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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

RESEARCH PROJECT

**INTER-CLAN CONFLICT IN MANDERA DISTRICT: A CASE OF THE
GARRE AND MURULLE, 2004-2009.**

BY

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REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ARMED
CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND
ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

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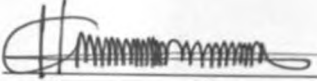
NOVEMBER 2012

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration


This project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

Hussein Mohamed Alio

Signature:  Date: 21/Nov/2012.

The project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.

Prof. Godfrey Muriuki


Signature: _____ Date: 21.11.12.

Dr. Herbert Misigo Amatsimbi

Signature:  Date: 21. 11. 12.

DEDICATION

This Project is dedicated to the survivors of recurrent inter-clan conflicts between Garre and Murulle clans in Mandera District.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am thankful to my supervisors Prof. Godfrey Muriuki and Dr. Herbert Misigo Amatsimbi whose encouragement, guidance and support enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject. I would like to appreciate Dr. Gona and Dr. Mary Mwiandi for their support during the initial stages of choosing and developing my research topic and research proposal. My research work was significantly developed and strengthened because of their support.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the people of Mandera and the Provincial Administration for their support during data collection. I am grateful to elders from the Garre and the Murulle clans for providing me with first hand information and data on specific Garre-Murulle clashes. I would also like to express my gratitude to my friends, namely, Mr. Abdi Wahab Abdi and Leyla Ali and my family for their overwhelming support, love and generosity during my studies for the Masters Degree at the University of Nairobi. God Almighty bless them abundantly.

ABSTRACT

Scholars on violence in Mandera who include Lewis have focused on Somali irredentism and closeness to the porous Kenya-Somalia border as the main cause of inter-clan conflict.¹ This study set to explore other factors that may underlay conflict in Mandera. The study covered the period between 2004 and 2009. For better understanding of the conflict, the study utilized the Homer-Dixon's theoretical framework, which analyses why violent conflicts occur. The proponents of this theory argue that conflicts can be induced by scarcity of any need against the competing demands. These are divided into scarcity associated with resource degradation and scarcity induced by population growth. The researcher wanted to understand whether resource scarcity played any role in the conflict. The researcher was interested in establishing whether creating of administrative boundaries of the Northern Frontier by the colonialists underlay recurrent conflict among the two clans. This is a descriptive and cross-sectional study. Various events on Murulle and the Garre inter-clan conflict have been described. Areas around the northern part of the Kenya-Somali boarder have similar climatic conditions of arid and semi arid lands. These areas are dominated by ethnics groups that have similar cultural practices and customary institutions. These groups are predominantly nomads and often migrate in search of pasture and water for their livestock. The migration often resulted in conflict as the groups fight for diminishing resources.

The migrations happen within ethnic group or clan territory as well as across other clan territories including across the northern Kenya /southern Ethiopia border lines /areas and Somali. Access to resources during migration among the clans may be gained through negotiation and reciprocal relationships with the host community or through conflicts. Conflicts result in displacement of the defeated clan. An example is the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle clans of the larger Somali. Recurrent conflict among the Murulle and the Garre has brought insecurity in the entire Mandera triangle. While consensus exists that the recurrent conflicts have adverse effects on pastoralists and other rural communities, this study deemed it essential to explore detailed information on the conflict. The continued hostility among these two clans

¹ Lewis, A *Pastoral Democracy*, London: James Currey, 1961 and also see, Mburu, N, *Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search of Somali Unity*, Trenton, NJ, Red Sea Press, 2005.

formed the basis for this study whose main objective was to explore factors responsible for clan conflicts in Mandera district. The study revealed that, over the decades, the clans of Murulle and Garre have migrated onto each other's territory as well as other clan's territories resulting in inter-clan conflicts and displacement. Conflicts were common during dry spells or drought. As drought took effect, resources of pasture and water dwindled and set in motion competition for these much needed resources. Often, the result was conflict. Apart from drought the changing climatic patterns and the ecological stress being experienced around the globe, a steady population increase among the pastoralists has been attributed to the diminishing pasture lands and water catchments points.

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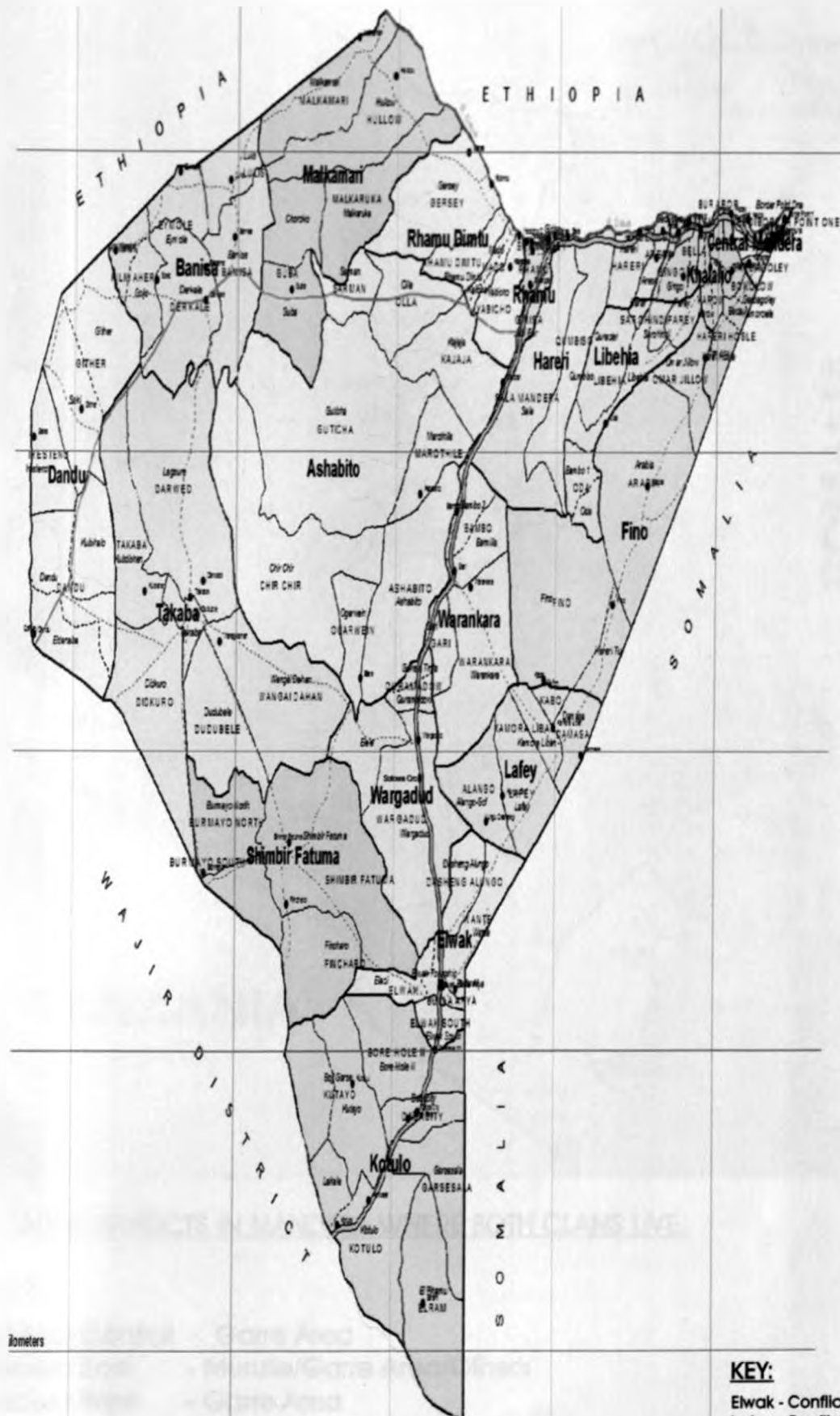
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MAP OF MANDERA DISTRICTS SHOWING AREAS OF CLAN CONFLICTS BETWEEN GARRE & MURULLE FROM 2004 TO 2009.



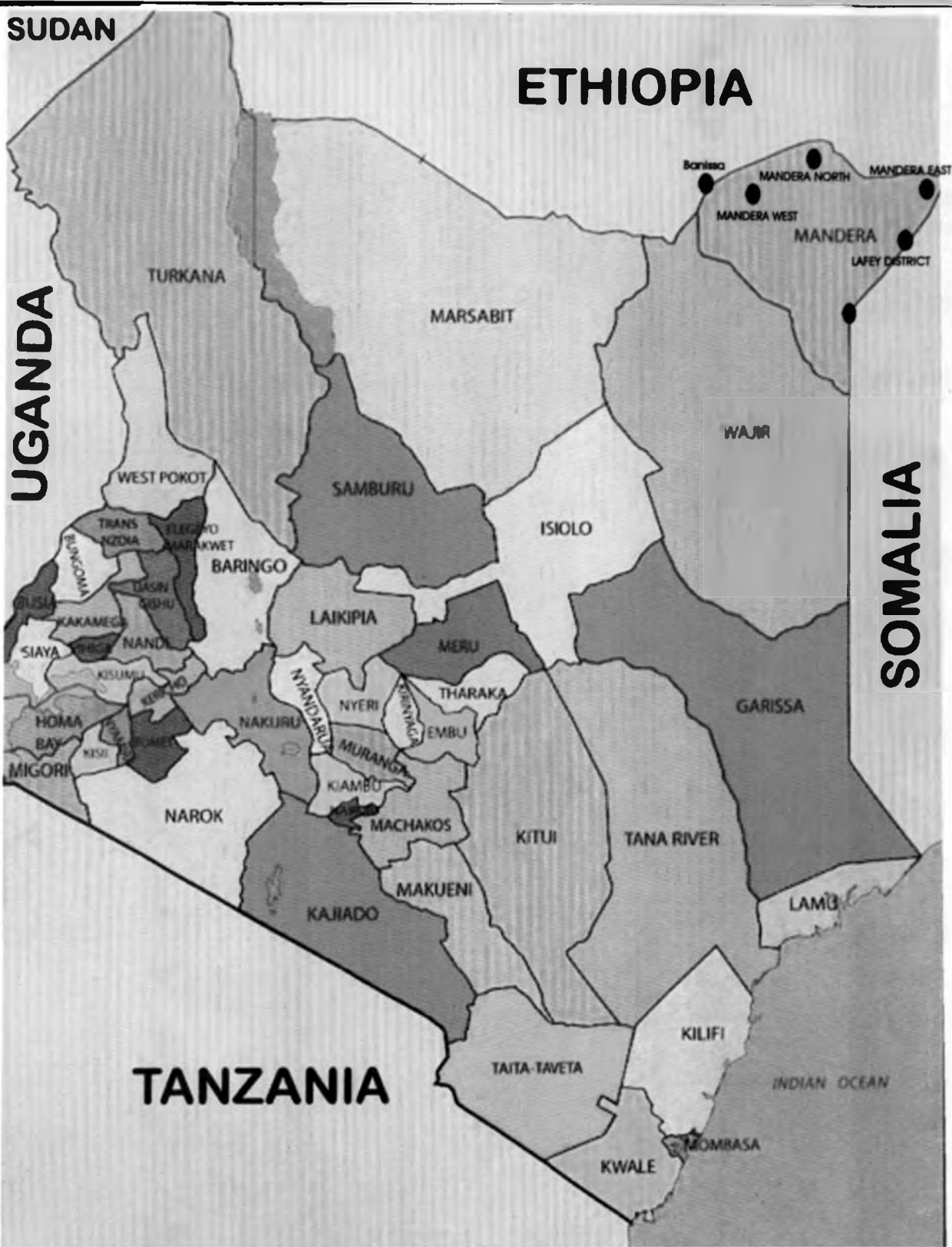
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Kilometers

- KEY:**
- Elwak - Conflict Area
 - Lafey - Conflict Area
 - Fino - Conflict Area
 - Wargadud - Conflict Area
 - Gar/Bambo - Conflict Area
 - Sukelatirfa - Conflict Area
 - Eigolcha - Conflict Area
 - Alango Dam - Conflict Area
 - Kamoro Village - Conflict Area
 - Mandera Town - Conflict Area

SUDAN

ETHIOPIA

UGANDA



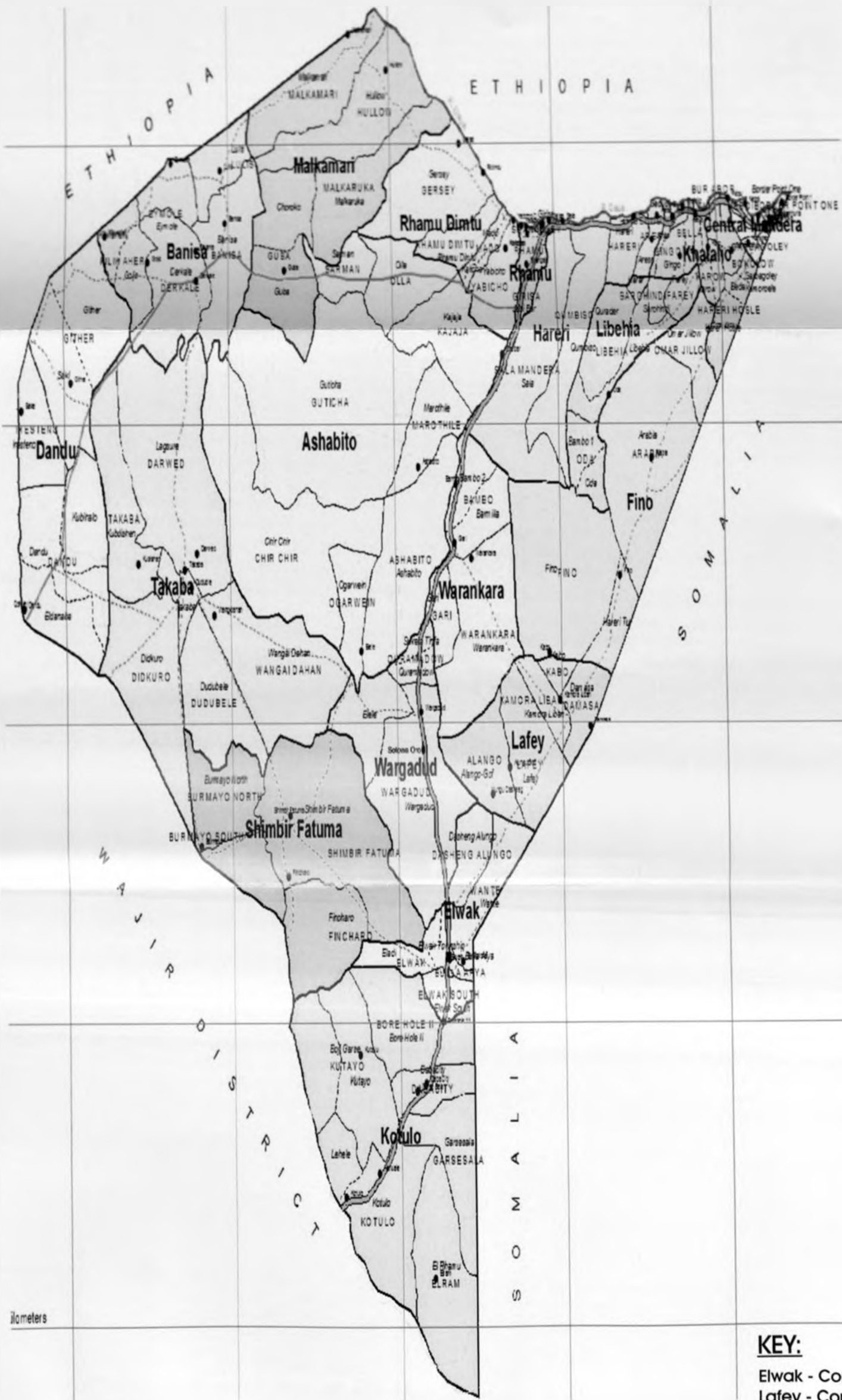
SOMALIA

KEY SHOWING DISTRICTS IN MANDERA WHERE BOTH CLANS LIVE.

