that inhibit accumulation of stocks of social capital.

The study approach confined the investigation of the role and significance of social capital in the resettlement of IDPs into five objectives. The first objective aimed at providing answers to the overarching question, "What are the determinants of social capital?" The second objective investigated the forms of social capital among households in the study area. It focused on addressing the overarching question, "What are the forms of social capital in war-wounded communities?"

The third objective investigated the effects of post-election crisis on households. This objective sought to provide answers to the overarching question, "What are the effects of post-election crisis on households?" The fourth objective examined the benefits of social capital in the war-wounded communities?" This objective focused on addressing the overarching question, "What are the benefits of social capital in the war-wounded

communities?" Finally the fifth objective was to investigate the levels of settlement among returnee households.

The study also had three hypotheses that were tested by computing Chi square. The first hypotheses was; household characteristics determine social capital while the second and the third were households with higher social capital were not badly affected by the post-election violence and households with higher social capital settle more quickly after displacement.

5.2 Determinants of social capital

The study findings showed that not all individual demographic characteristics are determinants of social capital among households in the study area. However, the bivariate analysis on household characteristics and social capital showed a statistically significant association between social capital and income and also between social capital and the age of respondents. In terms of age, higher group membership is observed in the age category between 30-49 years and lowers in the youngest and eldest groups.

Similarly, the findings show that the higher the income the more the likelihood that an individual will be a member of the group. For example the people who earned between 3001-6000 had 91.5 percent membership while those earning less than 3000 had the lowest percentage of 69.8 percent on group membership.

5.3 Forms of social capital in the war-wounded communities

The findings for this objective showed that the dominant form of social capital in Molo was bonding social capital. The data collected showed that most people tend to join

groups and networks of their linguistic and ethnic background; a common feature in bonding type of social capital where members of social groups share similar characteristics such as language or ethnic backgrounds.

The findings from the key informant reports also showed the presence of linking social capital where individuals and groups or networks work or associate with people in authority. The information from the key informants also suggested minimal interaction between groups and networks with different goals. The key informants explained that such situation obtains from the fact that membership is based on ethnicity; hence reducing the degree of interaction between groups of different ethnic background. This situation has contributed to the reduction of bridging type of social capital within the study area.

5.4 Effects of post-election violence on the households

The study findings showed that the 2007 post-election violence had far reaching consequences to the households. The effects ranged from loss of life, injuries, to loss and destruction of property in large scale. About 40% of the respondents said they lost household commodities, livestock, crops and their houses were destroyed. The findings further showed that 30.0 percent of the respondents either were injured or had their family members injured in the violence. Other than physical injuries and loss of life by being killed, there was considerable loss of livelihoods for the households, separation of family members that resulted to the weakening of the family. Some members of the family suffered from trauma as a result of the horrifying encounters they had during the

clashes and many families that were once economically stable had been reduced into destitute.

5.5 Benefits of social capital

The findings showed that the victims of post-election violence benefitted immensely from social networks and groups. Indeed, the findings show that social capital is a great asset towards enhancing households' welfare. The findings show a wide spectrum of benefits members obtained by virtue of membership into a social group or network. The benefits ranged from acquisition of physical assets such as household commodities, financial benefits to mutual interaction. The findings further showed that the networks serve as social insurance in the event of need or emergency. For instance, 75.2% of the respondents expressed confidence that the networks would give them money to pay for household expenses for one week. Similarly, 92.3 percent said that the group would still provide assistance in the event of other problems such as death and sickness. In general therefore, social capital offered many benefits to the households.

5.6 Levels of settlement

The last objective was to investigate the levels of settlement among the returnee household in the study area. It also had a hypothesis on whether or not households with higher social capital settled more quickly after displacement. The findings from the bivariate analysis showed that indeed households with higher social capital settle more quickly.

Other findings showed that a significant number of households had already settled at the time of survey. About 30% of the households were fully settled, 56% were semi-settled and only 14% had not settled. The factors identified as incapacitating the resettlement process were insecurity and lack of shelter. Over 70% respondents cited insecurity as the main non-return factor and 13% said lack of housing delayed the return process. Other factors mentioned were lack of capital/poverty and trauma.

5.7 Conclusion

The findings indicate that social capital plays a fundamental role in promoting households' welfare. In particular, and based on the findings of the study, social capital played a significant role in enabling the internally displaced persons to move from the camps and return to their homes. The findings showed the strong confidence that many people have in networks and social groups and the benefits of joining groups and networks. Social capital facilitated the IDPs to obtain support and basic needs that they needed to return.

5.8 Recommendations

This means that social capital just like other forms of social capital is an asset that can be utilized to improve social welfare of the community and the state in general. However, to have widespread and positive impacts of social capital, efforts must be made to invest in high stocks of social capital. This means first and foremost working on the negative elements that inhibit the accumulation of social capital such as ethnicity.