KEY:

- Manderla Central - Garre Area
- Manderla East - Murulle/Garre Area/Others
- Manderla West - Garre Area
- Manderla North - Garre/Murulle/Others
- Lafey District - Murulle Area
- Banissa District - Garre Area

MAP OF MANDERA DISTRICTS SHOWING AREAS OF CLAN CONFLICTS BETWEEN GARRE & MURULLE FROM 2004 TO 2009.



kilometers

- KEY:**
- Elwak - Conflict Area
 - Lacey - Conflict Area
 - Fino - Conflict Area
 - Wargadud - Conflict Area
 - Gari/Bambo - Conflict Area
 - Sukelatinta - Conflict Area
 - Elgolicha - Conflict Area
 - Alango Dam - Conflict Area
 - Kamoro Village - Conflict Area
 - Mandera Town - Conflict Area

OPERATION DEFINATION OF TERMS.

Conflicts Resolution –the process of restoring a dispute or a conflict by providing each side needs and adequately address their interest so that they are satisfied with the outcome for sustainable peace to be realized among the warring groups.

Conflicts –the state of opposite disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people which is sometime characterized by physical violence.

Ethnic conflict–is a conflict between ethnic group often as a result of ethnic clashes over, land water and pasture in a given jurisdiction.

Garre – is a sub-tribe of a much larger Somali ethnic group which lives in Mandera, Wajir Garissa, Nairobi and part of Ethiopia and Somali and have similar dialect of Borana /Gabra and share ancestry.

Irredentism – a national policy advocating the acquisition of some region in another country by reason of common linguistic, cultural, historical, ethnic or racial ties.

Mediation –an informal /formal voluntary process intended to resolve conflicts through talks and discussion with parties in conflicts without resorting to arbitration or litigation by using an impartial third party, Mediation may culminate into signing of formal agreement.

Murulle –are Cushitic people of Hawiye clan of Somalia family living at the tip of Kenyan North Eastern province bordering Ethiopia and Somalia (Mandera East District)

Peace Agreement- a formal arrangement entered into by warring parties to explicitly regulate or resolve the basic incompatibility and agree to work together for seek for sustainable peace.

Porous border –allowing easy passage in and out of unfenced and largely unpoliced border.

Reconciliation –refers to apolitical and social process aimed at promoting the mutual recognition and acceptance among warring parties and developing peaceful relation.

Somali – are ethnic pastoralists groups which live in Somalia Kenya and Ethiopian, have identical culture, languages and religion.

Spoilers – John Stedman defines spoiler as a leader or parties who believe that peace agreement threaten their power, world view and interest and consequently use violence or any other means to undermine attempt to achieve peace.

ABBREVIATIONS

ALRMP -Arid Land Resources Management Project

AP – Administration Police

BP1 - Border Point One

CS0 – Civil Society Organization

DC - District Commissioner

DPC – District Peace Committee

DSG - District Steering Group

FGD - Focus Group Discussions

IDP - Internally Displaced Persons

KANU –Kenya African National Union

MP –Member of Parliament

MYWO –Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization

NEP – North Eastern Province

NFD - Northern Frontier District

NFDL - Northern Frontier Defence Liberation

NSC- National Steering committee

NDMA-National Drought Management Authority

OPP - Office of the President

PC –Provincial Commissioner

PS - Permanent Secretary

SALW- Small Arms and Light Weapon

UN- United Nations

UNV - United Nation Volunteer

UNDP –United Nation Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Northern Frontier District

In the late nineteenth century, the present North Eastern Province, now subdivided in Counties by the new Kenya constitution, was known as the Northern Frontier. At the turn of the century this region and the larger Horn of Africa was hit by human and livestock diseases and famine. These calamities caused depopulation by depleting vital natural resources necessary for human survival.² Areas affected by the calamities were the Northern Frontier region, including areas bordering Daua and Ganale Doria Rivers, Sagan River, Waso and the Tana rivers. Soon after the occurrence of these disasters and the subsequent depopulation, the Somali clans of Darood and the Hawiya from the Horn of Africa migrated to occupy these areas. The British and the Italian in their colonization quest fixed boundaries that divided up the Somali pastoral communities into different political jurisdictions.³

The creation of the political boundary was completed in 1903 when the boundary between Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Kenya (Kenya colony) was fixed.⁴ On the same note, the boundary between Italian Somaliland and the British Kenya colony was fixed between 1925 and 1926, when Jubaland was transferred to Italian Somaliland.⁵ The first boundary was fixed between the frontiers along the eastern sections of the Ganale-Daua Rivers and Daua-El Wak (wells), which was shared between Ethiopia and Kenya. The second boundary was that of Jubaland-Wajir, which was shared between Somalia and Kenya. All these areas were used by the local people as areas of trans-frontier pastoral seasonal migrations. In creation of these boundaries the colonial frontiers shifted and altered ethnic and clan territories.⁶ This shift and alteration of ethnic and clan territories by the colonial frontiers is crucial for understanding the history of inter-ethnic conflicts in the Northern Frontier District (hereafter NFD) and Mandera District at large.

² KNA, PC/NFD/4/1/2, 'Notes on the Province of Borana, southern Abyssinia, by Major Miles

³ Farer, T. J., *War Clouds on the Horn of Africa: the Widening Storm*, New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1979.

⁴ Maud, P. 1904 "Exploration in the southern borderland of Abyssinia", *The Geographical Journal*, 23, 552-579.

⁵ KNA/DC/MDA/4/2, Political Records-Mandera District NFD Report by Major Gwynn, 1909.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Mandera District is located in the northern part of the North Eastern Province of Kenya. The District borders Wajir District to the south and south west, Ethiopia to the north and Somalia to the east. The District comprises six districts, namely of Mandera East, Central, North, West, Banisa and Lafey and has three Parliamentary Constituencies, namely, Mandera East, Central and West. Although the population density of Mandera District is sparse, it appears dense at water points and areas with green pasture. This overstretches the meager water and pasture resources available therefore leading to frequent conflict between the four 'clan' groupings, of the Garre, the Murulle, the Degodia and the Corner Tribes. Of all the above, the Garre and the Murulle have been in constant conflict.

In looking at the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle one must first attempt to define exactly what are the factors responsible for the conflict between the two Somali clans. What and/or who are the Garre and the Murulle? Where did they come from? What did the British creation of northern frontier mean to them? What does it mean now? This research looks at the Garre and Murulle conflict in Mandera and explains how this conflict has been influenced by the British creation of the northern frontier.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The Murulle and the Garre have engaged in frequent conflicts that has affected the entire Mandera triangle. In December 2004, the conflict between the two clans claimed at least 100 lives.⁷ The two clans continue to be hostile to each other. The continued hostility has slowed social and economic progress among the two clans as no meaningful development can take place in a volatile environment. Factors underlying the hostility between the two clans are not well established. This study set out to understand and analyse the drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts in Mandera District. Mandera District is on the frontier region of southern Ethiopia-North Eastern Province of Kenya. Creation of the frontiers coincided with regional mass migration of the Somali herders from the Horn westwards to the British colony of Kenya. Using the resource scarcity model described by Homer-Dixon, the study aims at identifying factors underlying the Garre-Murulle conflicts. The research is interested in understanding how the

⁷ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, *Report of the Fact Finding Commission of the Security Operation in Mandera*, Nairobi: KNC HR, 2008.

colonial frontiers and administrative control boundaries of pastoral nomadic movements created structural scarcity and how political administrative borders affected.

Over the last decade, the Garre and the Murulle have engaged in frequent fights that have affected more other groups in Mandera District. The inter-clan conflict has affected decisions in the District has had long-term implications. The two clans have their own specific rights of why they fight hence deserve attention in the scholarship observation, not only in terms of lacking development but also in terms of the frontier effect. Yet too often, the Garre and Murulle conflict has been ignored, and goes unheard in the scholarship arena. This is unsurprising, given that the area is the northern frontier, which was affected by the state of emergency. During this period, it had little or no access to the media and limited access to the government justice infrastructure such as courts. Nor did they have powerful lobbying groups. Without access to these processes that are integral to the exercise of democratic rights, the Garre and the Murulle and their opinions remained hidden from view hence they solved their differences through conflict yet no comprehensive scholarship work has been done their conflict. There is little scholarly work on Garre and the Murulle conflict.

Factors such as these are likely to have a huge direct and indirect impact on the relationship between the two conflicting communities. For example, although the new changes in laws in Kenya have provided significant new opportunities, many people in Mandera District will still experience high levels of poverty, discrimination and exploitation if the causes the Garre-Murulle conflict are not scholarly addressed to enable ironing out the differences. The uncertain political climate may also undermine efforts to strengthen the response of the government institutions to the Garre-Murulle areas.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General objective

The main objective of the study to explore factors responsible for clan conflicts in Mandera district.

1.3.2 Specific objectives were;

1. To examine the drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts in Mandera District
2. To examine the role of the colonial frontiers and administrative control of pastoral nomadic movements in Garre-Murulle conflict.
3. To examine how the Garre and the Murulle alignments and realignments caused conflict in Mandera District

1.4 Justification of the study

Scholars such as Lewis in his book *A Pastoral Democracy* and Mburu Nene in *Bandits on the Border* while relating to violence in Mandera have focused on Somali irredentism and closeness to the porous border as the main curse.⁸ Whereas Lewis and Mburu explain conflict in the border areas as being caused by irredentism and porous borders, it should be noted that not every conflict in these areas is because of irredentism. Mandera area is not the only borderland where clans transcend the international border. Equally, Mandera is not the only area with a porous border. Kenya shares similar borders all round but no serious conflict has been reported, as is the case in Mandera. This study further explores if there are any other factors that led to conflict in Mandera. Do the resource scarcity factors play any role? What about the colonial frontiers and administrative control of pastoral nomadic movements? Do creating borders lead to the two clans to conflict? Press reports and government accounts have erroneously attributed the cause of this violence to irredentism feeling among the Somali, a simplistic reduction that denies and ignores other issues if any. Understanding the Garre-Murulle conflict may be an important entry point to further research studies in the area of conflict resolution.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The study focused on the Garre and Murulle clans of Mandera District. It will cover economic and political factors, which has predisposed Mandera residents to violence from 2004 to 2009. For instance, in December 2004 the Garre-Murulle conflict claimed at least 100 lives yet apart from news reports no study has been done to explain the conflict.⁹ In July 2008, the government

⁸ Lewis, *A Pastoral Democracy*, London: James Currey, 1961 and also see, Mburu, N, *Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search of Somali Unity*, Trenton, NJ, Red Sea Press, 2005.

⁹ KHRC, Kenya Human Rights Commission 2008 Report, Nairobi: KHRC, 2008, p.10.

drilled a well in Alango. The area is not only considered a buffer zone separating the Garre and the Murulle but also disputed. The drilling provoked renewed conflict between the two clans over ownership. The violence claimed 21 people between July and October 2008. In 2009, 70 people among them four police officers lost their lives and several others were injured, while hundreds fled their homes after bandit attacks. The intensity of the conflict forced the government to respond by increasing the number of security officers in the affected areas leading to relative peace since then. This is why the study stops at 2009.

1.6 Literature Review

In order to understand the Garre-Murulle conflict, a history of colonial frontiers and governance must be considered. According to Lewis, the chronologies of conflicts over resources can be understood if the social and political mechanism that created these conflicts are analyzed.¹⁰ Lewis shows that the shifting of rights to key and scarce resources, such as wells, increased competition and intensified conflicts. Another scholar with similar views is Homer who discussed how the patterns of historical conflicts can be interpreted in the context of resource scarcity theoretical frame of Political Ecology.¹¹ The study resonates well with the political legacies of conflicts along colonial frontiers that divided the Horn of Africa between the British, Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italy in the late nineteenth century. However, the conflicts must be understood in the context of pre-colonial and colonial continuations of ethnic conflicts involving the same actors but using different means albeit for the same reason.

Ayalner Bogale and Korf, in their work states that, land use by pastoral nomads in the frontier region is closely linked to spatial and temporal variability of grazing and water resources. The colonial creation of the frontiers took no account of the ecological factors that had an overarching influence on land use by nomadic herders. Along the frontiers, a common assumption is that dependence on variable natural resources would predictably induce conflicts linked to resource scarcity. To the authors, resource scarcity induced inter-ethnic conflicts are more common along international borders used by nomadic pastoralists, where movements across the trans-frontier has a potential for creating conflicts between the pastoral groups and

¹⁰ Lewis, A *Pastoral Democracy*, London: James Currey, 1961.

¹¹ Homer-Dixon, T. F., *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

between the states and the pastoralists.¹² It is to this type of assumption that the general literature of Political Ecology on resource scarcity is applied. But was it the case in the Garre-Murulle clan conflict?

Nene Mburu discusses the political legacies of conflicts along colonial frontiers that divided up the Horn of Africa between the British, Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Italy in the late nineteenth century.¹³ However, missing from the literature is historical information on factors that induced inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts over resource borders. The role played by colonial frontiers in creating structural scarcity that induced conflicts is missing from the analyses. The analyses need to take cognizance of the types of relations that existed between ethnic groups prior to the establishments of colonial frontiers in order to explore a comparative nature of resource-based conflicts.

According to Bates, during pre-colonial periods the pastoral nomadic communities of the Horn of Africa had interacted across shifting grazing resource borders. Land use by grazing was extensive. Groups dispersed widely during periods of rainfall to gain access to freshly growing pastures for their multi-species livestock comprising cattle, goats, sheep and the camels. Communities from different ethnic groups were integrated in the grazing systems. Different groups, depending on the types of livestock species, evolved specialized systems of resource use that distinguished them from their neighbours.¹⁴ Such systems were symbiotic where groups managed non-competing land use, while where the systems of resource use were competitive there was likelihood of conflict along the shifting resource borders. The same communities exploited grazing territories across different ecological zones, thereby avoiding such potential competition. Thus, the production pursued by neighboring communities had both the potential to engender local competition as well as promoting cooperation.¹⁵ Then when did the problem start? Did the structures introduced by governments have a role to play?

¹² Ayalneh Bogale and Korf, B. "To share or no to share?" in *the Journal of Development Studies* vol. 43, Zurich, 2007, pp. 743-765.

¹³ Mburu, N, *Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search of Somali Unity*, Trenton, NJ, Red Sea Press, 2005, pp-13 -32

¹⁴ Bates, D.G., The role of the state in peasant-nomad mutualism, in *Anthropological Quarterly*, 44, pp. 104-198.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 109-110.

Lewis argues that in the pre-colonial days and similar to the latter periods, water points controlled the traditional grazing cycles during the dry season, while during the rains the pastoral herd movements synchronized with the erratic and patchy grazing.¹⁶ Droughts would automatically force the populations to move across resource borders to seek access to wells in other groups' territories. Across the grazing spaces, resource borders shifted back and forth, alternating between periodic ethnic conflicts. This caused resource borders to contract during conflict but retract during peacetime. Alliances were built through incorporation of minority groups along which shifted human and livestock populations in time and space.¹⁷ Lewis suggests that the communities in the frontier shared in all seasons. What happened after the introduction of colonial structures?

Baxter, Hultin and Triulizi observe that in the frontier region the minorities were absorbed in the process of becoming the other. The process of becoming at one time would not however reduce contestation of resources at different times in the future. In the process, stronger groups became hegemonic over the control of common resources such as wells. The dominant groups considered themselves as the "owners" of land and wells. Others who required the same resources were hosted as "clients" or alliances. The clients' dual identities shifting to become dominant groups when seeking access to water and grazing resources and claiming their ethnic identities when political conditions favored them made them potential contestants over common resources.¹⁸ When did such alliances change and what roles did the colonial structures play?

Lewis in another book argues that there were other advantages for building alliances, particularly by the minority groups in the frontier areas. In the harsh environments of the Horn of Africa, communities built mechanisms for deterring war through systems of compensations for the people lost in fights.¹⁹ Militarily superior alliances would have the advantage of numbers of fighting men as deterrence, as well as better endowed with livestock wealth to compensate the "blood" of those they killed. The bloodstock was negotiated and numbers, often cattle or camels, specified depending on whether the victim was a woman or a man. The minorities joined up with

¹⁶ Lewis, I.M. *A Modern History of Somali* (Revised), London: James Currey, 2002.

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ Baxter, PTW. Hultin, J. and Triulizi, A. *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996, pp. 5-25.

¹⁹ Dia is a compensation where groups pay bloodstock.

the stronger groups to form alliances from which they would benefit from “blood” compensation using their protectors as grantors.²⁰ What happened to these compensation mechanisms and when did they start changing? Did the administrative boundaries play any role?

Victor Azarya observes that inter-ethnicity was essential and was not limited to temporary encounters. Boundaries between indigenous groups were always permeable and occasionally indistinct. The suggestion being that communities either could intermittently or continuously share resource borders. In any case, enmities could be punctuated by long-term peace and cooperation. Warfare was, therefore, less frequent and far in between. The history of cooperation and the dynamics of peace-conflicts would determine such relations. Such a social system that was mostly negotiated between different players changed with the establishment of colonial frontiers.²¹ How did they change?

Markakis observes that colonial borders and frontiers reproduced conflicts. In the borderland regions, the relationships between the trans-frontier communities were defined in terms of sets of claims over resources. Whereas previously resource borders described cultural space where identities were negotiated, the colonial frontiers altered the meaning of resource access rights. This research will unravel how this was done.²²

Dorman and Wilson shares the same views that in the new political frontier, nationalities would also shift. The colonial states considered the shifting borders in terms of ethnic identities.²³ This study will attempt to show how the colonial borders and the administration disrupted former alliances and created new ethnic order.

Trench argues that under the British colonial administration, water and grazing concessions were competed over by the groups belonging to the same alliance or their clients, on one hand, and immigrants, on the other. In other cases where the conflicts involved former alliances or their clients over key resources, the administration’s aim was to destroy the system of clients that had

²⁰ Lewis, I.M. *A Pastoral Democracy*, London: James Currey 1961, pp. 14-59.

²¹ Azarya, V. *Nomads and, the State in Africa: The Political Roots of Marginality*, Lieden: African Studies Centre, Research Series 9/1996, Avebury, Ashgate, England.

²² Markakis, J. *Resource Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, PRIO/Sage Publishers, London, 1998, p.5.

²³ Donnan, H. and Wilson, T. M. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity and Nation States*, Berg, 1999.

existed within the Somali people. In the new administrative order, the former clients would re-assert themselves by claiming concessions on grazing lands and water points that they previously used as guests. Through administrative realignments, resource ownership was redefined, rights changed, re-creating resource poor and resource rich communities. In other cases, the basis of resource divisions were based on religion that the colonial administration perceived as driving conflicts between the Moslem and non-Muslim groups. Imaginary lines on maps were marked to separate the grazing and water resources of religiously defined communities.²⁴ How then did fixing communities in internally defined administrative borders cause conflict?

Baxter argues that the frontiers along the Eastern sections of the Ganale-Daua Rivers and Daua-El Wak (wells), shared between Ethiopia and Kenya, and Jubaland-Wajir, shared between Somalia and Kenya, were areas of trans-frontier pastoral seasonal migrations. The colonial frontiers shifted and altered tribal territories hence Paul Baxter suggests that if one examines the ethnic frontiers, from the outbreak of rinderpest to colonial partition, significant shifts had occurred. The period was one of wars, raiding, and tribal, clan and family migrations.²⁵ If the conflicts were experienced before the colonial rule, how then did the new structures exacerbate them?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This research is based on Homer-Dixon's theoretical framework, which analyses why violent conflicts occur. According to the framework, conflicts can occur over various factors among them resources, such as grazing lands and water. The proponents of this theory argue that conflicts can be induced by scarcity of any need against the competing demands. These are divided into scarcity associated with resource degradation and scarcity induced by population growth.²⁶ In Mandera District ecological scarcity, caused by land degradation and climatic variability combined with political instability can induce inter-ethnic violence. Conflict created structural scarcity when violence was used to displace populations from resource rich to resource

²⁴ Trench, C. "Why a Greek? An East African Frontier in 1905", in *History Today*, 1965, pp. 15-56.

²⁵ Baxter, P.T.W., "The New East African pastoralist: An overview", in Markakis, J. (Ed.), *Conflict and Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa*, London: Macmillan, 1993, pp. 143-162.

²⁶ Sulehyan, I., "From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus yet", in *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 45, pp. 315-326.

poor areas. This research discusses types of scarcity and precludes analysis of the state control that induced structural resource scarcity.

The study explains competing demands between the Garre and the Murulle in Mandera and analyses which competition drives the Garre and the Murulle to conflict. This study will reveal how. Equally the study will reveal if colonial frontiers, created conducive environments for conflicts to occur. In most cases, it was the decisions made by the administration that created structural scarcity. This is precisely what Homer-Dixon called resource capture.²⁷ Resource capture can be explained in two ways. Firstly, militarily and numerically powerful groups in the frontier might use force to dislodge the previous residents. The second type of resource capture is when through administrative re-arrangements of resource borders groups' access to key resources is altered. This happens for reasons of political exigencies than for purposes of creating conflicts. It is the conditions created that the competing groups such as the Garre and the Murulle, used to stake rights to the grazing and water resources that resulted to conflicts.

1.8 Hypotheses

1. There are various drivers of the Garre and Murulle inter-clan conflict in Mandera.
2. Colonial frontiers and administrative control contributed to conflicts in Mandera.
3. The Garre and the Murulle inter-clan alignments and realignments contributed to conflict in Mandera.

1.9 Methodology

This section covers the methodology that was used in carrying out this study. Study site, research design, study population, methods of data collection, data analysis, and ethical considerations are also discussed. The study was carried out in Mandera Districts in the former North Eastern Province.

²⁷ Homer-Dixon, T. F. *Environment, scarcity, and violence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999

1.10 Research Design

This programme guided the researcher in the process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting observations.²⁸ This study was descriptive and cross-sectional in nature. The cross-sectional research design is the most predominant design employed in the social sciences. The design is identified with survey research, a method of data collection in which researchers asks a random sample of individuals to respond to a set of questions about a particular phenomenon. Such researches are carried out in natural settings and permit the researcher to use random probability sample. The researcher is able to make inferences to broader populations and permits him to generalize their findings to real life situations, thus increasing the external validity of the study.

Qualitative method was used to analyze collected data. A structured questionnaire was used to guide the researcher during data collection. The data was then qualified by arguments that explain the facts found in the field. A thematic content analysis was applied.²⁹ The study population was the residents of Mandera districts who are eighteen years old and above and provincial administrators namely the Chiefs, village elders and security personnel's working in the area. A sample is a subset or portion of the total population (Bailey, 1987). A sample was chosen by use of snowballing method whereby those who have relevant information directed the researcher others who have relevant information. Important issues were further probed by interviewing key informants. In total 52, key informants were interviewed. These individuals hold key positions in the constituencies. Informants were asked to respond to a set of questions aimed at identifying factors that promote violence between the Garre and the Murulle. The aim was to generate basic demographic information of the Mandera population and additional information on the causes of conflicts.

This study was carried out after getting approval from the Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology and the provincial administration) namely, the Mandera district commissioner. The researcher ensured that every respondent were given enough background information about the study to enable them make informed decisions about their participation in the study. Informed consent was sought from them before they participate in the study. The respondents

²⁸ Mugenda, O. and Mugenda, A. *Research Method Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Nairobi: Acts Press, 1999.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study if they so wished to do so. The researcher and the research assistants also ensured that they maintained professional and personal codes of ethics throughout the study. The informants were carefully handled and to protect their privacy, pseudo names were used. This ensured they are accorded maximum protection. In addition, the ethical principles of respect for respondents and justice were upheld.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF THE GARRE AND MURULLE CLANS

2.1 Introduction

Located in the Northeastern part of Kenya, the Somali people have a long history of clan conflict. Although it is difficult to establish the exact time when the Somali arrived in this part of Kenya, legend sources indicate that the foundation of the Somali people in Kenya dates back to 1000 B.C. Somalis have a rich history in terms of clan divisions. This section introduces the central issue of the research: the need for consideration of the history of the Garre and the Murulle. It begins by reviewing the history of the Somali followed by that of the Garre and the Murulle. What can be learned from their history has the implications of what causes the conflict. The study notes important historical events by analyzing them in relation to the conflict.

2.2 The Somali People

The Somali of Kenya are part of a much larger Cushitic people inhabiting almost the entire Horn area of Africa. The majority of the Somali people live in the country of Somalia. Somali are also the principal inhabitants of the Ogadeen (Ogaden) region of Southeastern Ethiopia, the country of Djibouti, and the North Eastern Province of Kenya. Their history dates back to about AD 1000. The oral traditions of these people argue that their original homeland is the Arabian Peninsula and associate their ancestors with the Sharifs, the family of Prophet Mohammed. Linguistic, cultural and historical evidence, however, indicates they came originally from the southern highlands of the current Ethiopia.³⁰

The Somali are a single ethnic group in the Horn of Africa, with only one major internal division, that of the Digil Mirifle clans which speak a distinctive language from other Somali groups. The Somali people consider themselves bound together by a common language, by an essentially nomadic pastoral culture, and by the shared profession of Islam. The Somali adopted Islamic religion in the ninth century along the coast and thereafter gradually spread inland. The Somali claim that their origin is traced to noble Arabian region connected with the family of the Prophet, Muhammad. This can at the same time be seen as an expression of Somali Islamic

³⁰ Schlee, Gunther, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.

identity, in the normal Somali currency of descent and genealogy, which ultimately underwrite all relationships. The first known occurrence of the ethnic name 'Somali' is in the fifteenth century, in an Ethiopian hymn celebrating the victories of the Abyssinian king, Negus Yeshaaq (1414-29), at the time of the holy wars against surrounding Islamic principalities.³¹

Although the Somalis played an important military role during the period of spread of Islam into the Christian dominated Ethiopia, it is, only in the nineteenth century that we begin to have more detailed accounts, by European explorers, of Somali society and culture. These make it clear that, despite the internal clan and lineage divisions of the nation, there was already a sharp sense of Somali cultural identity an important element in this study, which analyses the inter-clan conflict. The remarkable Arabist explorer Richard Burton, who understood their culture well and particularly appreciated their oral poetry, memorialized the Somalis appropriately as a fierce and turbulent race. Later a sergeant in the King's African Rifles, deployed against the Dervish forces in the period 1900-1920, made the same judgments, complaining, that the Somalis are no good, every man his own chief. More analytically, Hersi a Somali historian succinctly judged that in traditional Somali society, unity meant nothing and does not even today.³²

Before the coming of Europeans, the Somali peoples were never under any unified political structure, although there were sporadic attempts such as the Gareen dynasty from the Ajuran in Central/Southern Somalia in the 1500s and the Bartire around Jigjiga, Ethiopia. In the late 1700s, they were overthrown violently by other clans.³³ The Somali clans have various genealogical ties, or political or military alliances, which provided a broad, loose identity. In the colonial era, the various European powers easily established hegemony and then a dominance over various divisions of the Somali peoples.³⁴

The Somalis are not a united people but a grouping of broad clan federations. Although all Somalis profess strong allegiance to Islam, the traditional clan rivalries claim a higher

³¹ Haakonsen, J. M., *Scientific Socialism and Self-Reliance: the case of Somalia's 'instant' fishermen*, Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 1984.

³² Hersi, A. A., *The Arab Factor in Somali History*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977, p. 177.

³³ Cassanelli Lee V., *The Shaping of Somali Society: Reconstructing the History of a Pastoral People, 1600-1900*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992, pp. 32-40.

³⁴ Lewis, I. M. *The Somali Lineage System and the Total Genealogy: A General Introduction to the Basic Principles of Somali Political Institutions*, MI: Michigan University Press, 1982.

allegiance. Clan identity is maintained even when groups come to speak non-Somali languages. In reference to the outside world, however, there is still a sense of broader identity as Somalis. Many people of Somali ethnic origin who now speak other languages may still identify themselves as Somali to outsiders. The Somali language has its origins in the Eastern Cushite languages. The language situation, however, is quite complex. Linguists analyse several languages among the Somali peoples, which are not mutually intelligible. 70-80% of Somali in Kenya speak various mutually intelligible dialects of standard Somali. Nevertheless, others speak Maay (a language related to Somali) or Garre-Ajuran (an Oromo language close to Borana) as a mother tongue. Many Somalis speak various languages as a second language.³⁵

2.3 The Garre

The Garre people are part of the larger ethnic group known as the Somali. Although the Somali adhere to the same Islamic faith and share a common cultural heritage, they are divided by language distinctions and clan conflicts. The Garre are the majority and the most widespread clan in Mandera. They live in Mandera North, West, and Central and around Mandera town. The Garre are a diverse and complex clan consisting of two major sections, the Tuff and the Quranyowa. Garre clans communicate in three main languages among themselves in. These languages are the common Somali, the Rahanwein dialect of Southern Somalia, and the 'Garre' language of Mandera. Garre language is a Somalised dialect of Borana.

In the mid 18th Century, the Borana overran and dominated the Gabbra, Sakuye and the bulk of the Garre. The domination made the Gabbra, Sakuye and the Garre to abandon their earlier Somaloid speech in favour of Borana. Arabic is spoken as a secondary or trade language and is also spoken by other Somali people. In their relations with the Borana, some of these latter groups also adopt Borana practices, so that the totality of their public ritual is composed of two or three sub-complexes of diverse origins. Their neighbours include the Somali clans of Murulle, Ajuran, Degodia and the Borana Galla.³⁶

³⁵ Schlee, Gunther, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.

³⁶ Schlee, Gunther, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.

The main Garre groupings descended from Mayle ibn Samal, and are thus equals to Irir and Saransor as sons of Samal, the original head of the Somali people. The Quranyowa section of the Garre claim descent from Dirr, who are born of the Irrir Samal. The Garre people are split in three countries namely Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. In Somalia, they live in the southern part, in Kofur near Mogadishu and El Wak District in Gedo Province. In Ethiopia, they live in Moyale, Hudet and Woreda of Liban zone, while in Kenya, the Garre inhabit Wajir North and Mandera, Garissa and Isiolo. The split in the three countries makes the conflict that affects them to take an international dimension. This is because of the alliances, which are common among the Somali people.³⁷ In the Kenyan part, which is the focus of this study, the Garre hold a vast territory, which is uneasily shared with Degodia and other Somali groups in the region.³⁸

The Garre share the ancestry with other Borana tribes in Northern Kenya including the Sakuye of Saku, Isiolo and Moyale, the Rendille of Laisamis, the Gabra of Marsabit North, and the Wa-Katwa Bajun clans of Lamu. While all Somali are Muslims, with different degrees of admixture of pre-Muslim practices, most Borana-speakers and the Rendille are not. Among these non-Muslims, we have to distinguish two different ritual systems: one is that of the Borana; the other is shared by the Rendille and a number of Borana-speaking and bilingual groups (Gabra, Sakuye and parts of Ajuran and Garre where it coexists with Islam).³⁹

The British ethnographers who studied the Borana-speaking groups wrongly described the Garre as a sub-unit of the Borana or as being of Borana origin.⁴⁰ The British colonial administration shared this view and drew a territorial boundary between the two broad categories of peoples they recognized in the area: 'Galla' and 'Somali'. In fact, many of the so-called 'Galla' are more 'Somali' than anything else. With these marked ethnic differences, the histories of violent clashes become a characteristic of the area. The conflicts become common between different Somali clans since the period of migration and settlement, through the colonial period and during the post-colonial period.⁴¹

³⁷ Ahmed, Ali Jimale, (Ed). *The Invention of Somalia*. New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, Inc., 1995.