The government and other agencies should introduce intensified and sustained civic education programs that seek to minimize sentiments of ethnicity and instead inculcate the sense of patriotism and nationhood as a way of promoting civic health of the society

The existing social groups should be strengthened and used as platforms and avenues for promoting peace and reconciliation among communities.

Social capital should be incorporated into the national development plans, since the success of economic blue prints largely depends on the social cohesion of a nation.

5.9 Further studies

Studies on factors hindering formation of social capital in multi-cultural communities could be done to come up with the best approaches of enhancing the formation of social capital.

More studies on determinants of social capital should be done in other areas for comparative purposes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Social Capital Questionnaire

I am a student from the University of Nairobi pursuing Master of Arts degree in Rural Sociology and Community Development. Am carrying out a study on "The Role and Significance of Social capital on the Resettlement of IDPs in Kenya". To contribute in this study you are encouraged to answer all the questions provided in the questionnaire. You are also encouraged to be as truthful as possible since the information you provide could be used to inform policy on building peace and promoting ethnic reconciliation in the country. The study is also expected to give insights on addressing the plight of IDPs in the country. The information you avail will be treated with strict confidentiality.

1.	Division
2.	Location
	Channel 141 Cal
A.	Characteristics of the respondents
1.	Name of the respondent (optional)
	Sex: 1. Male 2. Female
	Age
	Marital status
	1. Single
	2. Married
	3. Divorced
	4. Separated
	5. Widowed
5.	Relationship to the household
	1. Father
	2. Mother
	3. Daughter
	4. Son
	5. Other relative
	6. Not a relative
6.	What is your highest level of education?
	1. University
	2. Secondary
	3. Primary
	4. Other (specify)
7.	What is your occupation?
	1. None

2. Farmer

3.	 3. Teacher 4. Business man 5. Casual worker 6. Other (specify)
9.	What is the size of your household?
).	What is your average monthly income in Kshs. (please tick the category in which you belong below) 1. Less than 3000 2. 3001-6000 3. 6001-9000 4. 9001-12000 5. 12001-15000 6. 15001+
В.	Forms of social capital
1.	I would want to start by asking you about the groups and organizations, networks and associations. These could be formally organized groups or just groups of people who get together regularly to do an activity or talk about issues/things. Do you belong to any such group? 1=Yes 2= No
2.	If yes to 1 above, what is the name(s) of the group(s)?
3.	What is the goal of the group?
4.	Which year did you join the group(s)?
5.	What benefits do you get by being a member of the group? 1

6.	If you suddenly needed to borrow money enough to pay for expenses for your household for one week, would the group assist? 1. Definitely 2. Probably 3. Unsure 4. Probably not 5. Definitely not
7.	If you had other problems, would the groups assist? 1. Yes 2. No
8.	If yes, which problems? 1
C.	Effects of post-election crisis on households
1.	During 2007 general elections, we experienced in the country violence of an extended scale with many people being displaced. Were you or your household internally displaced? 1. Yes 2. No
2.	Were you or any member of your household harmed during the violence? 1. Yes 2. No
3.	Did you lose any assets during the 2007 post-election violence? 1. Yes 2. No
4.	If yes, what assets? 1
5.	How would you rate the magnitude of the loss to your family/households? Use a three point scale where 1 means big and 3 small. 1. Big 2. Average

3. Small

D. Levels of settlement

- 1. Using a scale of 1 to 3 where 1 means fully settled and 3 not settled, indicate your level of settlement.
 - 1. Fully settled
 - 2. Semi-settled
 - 3. Not settled
- 2. What is the type of your house?
 - 1. Permanent house (stone house)
 - 2. Semi-permanent house (mud house)
 - 3. Makeshift e.g. tent
- 3. What is the level of your farming?
 - 1. Well cultivated
 - 2. Under cultivation
 - 3. Not cultivated
- 4. After settling back on your farm, have you been able to acquire some livestock?
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No

5.	What factors hinder you from settling?
	1
	2
	3

Thank you for finding time to fill this questionnaire

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Guide

- 1. In this neighborhood, are there groups or organizations, networks, and associations to which households belong? These could be formally organized groups or just groups of people who get together regularly to do an activity or talk about things.
- What is the basis of membership into these groups, networks and associations i.e. are most of the members of the same gender, ethnic or linguistic background, and occupation or education background?
- 3. Does the groups work or interact with groups within or outside the village with similar or different goals?
- 4. Does the group interact or associate with people in positions of authority? Say police and politicians.
- 5. What benefits do members get from being a member of a group or network?
- 6. What has been the role of these groups in the resettlement of IDPs?
- 7. What factors hindered the resettlement process?