³⁸ *Ibid.*,

³⁹ Hanley, G., *Warriors and Strangers*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971.

⁴⁰ KNA, DC/MANDERA/3/2, Political Records, 1915

⁴¹ Lewis, I. M., *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, London: International African Institute, 1969 (reprinted, Haan Press, 1995).

The families of Sayid Abass Sayid Ali and the Aw Gababa took dominant leadership among the Garre families, both in Kenya and Ethiopia. For instance, in Rhamu (Kenya), the family of Sayid Abass Sayid Sheikh Ali rose to prominence both as religious and political leaders, while in El Wak, the family of Chief Adawa Edo and chief Jari, remain influential. In Ethiopia, the influence of the Aw Gababa family continues. The influences of these families were influential particularly when it came to alliances and wars. This therefore affected the Garre relationships with the Murulle people.⁴² According to the colonial records, the Garre clan of River Daua emigrated around the turn of the 19th century from the Garre Kofur country near the coast of Italian Somaliland. As such, the clan speaks the Rahanwein dialect of Somali. The records point out in reference to the Garre that: "They are keen traders, travel to Luk, Moyale, Isiolo with stock, soda, coffee and cotton goods, they dislike any group that causes violence which affects their businesses. This explains their frequent conflicts with the Murulle people whom the Garre associate with looting and raiding their livestock.

2.2.1 Garre's Social Structure

Most Garre are nomadic herdsman, seasonally migrating with their camels, sheep, and goats. They live in portable huts made of bent saplings covered with animal skins or woven mats. Their collapsible tents can easily be loaded on pack animals and moved with the herds. The wealth of most Garre is in their herds. Although the husband remains the legal owner of the herd, his wife controls part of it. Garre villages consist of several related families. Their huts are arranged in a circle or semi-circle surrounding the cattle pens. Villages are enclosed by thorn-shrub hedges to provide protection from intruders or wild animals. The men's responsibilities include caring for the herds, making decisions dealing with migration, and trading. The women are in charge of domestic duties, such as preparing the meals, milking the animals, caring for the children, and actually building the home. Like other nomads, the Garre scorn those who work with their hands, considering craftsmen a part of the lower class.⁴³

The moving patterns of the Garre nomads are dependent upon climate and the availability of grazing land. If water or grazing land becomes scarce, the families pack up their portable huts

⁴² *Ibid*

⁴³ Lewis, I. M., *The Somali Lineage System and the Total Genealogy: A General Introduction to the Basic Principles of Somali Political Institutions*, MI: Michigan University Press, 1982.

and move across the desert as a single, extended family unit. The Garre are quite loyal to one another, spreading evenly across the land to make sure that everyone has enough water and pasture for his herds. According to Islamic law, a man may have as many as four wives. Each wife has her own hut where she raises her children. The children of divorced parents are usually split by gender, with the wife taking the girls and the husband taking the boys. Formerly, the Garre's diet consisted of almost solely dairy products. Today, however, maize, rice, and some vegetables are also included. Chewing kat, a mild stimulant, is a favourite social pastime for most Garre.⁴⁴

2.2.2 Garre Belief System

The Somali tribes were converted to Islam in the 1400's, and today, the Garre are virtually all Muslim. Some Garre believe that they descended from Arab Muslims; however, linguistic research disproves this theory. Although they are quite orthodox in their religious practices, few have a deep understanding of Islam for some still believe in the Somali traditional practices such as existence of ancestral spirits. Those who profess strong Islamic religion believe that after they die, all men will give an account for their actions, being judged by their works and by their knowledge of the Koran. Although Islam has a strong presence in Mandera, there are few Garre Christians. The presence of Christianity indicates inter-religious interaction although those in Islam consider Christians inferior to them.⁴⁵

2.4 The Murulle Clan

The Murulle people belong to the Hawiye clan of the larger Somalia family. The written history of the Hawiye clan dates back to the 13th century writings of the Arab geographer, Ibn Sa'id, who describes Merca as the capital of Hawiye country. The 12th century cartographer Muhammad al-Idrisi also referred to the Hawiye when he wrote that Merca is the region of the Hadiye.⁴⁶ The Murulle inhabit the tip of the Kenya's North Eastern province which borders Ethiopia and Somalia. The clan transcends the international border with some of its members inhabiting the Gedo and Jubba River regions of Somalia. Murulle are of the sub-clan of the Gugundhabe of the

⁴⁴ Hanley, G., *Warriors and Strangers*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971, 17.

⁴⁵ Schlee, Gunther, and Abdullahi A. Shongolo, "Local War and its Impact on Ethnic and Religious Identification in Southern Ethiopia," *GeoJournal*, 36, no. 1, 1995, pp. 7-17.

⁴⁶ Lewis, I. M., *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, London: International African Institute, 1969 (reprinted, Haan Press, 1995, pp. 23-27.

Hawiye Somali clan. Other members of the Gugundhabe are the Baadicadde and Jajele. The Baadicadde and the Jajele live in the larger Hiiraan region of Somalia. According to the Murulle oral traditions, their ancestor was a son of Gugundhabe together with Jiidle, Jibidle, Jiryar, and Jilideen. Since the research's focus is on the Murulle we will not discuss other sub-clans of the Gugundhabe. The Murulle clan is made up of four families namely the Sharmaarke, Yabarseyn, Rer Kulow and Naab Soor of which the majority live in the town of Mandera town.⁴⁷

The Murulle history in Kenya dates back close to 120 years after they migrated with their livestock from Somalia and settled in the tip of Kenya's Mandera District in or around 1895. They form part of the most populous clan group, which is dominant in rural parts of Mandera East. On their migration to Mandera, they were first hosted by the Marehan of Gedo first hosted them a few hundred years ago on their way to their present settlement in Mandera.⁴⁸ The main reason for their movement was increase in population, which led to competition over scarce resources which subsequently resulted into frequent conflict with their host.

In their new settlement, their population increased both naturally and by boost from immigrations of new arrivals from Somalia. This is proved by Kjaerland, Gunnar who argues that according to the 1944 district records, 'More Delo'Tira infiltrated into Kenya and Murulle sent agents to entice fellow tribesmen in Bardera to join them. The main reason for enticing their fellow tribesmen to join them was to make a strong alliance and build a military strength against their Garre enemies. This made the Murulle clan to dominate Mandera East, where they have become a political force against their Garre opponents.⁴⁹

The Murulle and their new tribesmen build a strong alliance and economic strength based on livestock keeping. Murulle livestock consisted mainly of camels, sheep and goats. The pastoral economic livelihood would therefore become very important in influencing the relationship between the Garre and the Murulle. On some occasions, the two clans had a good relationship characterized by a history of sharing pasture and water points. Although the two clans were able

⁴⁷ Lewis, I. M., *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, London: International African Institute, 1969 (reprinted, Haan Press, 1995).

⁴⁸ Hanley, G., *Warriors and Strangers*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1971.

⁴⁹ Kjaerland, Gunnar, *Culture Change among the Nomadic Borana of South Ethiopia*, California: Fuller Theological Seminary (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), June 1977.

to graze and water their animals together, the relationship was sometimes affected by severe drought. During the dry season, the two clans would compete for scarce water and pasture degenerating into severe conflicts. As time went by the two clans, relationship has deteriorated over time.⁵⁰

2.5 The Garre and Murulle Livelihood

The Garre and Murulle are nomadic pastoralists who migrate from one region to the other in search for pasture for their livestock and water. The movements cut across the international boundary between Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. This leaves them wandering from one country to the other. Although part of their population is settled particularly those based around water points where they show a tendency to make gardens, a number of them still move to and fro the international boundary. These migrations and movements of these ethnic groups which have been constant frequently acted as a source of conflict between the two groups.⁵¹

Although the migration of the Garre and the Murulle clan of the Somali people is as old as their settlement, the trend remained so even during the colonial period. The British colonial reports indicated that it was almost impossible to collect tax due to these people's movement from one region to the other. The colonial report noted that taxation experienced difficulties both in its introduction and execution. There seemed considerable reason to suppose that the principle of taxation would not be accepted by the Somali and similar ethnic groups, and that payment would only be made under the pressure of force. It seemed probable, too, that those ethnic groups would evade all chance of taxation by migrating to the adjoining territories of Abyssinia or Italian Somaliland.⁵²

2.5.1 Economic Activities

The Garre and the Murulle are widely nomadic pastoralists who keep camels, cattle, sheep and goats. The importance of pastoral livelihood explains why the two clans were raiding each other

⁵⁰Kjaerland, Gunnar, *Culture Change among the Nomadic Borana of South Ethiopia*, California: Fuller Theological Seminary (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), June 1977.

⁵¹ KNA, DC/ISIOLO/2/1/1, Annual Reports, 1931.

⁵² KNA, DC/ISIOLO/2/1/1, Annual Reports, 1931

for livestock.⁵³ This was clearly indicated by the British colonial reports that there were frequent livestock raids between the Garre and the Murulle clansmen.⁵⁴ Cattle raids therefore played a very important economic position among the Garre and the Murulle.⁵⁵ Although the two clans frequently raided each other for livestock, no clan had an economic influence, which would compel other clans to obey their superiority in material terms.

The clan territoriality inhibits any meaningful economic cooperation with other clans. For example, it is very unlikely that two clans living in any contiguous areas cooperate in digging water wells, protect environment or jointly make security arrangement for the benefit of the respective communities.⁵⁶ The social barriers between the clans and chronic mutual animosity made them mistrust others by holding perceptions and prejudices about the other clans. Mistrust and insecurity always marred inter-clan economic and trade transaction. Any time the Garre and the Murulle had a pending case, not yet resolved, communication and transaction between the two communities would become tense and insecure, until the case is settled.⁵⁷ Trivial accidents and minor brawl could lead to a major confrontation, which may render economic and trade transaction stalemate for as long as many years.⁵⁸

2.5.2 Traditional Authorities Between the Garre and the Murulle

The Garre and the Murulle as are other Somali clans have complex linkage between their clans. These clans form the base of political culture, economic production dominated by traditional animal husbandry, and a traditional governance system. Among the two clans' traditional structures of governance and their authority are not separate entities from clan culture and the mode in which clan relationships are maintained. Traditional structures of governance among the Garre and the Murulle are therefore, nothing else than expression of the society's culture and

⁵³ Kjaerland, Gunnar, *Culture Change among the Nomadic Borana of South Ethiopia*. California: Fuller Theological Seminary (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), June 1977.

⁵⁴ KNA, DC/ISIOLO/2/1/1, Annual Reports, 1931.

⁵⁵ Lewis, I. M., *the Somali Lineage System and the Total Genealogy: A General Introduction to the Basic Principles of Somali Political Institutions*, MI: Michigan University Press, 1982.

⁵⁶ Abdurahman Osman , *The Role of Traditional Leaders in Decision Making: A paper presented at International Congress of Somali Study, Hargeysa, 2001*

⁵⁷ Abdurahman Osman , *The Role of Traditional Leaders in Decision Making: A paper presented at International Congress of Somali Study, Hargeysa, 2001*

⁵⁸ PDRC , *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy*, PDRC Publication, 2004

tradition, which are seen in the clan's hierarchical order. The Garre and the Murulle have a customary law through which the clan is the main political and legal instrument by which inter clan and intra-clan issues were discussed. Through the customary law, conflicts are resolved and resources managed to avoid further conflicts.⁵⁹

Moreover, fundamental cultural elements of the Garre and the Murulle are further influenced by the Islamic religion and lifestyle. The two clans have a strong following of Islam which has shaped their values and norms. The two clans have fused their culture with Islam their becoming a conservative Islamic society. But most important point to note is that the Garre and Murulle have a traditional governance authority which consists of a chief and hierarchical clan heads operating under the chief's authority. The chief and the clan heads make decisions, which were executed and propagated to the lowest level of the community and at the household level. They formed a council which deliberate decision on issues that would include divorce, waging of wars against a rival clan, managing water access, pastureland and revenge to pay back the evil committed against the clan members.⁶⁰

Among the two clans, the council of elders stood supreme and nobody challenged its decision. The clan council's decision is obligatory to all members to abide. To ensure that the elders decision is enforced the clan's governing law has three fundamental principles that must be maintained. These principles include the clan members' cohesion in the face of any challenge that they may face. Such challenges may be political resource or social. This research also observed that, the council also has a big influence on election of politicians. They also manage competition with other clans for power ascendancy and matters related to pasture and control of grazing land, water sharing with other clans, livestock rustling, raping of women, physical clash between camel herders or facing real external aggression.⁶¹

Secondly, the council of elders ensured clan members obedience of customary laws governing conflict resolution and maintaining of order among clan members. This also ensures that the external relation with other clans is maintained. The council ensures obeying and respecting

⁵⁹ Abdurahman Osman , *The Role of Traditional Leaders in Decision Making: A paper presented at International Congress of Somali Study*, Hargeysa, 2001

⁶⁰ Ian M. Lewis, *A Modern History of the Somali*, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002.

⁶¹ PDRC , *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy*, PDRC Publication, 2004

specific treaties, accords and agreements entered into with other neighbouring clans on the use of natural resources and maintenance of security and on procedures of blood compensation and other issues of relevance. Thirdly, the council ensures that clan members' recognition of the hierarchical authority endowed upon the members' traditional head, the chief and sub-clan elders. The chief and clan sub-heads always sit jointly in meetings. This is the highest political and decision-making body. They enjoy full power delegated by the clan's male members to advocate on community behalf for all matters that affect or influence their interest of the clan. The lower institutions such as the family cannot challenge the elders' decision.⁶²

In regions of the Garre and the Murulle, the actors in the traditional structures are not trained, educated or intended to be state leaders. Although the members of the council of elders are not trained, they remain useful conduit of the government policies to resolve inter-clan conflicts, security matters or as an instrument for peace making in times of political crises between opposing political factions. In this arrangement, the leaders play a very useful and effective role of managing the conflicts. Their role is extremely effective in solving conflicts of all kinds in the two-clan setup. Although the chief is a powerful agent of peace among the Garre and the Murulle, unlike chiefs in other parts of Africa, their chiefs do not have powers over land. They cannot assign land to anyone from their clan members. In the first place, the chief does not have designated land or power to manage grazing land except in area of security and peacemaking when disputes arise over use of grazing land or water wells between two clans. The chiefs position among the two clans is mostly ceremonial and approves what the council of clan elders proposed to them.⁶³

As I discuss the traditional setup of the council of elders among the Garre and the Murulle, its relevance to mention the position of women. Women among the two clans were excluded from all decision making powers and are not allowed to participate in the elders meetings. The role of women is restricted to that of supporting men's views, ideas and decisions without participating in the processes leading to the decision. Women were not allowed to assume obligation for the clan because they move from the clan to another clan for marriage or within the clan for the same

⁶² Lee V. Cassanelli & Catherine Besteman, *The War Behind the War*, London: HAAN Associate, 2000.

⁶³ Abdurahman Osman , *The Role of Traditional Leaders in Decision Making: A paper presented at International Congress of Somali Study, Hargeysa, 2001*

reason. Therefore, their presence is considered temporary in the clan, and as such cannot be counted on. The other factor why the Garre and the Murulle do not involve women in clan governing affairs is the believe that women are not strong enough to take part in fighting when the clan is confronted with external aggression or waged war against another clan, as they are seen to be weak physically. As such women do not, mostly, own property in these clans but can take care of the family livestock. They are also not obliged to contribute to blood compensation, as they do not receive any share from blood compensation receivables. Traditionally, women's role is to bear and rear children and be housewives, and that excludes them from taking part in the clan political, economic and military decisions.⁶⁴

However, owing to rural migration and persistent inter-clan conflict between the Garre and the Murulle, women are having new roles in urban areas as breadwinners for their family. They engage in formal and informal businesses and trade. They now sit in open market places selling items, working as housewives, paying school and medical fees, and travelling from place to place-seeking employment and business opportunity. Their role is changing fast, but still denied to access full political participation. The men's attitudes towards women among the Garre and the Murulle is reinforced by two main factors or tenets, namely customary tradition and Islamic Sharia which are both seen to be gender biased.⁶⁵

Although the Garre and the Murulle have a rigid social structure based on customary tradition and Islamic Sheria laws, the introduction of the colonial system of governance in the beginning of the 20th Century and the application of laws based on foreign cultures, different political concepts and alien doctrines did not spare the efficacy of the traditional legal system. The colonial administration allowed elders to deal only with issues that were not against the colonial interest, law and order, or the security in general, such as resolving clan disputes, sharing pasture and water wells, administering marriage and other minor problems. During the colonial administration, the traditional leaders had also lost their political power and respect they enjoyed, as they became salaried persons working for the interest and policy of the colonial administration. To ensure that their interests were well taken care of, the colonial government

⁶⁴ Ian M. Lewis, *A Modern History of the Somali*, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2002.

⁶⁵ PDRC , *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy*, PDRC Publication, 2004

promoted competition among elders by grading traditional leaders, in terms of scale of salary and importance. They were also promoted according to loyalty that each showed to the colonial administration and the numerical strength of his clan.⁶⁶ This policy had further undermined the respect of the Garre and Murulle elders.

2.6 The Garre and Murulle Relations

The fight between the Garre and the Murulle did not just begin in the post-colonial period. The region experienced conflict long before the coming of European colonizers. The Garre and the Murulle engaged in the wars of occupation of the greater Mandera District. They became the first two groups to fight for control of Mandera district soon after their arrival from Ethiopia.⁶⁷ The two clans first settled near the ancient trading city of Luq in the middle reaches of the Galana-Juba system. While at Galana they engaged in fighting, as the Garre struggled to control the territory.⁶⁸ During these battles, many Garre and Murulle fighters died and property destroyed as villages were burned down. The Borana who made alliances with the Murulle also incurred some losses hence they were forced to move to two new defence bases, one between present day Rhamu and Ashabito, and the other at El Wak wells under their leaders Qubla Hallow, Golich Ergemsa and Boru Hache. Fearing the ruthless leadership of the Garre, most of the Borana migrated to Moyale where they are still powerful, while the Murulle remained in Mandera where they engaged in frequent fights with the Garre people.⁶⁹

The Garre domination of Moyale was short lived. Soon more of the Murulle people, under their charismatic leader Adan Hirsi, came from Hiran region of Somalia and first settled in Gedo region as Shegat.⁷⁰ The arriving Murulle passed through the Marehan region while on their way to join their kin in the current territory in Mandera.⁷¹ As they were moving to Mandera, the arriving Murulle not knowing the relationship between their kinsmen in Mandera requested for

⁶⁶ PDRC, *Somali Customary Law and Traditional Economy*, PDRC Publication, 2004

⁶⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011

⁶⁸ Nene Mburu, "Bandits on the border: the lost frontier", in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

⁶⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera Central, 22/06/2011

⁷⁰ Shegat is a Somali word which means claimants. Meaning they laid claim over the territory as soon as they settled in the area.

⁷¹ KNA, Mandera District Records, 1928. According to the colonial District Commissioners records, 'Anxious to be free, for they were formerly 'shegat' to the Marehan in Jubaland, the Murulle obey Government orders probably better than the Garre and like the Degodia, they are better organized and more cohesive.

friendship with the Garre. Their initial request was turned down by the Sultan of the Garre, Ugaz Gababa, who turned away both Murulle and Degodia. After elders' consultations, the Garre allowed Murulle to settle and graze their animals in Mandera alongside the Garre towards the close of 1890s.⁷² At this period the British were already penetrating into the interior of Kenya and Mandera was not spared of the British influence.

The Murulle were initially grateful to Shaba Aliyow for accepting them and lavished praise songs on him. However, the Murulle people soon changed tune, singing protest songs, due to the increasing influence of the British. In 1895 the British declared Kenya a protectorate therefore becoming the overall authority which now challenged the Garre power in Mandera. The presence of the British offered security to the Murulle hence they did not see the need of further submission to the Garre. Secondly, there was a rapidly expanding number of the Murulle and the Degodia whom the Murulle had made alliance with, coupled with their fast expanding herds of livestock. By the first decade of the 20th Century, the Murulle and the Degodia clans joined hands and rebelled against the Garre clan. The rebellion degenerated into a war that ended with the expulsion of the Degodia and the Murulle from Garre land.⁷³

At the period of expulsion of the Murulle from the Garre territory, Ali Buke was the leader of the Garre. This is the reason why 1912 is known in the history of the Garre as the year of Ali Buke. After their defeat and expulsion from the Garre territory, the Murulle and the Degodia went to Wajir and Oddo but came back in 1916. The Garre under Gababa Mohamed as their chief organized and waged an attack on the returning Murulle and the Degodia. The attack led to a full war at Korma and Awabone in 1916. In this war more than 30 Tigre who were in alliance with the Garre were killed and 50 Garre while 43 Murulle and Degodia were killed. In 1917 another war broke out. This time the Murulle and the Degodia were completely defeated, losing 50 men.

⁷² KNA, District records of 1926. According to the colonial records, 'Murulle are Hawiya of the Jidle branch, the first migrants came with the Degodia from Jubaland some 20 years ago. They obey orders and have provided more than their share of baggage -camels and meat stock without fuss and without need for sending police probably -they were roughly treated by Marehan when they were Shegat, and so are anxious to stay here. During the year they were constituted as a separate section under their own chief Adan Hersi, and are now shegat to neither the Garre nor the Degodia.

⁷³ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera East, 20/07/2011.

and 2500 camels. Between 1925 and 1926 the Murulle and the Degodia made a comeback and attacked the Garre. They looted the Garre property and took with them more than 2500 camels.⁷⁴

During these battles, the Garre made alliances of their kin from Ethiopia. Their kin from the Ethiopian side send in warriors to assist them against the Murulle and Degodia. Due to the Garre strength the Murulle and Degodia were overpowered hence fled to Ado in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian side was not favorable to the Murulle and the Degodia. The region was dry with no enough pasture for their livestock.

To save their livestock from drought the Murulle and the Degodia initiated dialogue with the Garre in 1930. Following the dialogue, they were allowed grazing rights in Rhamu by the Sayid Ali of the Garre after they had paid him a Shaben of one hundred camel calves and given one hundred girls into marriage to the Garre.⁷⁵ Although the Murulle and the Garre had made dialogue and agreed to share their pasture, the peace was short lived. As the number of livestock increased, the two clans began competing over pasture leading to frequent fights.⁷⁶ The conflict would continue throughout the colonial period and increased in tempo after independence.

The conflict between the Garre and the Murulle was a common characteristic during the colonial period. The British even worsened the conflict through their divide and rule policy. The colonial administrators were dragged into the existing clan rivalries in Mandera. Although the situation was a discouraging to the local people particularly to those whose relatives were killed and property destroyed, it seemed to be a blessing to the British colonial administration which believed in the divide and rule policy. The colonial administrators noted the trend that territorial disputes were taking in the northern part of Kenya and capitalized on the cracks of the Somali clan system. From the colonial records, it is clear that they took their time to understand the dynamics around the rivalries and acted accordingly. According to the colonial Mandera DC:

“Garre Somali relations at present hinge on territorial issues. The Garre maintain that they have grazing rights throughout the District, however, in order to apply effective

⁷⁴ KNA, Mandera District Records, 1926.

⁷⁵ Shaben is a Somali word meaning the gift.

⁷⁶ KNA, Mandera District Records, 1926 p. 8.

grazing control, the government has tended towards a policy of exclusive areas for each tribe. The Murulle have now had their area since 1950, but it is inevitable that the Degodia in time would agitate for their own area too. However, as the Garre are not yet reconciled to the Murulle, boundary witness their agitation in August over Alango in the south, Harari in the north and Shamba disputes it is not surprising that They become violently excited at the thought of being excluded from a Degodia area. Their fears were heightened by the Degodia digging two very successful water pans at Ashabito and Wakho of which the Degodia were understandably allowed sole use.”⁷⁷

Throughout the colonial period clan rivalry was alive then in the region. In 1945 the colonial administrator wrote, “When the tribal boundary orders were made, the few Degodia remaining in the Murulle triangle were evicted to the west of the Rhamu-El Wak road.”⁷⁸ After the evictions, the Murulle settled down to their imposed boundaries. The British monitored the relationship particularly at the imposed boundary at Wante or Alango minimizing contact and conflict between the two clans. However, the environmental changes affected the prevailing peace. As drought persisted in 1945, the two clans started pressing urgently and consistently for more salt, water and pasture areas in other clan territories. Their own salt areas were close together and far from the best grazing area in the Gaari Hills. They both wanted the British to allow them access Tessissa. The British did so but soon in September and October, the two clans began quarrelling over who should control the area.⁷⁹ The relationship between the two clans would worsen when the British began changing the clan boundaries.

In 1953, the colonial administration extended the ethnic boundary of the Murulle to include grazing within 12 kilometres radius of El Wak. Some parts of El Wak were claimed by the Garre clan. The Garre resisted the decision. Feeling that the two clans might start fighting, the British organized a peace meeting, which led to a concession over use of pasture between the two clans. In return for this concession, the Murulle agreed to admit Garre cattle and goats into the Gaari Hills during the rains. Although the concession was meant to ensure peaceful existence of the two clans, quarrels over grazing rights re-emerged immediately the British altered the boundaries

⁷⁷ KNA, DC/3/2 Mander District Records: 1952, p. 11.

⁷⁸ KNA, DC/3/2/13, Mander District Records, 1945

⁷⁹ KNA, DC/3/2/13, Mander District Records, 1945

that eat into the Garre territories.⁸⁰ The quarrels provoked the colonial government to introduce and enforce strictly defined exclusive clan grazing areas with lines drawn on maps. In the colonial system of indirect rule, clans and their traditional hereditary leadership were recognized and respected. The communities throughout Mandera remember these boundaries with nostalgia making it hard to accept any alteration hence they are always ready to go to war to defend them.⁸¹ This explains why the two clans have frequent conflicts.

The worst fighting would be experienced after the formation of the Northern Frontier Defence Liberation (hereafter, NFDL) which was calling for succession of the region to join the larger Somalia. NFDL was distributing arms to all Somali supporters of irredentism in Mandera District to fight the Kenyan government. The weapons were not only used against the government but also clans used them against each other. At this level, the warfare had changed into use of modern and more destructive weapons, which intensified the war between the Garre and the Murulle.⁸² The impact of the conflict was so high that Abdinoor Gesay a Murulle attempted to mediate and bring harmony in 1967 but failed to strike an agreement, which would end the animosity between the two clans.

After a failed attempt by Abdinoor Gesay to bring harmony, both Garre and Murulle members asked for the intervention of the NFDL Front. The Front organized a peace meeting in Banisa in 1967 that involved religious leaders and elders for one month until they reached a peace agreement. Because of the agreement, the Murulle and the Garre managed to stay together, sharing pasture and other resources amicably.⁸³ The history of Kenya's North Eastern province is one of neglected and discriminated regions in terms of development at the hands of successive regimes; first by the colonial British regime in Nairobi and then, after Kenya's independence in 1963.⁸⁴ The geography and politics of the region have long contributed to a feeling, both in Nairobi and amongst the local population, that the region has little meaningful connection with the rest of Kenya. Even today, the citizenship of many in the Mandera triangle is questioned by

⁸⁰ KNA, District Reports 1953.

⁸¹ Oral interview, Mohamed Shekh Abdalar, bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

⁸² *Ibid*

⁸³ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

⁸⁴ Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Africa), *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, pp. 268-322.

the state. In 1960s the Somali had a feeling that they should be merged by the large Somalia but the Kenyan independence government rejected the idea leading to the outbreak of the Shifta war.

Although the Somali people living in Mandera proposed merging with the larger Somali state, the British did not follow the commission's findings, acquiescing instead to demand of Kenya Nationalist during the talks that led to Kenyan independence in 1963, led by Jomo Kenyatta that the NFD remain part of Kenya. This sparked an armed struggle for secession in the NFD, popularly known as the Shifta War.⁸⁵ The newly independent Kenyan government immediately declared a state of emergency in December 1963.⁸⁶ Although Somalia formally renounced its claim to the NFD thereby formally ending the Shifta War in 1967, the state of emergency persisted until 1991. This meant that the region had two separate legal regimes.⁸⁷ The emergency laws reinforced in 1966 by the North Eastern Province and Contiguous Districts Regulations, enhanced powers of search without warrant, arrest, and detention for up to 56 days without trial, the death sentence for unlawful possession of firearms, and the creation of special courts. The regulations also created prohibited zones along the Kenyan-Somali border where unauthorized entry was punishable by a life sentence.⁸⁸

2.7 Shifta War

As Kenya neared independence in the early 1960s and as the issue of Somali unification became a potent and sensitive political consideration for the emerging Kenyan state, President Jomo Kenyatta sought to downplay the significance of the secessionists in the NFD by describing them as 'hooligans or armed guards or youths called "shifta". Those people who go raiding here and there' in this respect, the secessionists were regarded simply as bandit rebels at odds with state authority.⁸⁹

The term shifta can be used to describe various types of behaviour, including highway robbery, extortion, kidnapping, and political and personal conflict. Shifta is derived from the Amharic

⁸⁵ Shifta means bandit and the term was "deliberately used by the government to reduce the political significance of the secessionist war." Africa Watch, *Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, p. 271.

⁸⁶ Nene Mburu, *Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search for Somali Unity*, Trenton, New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 2005.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Kenya Human Rights Commission, *Foreigners at Home*, New York: Human Rights, p. 20.

⁸⁹ Major H.K. Biwott, "Post-independence low intensity conflict in Kenya," 1992, GlobalSecurity.org, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/BHK.htm> (accessed April 27, 2009)

expression for banditry, *shftenat*, which stems from the root verb *shaffata* (to rebel). From *shaffata* the term *shefta* (bandit or rebel) is also derived and is used to describe someone who 'stirs up trouble, while taking to the forest or to the bush, departing from the king, the government, rule, instituted order, and the law'. The prevalence of *shefta* in the Ethiopian highlands and Eritrea contributed to the emergence of the equivalent term *shifita* to the English spoken in Northeast Africa, and this is used in reference to any armed band that is at odds with the state.

Eric Hobsbawm also argues that banditry encompasses a challenge to an economic, social and political order and is a resistance to the encroaching power of an outside authority. As such, bandits are 'potential rebels'. This definition is important because it infers that banditry is a form of criminality that can apply to any group considered subversive. Terrence Ranger concurs, arguing that the identifying criterion of banditry is 'illegitimacy' and 'criminality'.

The idea that banditry represents illegitimacy and criminality is particularly pertinent for the Kenyan case. Documented in the borderlands of northern Kenya during British administration, use of the term *shifita* corresponded with the activity of criminal bandit gangs. Early District Commissioners (DC) in the northern regions referred to groups of raiders who looted and killed, targeting *manyattas* (Somali homesteads), police posts and army units. During the 1950s, the term was similarly applied to describe the frequent raiding and poaching of livestock across the Kenya-Ethiopian border that resulted in the loss of life. The term is used pejoratively and is associated with violence that combines partisan warfare with organized livestock stealing.⁹⁰

Shifita has also acquired nationalist overtones and emerges from a tendency to connect banditry with subversive interstate and anti-state activity in the Horn of Africa. The use of *shifita* to describe political brigandage in this context was first made with reference to Eritrea during the 1940s. The emergence of Eritrean political parties during British Military Administration and their resort to 'unorthodox methods, such as terrorism' assigned *shifita* the position of political campaigners. Using violence directed at foreigners and funded by Addis Ababa, organized bandit gangs that traditionally engaged in livestock stealing and clan feuding were mobilized in an attempt to influence the decision-making process that was to determine the fate of the ex-Italian

⁹⁰ Nene Mburu, *Bandits on the Border: The Last Frontier in the Search for Somali Unity*, Trenton, New Jersey: Red Sea Press, 2005.

colony after 1945. In Kenya, this is mirrored by the strong causal link between the 'Shifta War' and Somali irredentism, and in this sense, shifta can be considered nationalist guerrillas.⁹¹

For Kenyatta the secessionist movement that developed in the NFD had the potential to subvert domestic and regional political authority. Despite being the leading political force in the negotiation of Kenyan independence in December 1963, the authority of KANU rule was by no means certain. It was challenged specifically on two fronts. Regionally, the Somali Republic was laying claim to the Somali inhabited areas of the NED on the basis of the right of all people to national self-determination. This claim had been given some legitimacy following the conclusions of a 1962 commission of enquiry, which reported that over 87% of the population of the NED favoured unification with the Somali Republic.⁹² Furthermore domestically KANU's authority was challenged by the idea of majimbo, a form of federal government advocated by the official opposition KADU that would decentralize political power in Kenya to its constituent parts.³⁶ Not only did Somali political aspirations challenge Kenyan territorial integrity, it lent weight to the federal argument as a possible political compromise. The Somali were therefore anathema to Kenyatta and regarded as illegitimate and criminal: the embodiment of shifta.

The Kenyan government's security operation into the North Eastern province continued well into the 1980s, after the so-called "Shifta War" ended, partly due to the identification of Somali communities as sources of cross-border arms smuggling, banditry, and lawlessness.⁹³ The security operations in Mandera District during the shifta war and the stern security measures in the region helped to restore calm between the Garre and the Murulle clans. At this period, the entire Somali clans were challenged by the common enemy; namely, the central government in Nairobi. The security operations acted as a unifying factor meaning there were no major incursions between the two communities, which would eventually be resumed after 1980s.⁹⁴ Clan-based conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle broke out at different times during the post-colonial period. The Murulle and Garre had lived together peacefully from independence days up to the

⁹¹ Kenya Human Rights Commission, *Foreigners at Home*, New York: Human Rights, p. 20

⁹² Major H.K. Biwott, "Post-independence low intensity conflict in Kenya," 1992, GlobalSecurity.org, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/BHK.htm> (accessed April 27, 2009)

⁹³ Major H.K. Biwott, "Post-independence low intensity conflict in Kenya," 1992, GlobalSecurity.org, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/BHK.htm> (accessed April 27, 2009)

⁹⁴ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

1980's. All this time, they shared pastures in all parts of the District, lived side by side in towns, such that Bulla Afya estate of El Wak which was a predominantly Murulle sub-location.⁹⁵

Between 1983/4, there were three explosions of violent conflict between the two clans after the elected in the Garre dominated area. The conflict prompted the eviction of the Murulle from El-Wak town. New Murulle and Garre violent rivalry, which re-started in the 1980s, were sparked when a member of the Murulle clan, a minority in the constituency, won the Parliamentary seat for Mandera East Constituency against the Garre majority. As a solution to the conflict, the constituency was split into Mandera Central and Mandera East, allowing each group to have their own constituency. This led to some relative peace, which lasted to 1996 when the KANU regime started creating locations and sub-locations. The boundaries to these new administrative units were bitterly contested leading to armed violence. The crisis in Somalia since the fall of Siyyad Barre in 1991 also has been a source of friction between the two clans as it has affected the power relationship between the proximate clans on the Kenyan side with each clan trying to forge military alliance with their counterparts in Somalia.⁹⁶ The two warring clans of Murulle and Garre accused each other of harbouring and supporting foreign militia and mobilized their members to fight in case of any attack. This created more conflicts in the region.

Fighting between the clans typically became random killings of members of the rival clan members. Such killings targeted vulnerable members of the opposing clan going about their normal day-to-day activities. As a remedy to such killings, chiefs and other local forces from each side tried to seek Maslaha (see the footnote below).⁹⁷ Local people sent desperate messages to the District Commissioner's Office, reporting credible threats from armed bandits. Because of lack of response from the government security organs, the attackers from each clan got bolder. The residents were left with no option rather than to create and support their own local militias/vigilantes for defense against attackers from the rival clan. Soon the vigilante groups turned into raiders of the rival community, thus spawning hatred between the two communities. Selective action, such as assassinations by a handful of bandits, made clans hate one another, and even lead to frequent conflicts between the two rival clans. As the logic of fighting and war took

⁹⁵ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

⁹⁶ Daily Nation: Friday Oct 31, 2008.

⁹⁷ Peaceful resolution to conflict between two clans.

over, group hatred, nasty poems and provocative songs found resonance. Clan chauvinists glorified the 'bravery of their sons', escalating tensions, attacks and counter-attacks, in a vicious cycle of violence.⁹⁸

Between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Murulle and Garre, lives and property were lost through assassinations and militia raids. There was no serious attempt by the state to apprehend the culprits, some who were well known. For instance, Bishar Ismail, Fai, Matan, Jibraeel, Abrisha, Fardanow and Masarre had been accused of financing and promoting militia group's activities in Mandera. The mood of intolerance also pervaded areas such that the minority Murulle in Garre towns started leaving the western parts of Mandera and settled in Mandera town. The tension between the two communities got so bad that clashes were a daily occurrence. For instance, in 1983 the Murulle and Garre clashed over shared pasture and water in Wargadud, Sotowaoro, and Lafey.⁹⁹

In 1984, Abdi Hussen Gado was killed in his house in El Wak. Soon after, ten people, including an old man, were killed brutally and their tongues were cut off. Cutting off the tongues is seen by the Somali people as a sign of intimidation to the enemy, which is meant to tell them to keep quiet if they do not want to be humiliated further. According to the oral informants, the action was deliberately provocative as it was interpreted to mean, "You who talk forcefully, do whatever you can." In 1985, six people were killed around El Wak Town. The dead included two brothers and more people looking for their lost camels. The killers hanged the dead on a tree as a warning. And two pupils were killed in Jabibar area as they went for their holidays. In 2000, a Garre man was killed in Wargadud, leading to a major clash between Garre and Murulle. The Murulle warriors posed as Garre and killed a Degodia in El Wak. The incident led to a major clash that claimed lives of forty Garre and twenty Murulle in El Golicha.¹⁰⁰

In 2002, a pregnant Garre woman died from injuries after an attempted rape where her breasts were cut off. Three days later a student from El Wak Secondary School was killed on his way

⁹⁸ Oral interviews, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

⁹⁹ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera east, 20/07/2011.

¹⁰⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011

home. In 2004, two Murulle were killed in the Ade Lencha.¹⁰¹ In the killing a family of three was killed on the same day (a man, a woman and her child). Another man was killed near a Murulle settlement. In response, the Garre militia killed two people and injured another two in a dawn raid in Lafey. Similarly, six Murulle men were killed in September 2004 at Gaari dam while watering their animals. Later in the same year, suspected Murulle attackers killed five Garre in Rhamu. On December 19th, a Garre relief worker was killed by suspected Murulle gunmen at Fino-El Wak road junction.¹⁰² All these are examples of how the two clans have a long history of conflict that worsened from 2004 to 2009 as indicated in the next chapter.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter documented the history of the Garre and the Murulle. The chapter analyses the two clans' traditional structure based on a customary law, which safeguards certain commonalities that serve the collective interest of the members of both clans. The chapter also documented the economic and social life of the two clans. The chapter indicated that the local community among the Garre and the Murulle accepts the jurisdiction of the traditional authority in resource management, which also embody as a tool for conflict prevention; and conflict resolution. There is an implicit low level of communication between the traditional authority and their community members cemented by the participatory aspect of the structure. The chapter also noted that the traditional structures do not enjoy the power and the resources of a state but by the power of decisions reached under a tree in the pastoral areas.

The chapter also traced the origin of the two clans by noting that there are folk genealogies tracing certain Somali clans such as the Garre and Murulle to the Arabian Peninsula and associating their ancestors with the Sharifs, the family of Prophet Mohammed. Linguistic, cultural and historical evidence, however, indicates they came originally from the southern highlands of what is now Ethiopia. Although the Somali history is far from being clear, this chapter detailed the history of the Garre and the Murulle clans of the Somali people. The Garre and the Murulle, as other Somali peoples, were never under any unified political structure. Sporadic attempts such as the Gareen dynasty from the Ajuran in Central/Southern Somalia in

¹⁰¹ This is a Somali function known as the tree of Lion.

¹⁰² Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

the 1500s and the Bartire around Jigjiga, Ethiopia, in the late 1700s were overthrown violently by other clans. The chapter has revealed that clans are the basic point of cultural and political identity for the two Somali clans. Clans are genealogically based and cut across language lines. Due to the clan allegiances, climactic change, changing demographics and inappropriate national and international interventions, pastoralist access to rangeland has diminished thus prompting intra-pastoral tensions and conflict. The inter-clan conflict will be the main subject of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GARRE AND THE MURULLE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief assessment of the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle of Mandera Districts. The causes of conflict between the two clans are reviewed, to place in context the conflict that has persisted. Although all of the two clans belong to the larger Somali where they share a lot in terms of culture and Islamic religious values, which commit them to Muslim brotherhood, the degree to which conflict between the two clans poses a threat to human security is very high. The Murulle and the Garre recorded high levels of death and casualties from the conflict that has persisted for decades, making their regions of residence one of the most affected in the entire North Eastern region. There has been a marked increase in the number of attacks and their intensity on civilians is alarming.

It is important to this to note that conflict between these two clans reflect the common nature of conflict that exists between many pastoral communities in Africa. In addition as the two clans' battle with one another, their neighbours have been plagued into the conflict through traditional alliances that exist between many of the pastoral clans. The conflict comes along with devastating effects on human life, stability and development. The persistent conflict between the Garre and the Murulle is aggravated by their dire environmental hardships, hunger and poverty, for two reasons. First, the Kenya government's weak institutional presence offer sanctuary and succor to banditry groups in the North Eastern region. The absence of effective local authority not only allows the use of modern weapons infiltration, but also permits the activities of paramilitaries in Mandera Districts terrorizing the local populations. Second, widespread conditions of conflict and poverty create a breeding ground for feelings of alienation, offering recruits to the cause of clan militia groups.

Mandera is the kind of environment where frustration and radicalism could thrive. The District experiences a large number of weak and failing states institutions, porous borders, widespread poverty, political repression and the Somali irredentism feelings, where the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate forms of political dissent has been blurred. The chapter reviews

causes of the inter-clan conflict, which have been classified into eleven categories. The chapter then proceeds to give details of various conflicts that occurred between the two clans.

3.2 Causes of the Garre and Murulle Conflict

These sections of the chapter documents the causes of conflicts between Garre and Murulle in Mandera District and explain further into the specifics of the causes of conflicts, for clear understanding of the conflicts between the two clans in Mandera district.

3.2.1 Conflict over Resources Particularly Pasture and Water

Mandera District has been continuously affected by recurring drought that has seriously undermined the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists who live in the district. The intense dry spells have in turn led to intense competition for scarce resources that have resulted in clashes of the two clans. The area has also been affected by growth in population and encroachment on other community's lands. The conflict over grazing and water sources has in turn resulted in large scale loss of human as well as livestock lives which together with small sedentary agrarian practice along the Daua River form the very important livelihood of the people of Mandera District. As it is with other pastoralists, the Garre and the Murulle have large numbers of livestock. According to the livestock census done in February 2008, the number of livestock kept in the larger Mandera District was about 230,000 cattle, 180,000 camels, 330,000 sheep, 300,000 goats and 31,000 donkeys.¹⁰³ Due to such large numbers of livestock, the resources that support livestock, such as pasture and water are often at the centre of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle.¹⁰⁴ Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited.¹⁰⁵

During drought, there is overcrowding at the few permanent water facilities, such as boreholes, whose engines tend to be overworked or clogged due to siltation, leading to frequent breakdowns. Since running a borehole pump is very expensive due to high prices of fuel and spare parts, the cost of maintaining borehole engines are passed on to the poor livestock owners

¹⁰³ GoK, Ministry of Livestock, District Livestock Production Officer (DPLO)-Mandera, Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009

¹⁰⁴ KNA, DC/ Man/ 3/3/12, Mandera District Records, 1950.

¹⁰⁵ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

who have to pay Ksh. 5/ when watering their animals. Keeping in mind that these people have large numbers of animals Ksh. 5 multiplied by the number of animals might run into thousands of money, which the locals find hard to raise. The elders in the communities maintain a tight schedule whereby villages have designated days for watering their animals. If they miss out they have to wait sometimes for days. This is meant to ensure that competition over access does not get out of hand. The boreholes get so crowded to the extent that some pastoralists have to wait for more than two days to water their animals. At such times, a small misunderstanding between herders always led to a major fight.¹⁰⁶

When there is overcrowding at water points, clan ownership becomes an issue, especially when the water point is near a boundary between two clans. The clans soon start laying claim by restricting others from accessing the water points. Similarly, if a new borehole is sunk the issue of ownership emerges depending on the location of the borehole. Clans frequently engaged in heated debates over ownership, which degenerates into war hence becoming a threat to the prevailing peace. The sinking of a borehole in Alango is a case in point. When the government decided to sink the borehole, leaders from the two communities, including the District Livestock Development Officer, were not involved in choosing the site. When the borehole was completed, the Garre and Murulle both claimed ownership. The claims soon led to skirmishes between the two clans in 2007.¹⁰⁷

Apart from water causing conflict between the Garre and the Murulle, pasture availability fluctuates with seasons and differs between areas. The pastoralists know and prefer to graze their animals in specific areas where there is pasture and where water is salty. As pasture became scarce in the dry season, the pastoralists traditionally migrated with their herds as a coping strategy. For instance, in 2007, Mandera experienced prolonged drought, which led to migrations in search for pasture and water. The migrations involved occupying other clans' territories, which resulted into conflicts between the two-clan groups when they moved to other communities, territories. For instance, the Murulle cannot access water in the El Wak complex, while the Garre cannot access the pastures and boreholes in Fino and Lafey. These points are

¹⁰⁶ Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Africa), *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, pp. 268-322.

¹⁰⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

clan affiliated hence movement by another clan into the region often resulted into violent conflict. Disagreement over who owns which territory, who settled first, who controls access to particular areas are intricate and beyond the conservative administrative set up in Kenya. With their militia, absence of government, and perpetuation of ancient means of production, disputes are sorted out by who can bring the largest and meanest warrior force. For instance, the colonial district records indicated that; "In 1950, movements of Murulle were difficult to control, due to deficiencies in rainfall. They grazed in Oddo (Ethiopia) in January, February and March, crossed into Somalia in November and in December headed for Goochi in Kenya."¹⁰⁸

From the argument above, drought spells have over time led to loss of large numbers of livestock, resulting in depletion of herd sizes. One of the means applied to replenish lost livestock is mounting raids on neighbouring pastoral groups. The raids are not limited to the hinterland but are sometimes carried out across borders. In the Somali cluster, there have been occasions where the Borana have raided the Garre and the Gabra raided the Murulle. Raids are also carried out to avenge the loss of livestock or acquire livestock for the payment of dowry.¹⁰⁹ Marriage is very important in any African society because it enables a person to acquire some status in society, yet marriage can only be made possible if one has livestock for dowry. In case the livestock has been disseminated, the only alternative left is to raid the neighbouring clan, which uses all its machinery to defend their animals. The defence involves fears fighting.

3.2.2 Politically Related Conflicts

Politics is largely cited as one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera District. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera District. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others. For instance in 1988 when Mandera Central constituency was carved out from the then larger Mandera East constituency the Garre felt that part of their territory was being moved to the Murulle side. Although the creation of the new constituency was meant to bring some sought of balance by creating room for at least one MP from the two clans, politicians rallied their people not to accept the new boundary at Alango. The politicians fuelled the conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. The clan became central to the political environment in

¹⁰⁸ KNA, DC/Man/ 3/4/1, Mandera District Records, 1950,

¹⁰⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

Mandera. This is because of the belief that political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women. The clan affiliation therefore became very instrumental in fermenting clan violence in Mandera District during election years.¹¹⁰

Clan affiliation resulted into the politics of exclusiveness, excessive rivalry between clans as they struggled for their favorites sons to ascend into the national assembly and glory, power, resources and belonging. The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics of violence in Mandera. However, in the face of clan chauvinism, harmonious relationships are destroyed. Chauvinists ally themselves with politicians who are seeking votes, and in an atmosphere of divide and rule and complete impunity, violence produces strange relationships.¹¹¹

Every election in the district generally reflects the characteristics of the clans in the district. For instance, there are three Garre councilors; two are Murulle, one from the Degodia clan, and one from the Corner ethnic groups in Mandera town. There is intense competition for power between clans in Mandera. Apart from the council politics, the Kenyan Member of Parliament has gained great power over the last decade. Their remunerations and allowances have increased tremendously to rival the best-paid parliamentarians in the world. MPs control quite a number of so-called decentralized funds at the constituency level, increasing their power of patronage. To gain or retain their popularity, politicians take some populist stances, which may be unacceptable. Many promise to push out of their constituencies opposing or rival clan. For instance, aspiring a candidate for the Mandera Central seat is reported to have promised to expel Murulle from the constituency if elected. The Murulle people had a feeling that they would struggle to regain control of all their historical territories. Such attitudes frequently led to the clashes of the two clans.¹¹²

3.2.3 Administrative Boundary Issues

The conflict that erupted in 1988 in Mandera was caused by issues related to administrative boundaries. The Government of Kenya not only created a new constituency but also decided to

¹¹⁰ Menkhaus, Ken, "The rise of a mediated state in northern Kenya: the Wajir story and its implications for state-building", in *Afrika focus Volume 21*, Nr. 2, 2008, pp. 23-38.

¹¹¹ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in *the Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

¹¹² Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

create many locations without considering the location of resources and how the residents of the new entities would share them with their neighbors. These locations and sub-locations led to conflicts over who owns these resources. Part of the problem was that the splitting and sub-division of the larger administrative units created new winners and losers, and facilitated the emergence of rivalries at lower levels. The fact that access to and utilization of major resources, like water and pasture, were determined by administrative boundaries, creation of divisions, locations and sub-locations and the posting of chiefs was an extremely sensitive issue. Corrupt and influential local elites took the opportunity to influence the process in order that their areas got more locations, and chiefs of their choice thereby appointed. The Provincial Administration did not demarcate the boundaries of the locations, but relied on the use of the centers from where such locations were administered for their identities. The local administration adopted an ad-hoc and flexible understanding of boundaries that was only threatened when key resources like dams, boreholes, and trading centers were contested.¹¹³

For instance, in 1994, The Provincial Administration tried to integrate Garre and Murulle administrations in the commonly used areas, by having a chief from each clan administering in areas dominated by the other clan. The Garre were to have a chief in the Murulle controlled areas of Warankara and Lafey, while Murulle were to have a chief in the Garre controlled areas of Wargadud and El Wak. The leaders argued that this administrative arrangement would help bring the two communities together, but Mr. Isaack Abdi Hassan Councilor from Murulle and Mr. Mohamed Salah Ali Councilor from Garre strongly opposed the initiative. They agitated against it and wrote letters to various government offices and mobilized opposition to the idea, arguing that the two communities have different languages. The administration ignored their objections and proceeded to deploy the chiefs as planned. But almost immediately, some of them requested for transfer. Because of political influence, the local people turned against the new chiefs from the other clans. The Murulle Chiefs in Wargadud were expelled and therefore moved to Warankara. In response the local people felt that the incident portrayed the lack of commitment by the administration, for had the government exercised its administrative authority, the

¹¹³ Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Africa), *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, pp. 268-322.

community would not have expelled the Chief. The communities of Mandera were in a confused state about ethnic, community, administrative and electoral boundaries.¹¹⁴

3.2.4 Proliferation of Weapons in Mandera District and Insecurity

A proliferation of weapons in Mandera has also been blamed as a cause of conflict in the district. As the warlords continue to pursue their personal objectives, the state of affairs in Somalia there was high flow of weapons into Kenya due to the porous nature of the border. Hargesia and Burao in Somalia have become flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya. The abundance of weapons changed the face of criminal activities in the region as cattle rustlers, bandits and rebel groups acquired weapons from Somalia. Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict making large areas of the Horn ungovernable. However, the small arms themselves do not cause conflict or criminal activities, but their availability in a volatile environment causes the violence.¹¹⁵

Furthermore the easy access to firearms accelerated the conflict in Mandera. The weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries. Access to arms coupled with poverty increased the scale of cattle rustling, the rate of fatalities in conflicts over pasture and water, and fosters highway banditry. Secondly, the general lack of security since the collapse of the Siyyad Barre regime in 1991, forced herders to obtain arms to protect their livestock. The exact causes of conflict differed from area to area, depending on the conditions of the soil and the amount of water and rainfall. Furthermore, the arid lands are inhabited by various ethnic groups that adhere to different values and socio-political systems. Consequently, their patterns in natural resource usage may be at odds with one another hence leading to eruption of conflict due to environmental pressure.¹¹⁶

Proliferation of arms was further exacerbated by regional factors or events taking place in the Horn of Africa. The position of Somalia and to some extent Ethiopia is a major factor in the conflicts in Mandera. The inter-clan relations across the border with these countries are a big

¹¹⁴ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera east, 20/07/2011.

¹¹⁵ Menkhaus, Ken, "The rise of a mediated state in northern Kenya: the Wajir story and its implications for state-building", in *Afrika Focus Volume 21*, Nr. 2, 2008, pp. 23-38.

¹¹⁶ Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Africa), *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, pp. 268-322.

challenge to security in Mandera. The cross-border clan relationships, coupled with lack of proper governance structures in these neighboring countries, especially Somalia, has exacerbated the Mandera conflict in two ways; one, the clan support for each other, and two, cross border militia engagements and participation in the clashes. The Somali militia groups have, on various occasions, invaded adjacent Kenyan towns and settlements. This situation has led to serious insecurity on Kenyan side as well as promoting security lapses on the Kenyan security management processes. The Ogaden war and the 20 years old civil war in Somalia have ensured a constant supply of arms, ammunition and militiamen to help execute the conflict across the border in Kenya.¹¹⁷

After the army coup in Somalia in 1969, in which the Somalia's President was assassinated and the Prime Minister Egal was detained, the coup leader Mohamed Siyyad Barre turned east to USSR, Iraq, Syria, Libya, East Germany and North Korea from where they received vast amounts of arms and training for the soldiers, making Somalia Army the best-equipped army south of Sahara. The new regime revived militant pan-Somali nationalism, and joined the Arab League of States. It supported the Western Somali Liberation Front, a guerrilla outfit that was to liberate the Somalis in the Ogaden. In 1977, Somalia invaded Ethiopia and quickly captured the entire Ogaden area. However, the USSR was disturbed by the brazen Somali mechanized assault on the weak. The Ogaden war is significant to the conflict in Mandera in the sense that many of the small arms used in the war were never mopped up by either Ethiopian or Somali governments. Hence, they found their way into northern Kenya to be used in local conflicts. Again, many of the veterans of the Ogaden war often participate in the conflicts in Mandera in alliance with the local clans.¹¹⁸

3.2.5 Terrain Challenges

The terrain on the Mandera side, inhabited by Somali communities of Garre and Murulle, is subject to less rainfall and has, therefore, less pasture. In times of drought, these communities are forced to migrate across the district boundaries to seek water and pasture for their herds on territory that is mostly inhabited by their opponents. In Mandera the land is still held on

¹¹⁷ UNDP, Kenya, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers* Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

¹¹⁸ Markakis, J., *Resource conflict in the Horn of Africa*, PRIO/Sage Publishers, London, 1998, p.5.

customary trust. No individual land titles exist and the land is held in trust, administered by the District council. According to the official law, nothing prevents the Garre and Murulle from ignoring customary claims and moving to the grazing areas owned by other clans unless the District council prevents them.¹¹⁹ Similarly the terrain is so rugged that it becomes very hard for the security forces to maneuver and stop any conflict before it escalates out of hand. For the security officers to work efficiently in the Mandera area, they need all terrain designed armed cars which they do not have.

3.2.6 The Poor Mediation Efforts

The question that begs answer is why the mediation efforts between the Garre and the Murulle have failed for many years. First, in order to understand why the mediation efforts failed we need to look at the complexity of the conflict. The Garre and the Murulle conflict have been internationalized and this creates more actors in the process. It has broadened to involve the clans from Somalia and Ethiopia which cross over to support their kin in Mandera. Mediation, therefore, failed because there was no good will among the mediators. Their intention was to impose ideas over each other. The government-supported mediation neglected the most applicable process in mediation. While research from elsewhere indicated that most successful process of reaching peace agreement between warring parties is through mediation mechanisms, the government of Kenya supported mediation did not obey mediation rules. (The mediation rules are listed below). During the mediation, it was agreed upon that the mediation was to strive to act on behalf of the whole, not just apart, and thinking systematically and that it was to be committed to ongoing learning. The person given the mandate as the mediator was to build trust by building bridges across the dividing lines, and be innovative by utilizing the available opportunity in order to transform conflicts into peace.¹²⁰ The mediators came up with the following mediation rules to be used among the Garre and Murulle;

¹¹⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹²⁰ UNDP and GoK, *Training Resource Guide on Conflict Prevention and Transformation*, Nairobi; NSC, 2009, p. 46.

3.2.6.1 Mediation Rules

- During the mediation, the minority clans in Mandera are made to act as third party, because they don't have interest in the conflicts, these minority clans are Corner tribe, namely the Degodia, or the Ogaden,
- Prominent religious leaders like Sheikh Umal of Jamia Mosque imam are appointed to be mediator and his ruling or decision is accepted by both parties to the conflicts, that is why Umal accord of 2005 was named after him because of his role in the mediation to end conflicts.
- Government representatives and NGOs are made to observe the mediation process and produce reports to both warring clans on how to end the conflicts,
- Aggrieved parties are always paid some blood money or compensation for their losses incurred by perpetrators clans.
- Impartiality regarding the issues in the disputes is addressed
- Independence from all parties to conflicts by the mediator
- The respect of, and acceptability of all protagonist and the outcome of the peace meeting is accepted by all and their clans.
- The knowledge and the skills to deal with the issues at hand is crucial.
- Possession of required physical resources to implement the outcomes of the meeting,
- Internal support for both warring community members is priority for sustained peace.
- No parties or groups are allowed to put pressure on the other groups to accept their own demand or proposal of one side.¹²¹

The failure to adhere to the above mentioned mediation rules and the subsequent peace initiatives resulted in frequent conflicts that led to deaths, destruction of property, collapse of the infrastructure, economy and even the society itself. In addition, the conflict has disrupted education and health care and inflicted serious physical and psychological wounds on the survivors of the inter-clan conflict.

¹²¹ UNDP and GoK, *Training Resource Guide on Conflict Prevention and Transformation*, Nairobi; NSC, 2009, p. 46.

3.2. 7 Acts of Crime and Banditry

Most cases of armed conflict in Mandera district involved acts of crime and banditry on many occasions. The crimes can easily take a clan angle depending on the prevailing environment. For instance, the murder of members of the opposite clan or clan chiefs may sometimes trigger reprisals and counter-reprisal killings that spiral into a cycle of inter-clan violence. The relationships are so fragile that a simple rumor of a clan member having been attacked or a normal crime having been committed easily takes a clan-based dimension. In such circumstances, crime is defined on ethnic lines but not as a crime. This contributes to straining of clan relations and rising tension serving to build up large armed communal clashes. Clan elders using customary laws that usually entail the payment of blood money usually mediate murder cases. In cases where blood money payment is delayed or clan elders are found deliberately dragging their feet, clashes erupt between rival clans as well. Violent incidents were high in the district where the Garre, Murulle, Gabra, Borans and Burji.¹²² Some of the inter-clan conflicts in Mandera are attributed to incidents of crime in Kenya, Somalia or Ethiopian side. In response to a crime incident, the affected clan may stage a retaliation act, which in turn can degenerate into conflict between the affected clans. This proves the point that, since most of the pastoral communities straddle both sides of the border, conflict between communities on one side of the border has a spillover effect on the other.¹²³

3.2.8 Weak Government Presence

Weak government presence is another cause of conflict in Mandera District. The government of Kenya has been unable to fully penetrate and control all parts of Mandera. Some areas of the District are so remote with barely any government institution hence leaving the people to their own governance. This makes them make decisions that lead to violence. Violence and lawlessness are particularly acute in remote border areas where the Kenyan state has never exerted much authority or presence. When they have, state authorities have sometimes been the catalysts of insecurity rather than promoters of peace. On the Somali side of the border, the central government collapsed in January 1991 and has yet to be revived. In Kenya, the vast,

¹²² Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

¹²³ Africa Watch (now Human Rights Watch/Africa), *Kenya: Taking Liberties*, New York: Human Rights Watch, July 1991, pp. 268-322.

remote, and arid frontier areas bordering Somalia and Ethiopia have never entirely been brought under the control of the state in either colonial or post-colonial eras. This left Kenyans at the mercies of criminal elements who took the laws in their hands.¹²⁴

Since independence and subsequent eruption of the Shifta war, the Kenyan government has been reluctant in establishing strong administrative presence in the entire North Eastern Province. There, government outposts are essentially garrisons. Police and military units are reluctant to patrol towns after dark, and are poorly equipped that on certain incidents they are badly outgunned by local militias in Mandera District. Even the security personnel are never safe. The broader nature of the crisis of Kenya's border areas was made worse when tensions between the Garre and Murulle in Mandera exploded frequently. The region is always characterized by massacres.¹²⁵

Equally, the administrative infrastructure in Mandera is characterized by low capacity that has been exacerbated by the declaration of new districts in the region. Transport and communication are a major problem for the local security forces due to challenging terrain, bad roads and long distances between settlements. Distances from one village to another average are more than twenty kilometres. Mandera Central District has only one four-wheel drive vehicle which is shared by the District Commissioner's office and the District Police Department. There are only two police stations, at El Wak town and Rhamu.¹²⁶ The failure by the local security forces to prevent escalation of clan conflicts points to lack of, or inadequacy, of security intelligence system on the ground. Conflicts build up over time, and a working intelligence system should be able to detect them in good time.¹²⁷ For example, 'Proxy indicators' may highlight preparation for conflict by a clan, for an effective militia cannot be organized secretly.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Menkhaus, Ken, "The rise of a mediated state in northern Kenya: the Wajir story and its implications for state-building", in *Afrika Focus Volume 21*, Nr. 2, 2008, pp. 23-38.

¹²⁵ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera East, 20/07/2011.

¹²⁶ John Kamau, "Where is the envelope on the Wagalla massacre?" in *the Daily Nation*, Nov 28, 2008.

¹²⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹²⁸ UNDP, Kenya, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers*, Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

3.2.9 Presence of Ethnic Militias

Both Garre and Murulle in Mandera District have armed militia, which act as a standing army and are used during the times of conflicts. This is because the government sponsored disarmament initiative did not achieve the objective of ridding the region illegally owned weapons. The local people kept their guns. Those that the elders handed over to the security forces were from Somalia to avoid further communal punishment. The army operation never netted local militia because they had already fled by the time the operation was starting. Each clan fully supports its militia. The militias receive material support from successful business people and politicians to enable them arm. Often the support comes in the form of money, guns, ammunition, uniforms (half-coat preferred by the militias) and food. Similarly, clansmen in the Diaspora are also another source of donations during the conflict.¹²⁹

Apart from donating money, the Diaspora clansmen take their campaign a notch higher through the use of the cyberspace and other mass media do not only spread the money but also the hate information about the enemy clan. The community contributes money, food, water, transport and clothes for use in the bush as well as 'miraa' or 'khat'. The women, apart from giving financial support, also prepare food for the militia, especially the dried Somali meat, which can last for several weeks in the bush. The women also compose the songs and poems used to mobilize support for the clan 'war effort'. The militias also slaughter the animals they raid for food. Similarly, modern militia leaders have turned conflict into a business, 'because there is, a lot of money being contributed both by local community members and those in the Diaspora.'¹³⁰

The youth dominate the clan militias, largely because they are strong and are able to survive the rigours of the bush. Most of the youth in Mandera are unemployed and idle, as such, they readily avail themselves for the cause of the clan. Many of them are mildly addicted to Miraa and other drugs. The guaranteed income from the incentives that come with participating in the militia activities, apart from getting recognition as defenders of the clan, is readily welcome. These militias groups consisted of boys who have been brainwashed by propaganda which is fed to them about the enemy clan and by the money that they are given by businessmen and politicians.

¹²⁹ UNDP, Kenya, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers*, Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

¹³⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

The two militias often get assistance from across the borders in Ethiopia and Somalia. The two clans frequently mobilized their jobless youth not only from Kenya but also from across the Kenya/ Ethiopia border to assist. The youth in the militia are inducted, trained and directed by a core vanguard of ex-military or guerilla. It was, however pointed out by some key informants that Kenyan Somali youth are not as experienced in handling firearms as their Somali or Ethiopian counterparts, who swell the ranks of the militias whenever there are clashes. The Garre from the western side of the District are experienced in handling guns quite well. Some of them are said to be remnants of the former Somali national army. The Murulle also do not take many of their children to school, and as such, many of their youth are easily recruited into the clan militias.¹³¹

3.2.10 Propaganda

The prevailing culture of violence and the condoning of clan hatred is justified and propelled by stories of victimization and rights denied by the other side. The similarity of propaganda like statements, similar narratives, same justifications, and repeated recital of one sided incidents in far flung and distant villages was striking to this researcher. Women, youth or elders randomly used their skills of same impassioned deliveries and repeated the same deep-felt stories. This widespread feeling means it would be a mistake to treat the conflict as propelled by disgruntled elements. There are stories and counter-stories told and retold in the pastoral villages, which contradict one another.¹³²

Each talks of how their clan is attacked, but how brave its sons are who have to be restrained from annihilating the enemy, how it has to defend itself, and how its pasture and land is being taken over. None of them is necessarily wrong, but exaggerations abound when it comes to demonizing the behavior of rival clans. There are set 'narratives' from each side that have been fine tuned and stage managed to be like set-pieces in a battle. These positions are used to justify, explain, and advance clan positions. Somali, like many pastoralist groups, take pride in warrior hood and laud their prowess in battle. Like in many other societies living in violent conflict, Somali clans indulge in demonizing their enemies. The Somali take pride in being a wholly

¹³¹ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera East, 20/07/2011.

¹³² Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

Muslim people with ancient links to the Arabia of the prophet. Frequently, they will misuse this tradition to look down upon neighboring groups as uncultured.¹³³

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the various causes of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. The data was collected by examining various interlocutors and informants in and from Mandera. I depended on finding people who had seen the conflict for a long time. This chapter is a continuation of the discussion from the previous chapter, which enables us to understand some aspects of conflict in the Somali cluster and particularly the clans of Garre and the Murulle. Having looked at the Somali, the Garre, and the Murulle of the past, it was fitting to discuss, at this juncture, the causes of conflict in Mandera of the present. This chapter discussed some issues that directly relate to the theme of this thesis. I therefore discussed some of the factors that caused conflict.

This chapter discussed the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. It began by assessing the factors that caused the conflict between the two clans. This chapter seeks to discuss the conflict and its dynamics in the Somali cluster of the Garre and the Murulle. The chapter identified the main sources of conflict in Mandera District. Of all the conflict generating factors, the most important ones are pastoral rangeland disputes, environmental stress and politics. Each of these sources of conflict inflames and exacerbates the other and none can be properly understood in isolation from the other.

The chapter also revealed that the conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle are characterized by raiding assaults and banditry incidents. Moreover, reprisals and counter-reprisals are the dominant features of the conflicts. The conflicts are also cross border because of clan affiliations and pastoral groups living both in Kenya and Ethiopia. The chapter revealed that the conflict scenario is complex in a way that a conflict breaking on one side of the border has a spillover effect on the other side because of kinship ties. Shifting alliances and temporary group formations -that characterize pastoral conflicts leave a big impact on the society as discussed in the next chapter.

¹³³ UNDP, Kenya, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers*, Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GARRE AND THE MURULLE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. Although the previous chapter tackled the causes of conflict which overlap into what is tackled in this chapter, its central objective is to document, study and analyse the conflict scenarios. The chapter undertakes to describe the specific experiences of conflict between the two clans during the period of study. In so doing, it hopes to unravel the complex conflict and clan configuration systems that these clans are dependent on for their survival. Although conflicts in the district involve a number of Somali clan, the Garre and Murulle are the main clans involved in conflict. The conflicts revolve around water, pasture use, and border disputes. This is why the chapter concentrates on the two clans.

4.2 Garre-Murulle Conflict, 2004-2008

A number of issues have been advanced to explain the cause and genesis of the Garre and the Murulle clan conflict that worsened between 2004 and 2008. This conflict can be traced to 1988 when Mandera Central constituency was carved out from the then larger Mandera East constituency. This creation of a new constituency was aimed at cooling simmering tensions between the two clans over political representation that had laid the basis for earlier conflicts particularly in the 1980s between the two clans. With Mandera Central constituency formed, the issue of political representation was solved, but another problem was born. There emerged growing hatred and suspicion between the two clans. Differences began to widen to an extent that the clan leadership and chiefs from both clans started to openly mobilize their clan members for the domination of the other.¹³⁴

And to worsen the already fragile situation between the two clans, the Government of Kenya created many administrative units namely, sub-locations, locations and divisions in hitherto community grazing areas in the district. These administrative units were created for political mileage. The creation of the administrative units did not consider the clan boundaries which the

¹³⁴ Oral interview, Salat Abdi Omar, Mandera South, 28/06/2011

local people knew. For instance, the Alango Location was disputed with both clans claiming ownership. Yet the two clans are in two constituencies- namely, Mandera East and Mandera Central constituencies.¹³⁵ Chiefs and their assistants in the location and other neighboring locations started complaining that their boundaries had been interfered with.¹³⁶

To justify an attack on each other, the Murulle and Garre clans started accusing each other of harbouring and supporting Somali foreign militia in their locations. The Somali militias were by then engaging in the power struggle between different factions in Somalia and had spilled over to the Kenyan Mandera side. The Garre and the Murulle started trying to forge military alliance with their counterparts in Somali, while the Murulle forged an alliance with the Eldera section of the larger Marehaan clan of Somalia, which also has links with Al Ithad and Al Islamia movements in Somalia.¹³⁷ The struggle and alliances was extended over water places at Alango Dam. Soon the dam became a ground for armed violent confrontations resulting to unpleasant repercussions. It all started with the killing of a Garre relief worker by suspected Murulle gunmen on 19th December 2003 at Fino-Elwak road junction, triggering serious clashes.

In January 2004, more than 20 people were killed during inter-clan violence between the Murulle and the Garre communities in Mandera District. The incident occurred on a Tuesday and had been motivated by the desire to avenge these attacks. The Tuesday's killings were believed to have been carried out by about 40 attackers.¹³⁸ In March 2004 an estimated 1,500 families fled their homes following the earlier killings of 22 people by armed raiders in the district of Mandera. The attack took place at El -Golicha village, near El- Wak town, which is close to Kenya's border with Somalia. Police, who pursued and killed eight of the assailants, said the incident appeared to have been a revenge attack by members of the Murulle clan against the Garre for an earlier raid.¹³⁹ Those killed included four girls and six boys, according to a statement signed by the government's public communications secretary, Alfred Mutua. Immediately after the attack there was panic, and an estimated about 1,500 families moved to areas around El Wak.

¹³⁵ Oral interview, Osman Aden, Alango Location, Mandera, 25/06/2011

¹³⁶ Oral interview, Ibrahim Ahmed, Mandera East, 24/06/2011

¹³⁷ Oral interview, Amina Muhamed, Mandera East, 23/06/2011

¹³⁸ KRCS, "KENYA: 1,500 families flee from inter-clan violence in Mandera", NAIROBI: IRIN, 17 March, 2003

¹³⁹ *Ibid*

The assailants were believed to be members of the Murulle clan, while the victims were thought to be from the Garre clan.¹⁴⁰

Some of those who had fled their homes took their livestock with them, placing serious strain on the limited pasture, water and other resources around El Wak town. The people fled from the villages of El Golicha, El Kala, Alango, Bulla Dana and the Bulla Afya Centre area. This was because of fear and tension of revenge attacks. Preliminary assessment indicated that those displaced were in dire need of food, shelter materials, cooking utensils, water containers, fortified biscuits and supplementary feeding for children.¹⁴¹ In January, more than 20 people were killed during inter-clan violence between the Murulle and the Garre communities in Mandera District, which is situated in Kenya's Northeastern Province. Tuesday's incident could have been motivated by the desire to avenge these attacks, police said.¹⁴² In these conflicts whole livelihoods were destroyed, families were torn apart and it was always the children who suffered the most. This killing led to simmering hostility between the two clans, degenerating to full-scale overt confrontation in January 2005.¹⁴³

In 2005, January a Degodia boy was killed in Fino-El Wak the Murulle mistook the killing to have been done by the Garre. Murulle people responded by killing eight persons, including three girls and one young boy. The Murulle attacked again and killed twenty-one Garre, fifteen women, one man who was a local imam, and five children. Garre defenders on their part struck and killed seven people from the Murulle clan. The conflict intensified in that by March-April 2005, 17,000 people from both sides had fled their homes and become internally displaced persons.¹⁴⁴

In March 2005, the clan conflicts in neighboring Somalia affected conflicts in Kenya's Mandera district. The increasing population of refugees fuelled internal conflicts. Disputes over water and pasture became so numerous creating enmity and alliances in the Kenyan border. The Marehan allied with the Murulle against the Garre, for instance, when thousands of refugees fled South

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*

¹⁴² KRCS, "KENYA: 1,500 families flee from inter-clan violence in Mandera", NAIROBI: IRIN, 17 March, 2003

¹⁴³ IRIN, "January 2005: clan Clashes Between Garre and the Murulle in Mandera District has so far Claimed at least 30 lives since it Erupted in December, 2004," Nairobi: IRIN, 2005

¹⁴⁴ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

Somalia in March, and April 2005 due to the Murulle and Garre clashes in Somalia. This created a crisis in Mandera over resources and further conflict between the Murulle and Garre in Mandera. The two clans conflicted over relief food distribution, with the Murulle being accused by the Garre as being the main recipients of relief food.¹⁴⁵

In 2006, the security situation in Mandera was primarily influenced by two different factors—namely, the regular clan tensions between the two main clans (Garre and Murulle) over resources, and imported insecurity from neighboring Somalia with the latter becoming increasingly dominant. Kidnapping became common characteristics. Mandera witnessed repeated intense clashes in the twin town Bula Xawo, with a strong artillery support of the attacking forces from Suftu Ethiopia that on several occasions accidentally targeted Mandera.¹⁴⁶

Clashes between the Garre and the Murulle were a recurring phenomenon in the area throughout 2006. The tension usually arose between the pastoral communities belonging to the two clans south of Mandera particularly in and around Alango, Lafey, Warankara, Gari and Quaramadow villages. Following the breakout of conflict between the communities in the above-mentioned location, tensions and violence typically spread to Mandera East due to the cycle of revenge killings between the clans.¹⁴⁷

The spread of the conflict was usually linked to the creation of traditional alliances with other clans and stakeholders. The Garre are traditionally allied to Ethiopia, which reportedly provides assistance to the clan in the form of small arms. Ethiopia also facilitates movement of Garre armed men from Zone 5 region to support their Kenya based clansmen in cases of conflict. The alliance is grounded in strong bond between Ethiopia and Garre residing in Ethiopia who are for long a traditional ally of the Ethiopian Government against the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).¹⁴⁸ The Murulle, on the other hand for a long period had traditional clan alliance with the Marehan

¹⁴⁵ Marsabit Conflict Assessment Report 21st – 28th July 2005. This was a report from a mission undertaken under the auspices of the National Steering Committee on Peace and Conflict Management (Office of the President) with the support of a consortium of NGOs.

¹⁴⁶ NGOs Safety Programme, *Area Briefing: Mandera*, Nairobi: NSP, 2011, pp. 1-11

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁸ NGOs Safety Programme, *Area Briefing: Mandera*, Nairobi: NSP, 2011, pp. 1-11

clan. The alliance is primarily based on economic relations of the two clans, as the Murulle are known for facilitating businesses in Kenya for Somali Marehan businessman.

In June 2006, Mandera experienced a volatile security environment. Mandera witnessed a number of political assassinations, kidnappings, carjacking and attacks on the town and surrounding areas. The close proximity of the largely unguarded Somali border made cross-border operations of criminal groups relatively simple, particularly, those allied to the Garre and the Murulle. In the period 2006, the main source of insecurity in the area were kidnappings and carjacking mostly conducted by criminal gangs from the fighting clans of Garre and Murulle, often with links to Islamist movements inside Somalia.¹⁴⁹

During the repeated clashes in Bulo Xawo the centre of the clashes was located in north eastern outskirts of the town with some of the clashed spilling over to the Kenyan territory in the area. A number of mortars thrown by the Ethiopian forces located in Suftu, accidentally targeted Mandera itself and left behind a number of UXOs type of weaponry. During the fighting in Bulo Xawo the allied clans in Ethiopia also provided direct artillery support to the Garre and the Murulle.¹⁵⁰ The shifting involvement resulted to elevated threat of attacks against Kenyan military and accidental targeting of NGOs. The conflict was rooted in overlapping claims over water resources and grazing land between the Garre and Murulle clans. It started in the pastoral areas south of Mandera but in both cases spread all across the Mandera Triangle. Following the clan clashes in 2006, Mandera area also experienced widespread cases of police brutality against civilians that took place during an operations aimed at disarming warring clan militias in Mandera area.¹⁵¹

In July 2007, the provincial administration decided that it was going to drill a borehole in Alango village that is traditionally a point of conflict between the dominant clans in the region, Garre and Murulle. The drilling of the borehole increased competition over access to water from newly established water point between the two clans. This provoked renewed conflict that resulted in

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁰ John. C. Wood, *When men are women, Manhood among Gabra Nomads of East Africa*, Wisconsin University: Press Wisconsin, 1999, pp. 23-33.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*

21 people being killed and at least 30 000 displaced between July and October 2007.¹⁵² During the conflict traditional alliances were formed. The Garre called in and facilitated the arrival of the Garre militiamen living in Ethiopia. Marehan militia, on the other hand, arrived from across the Somali border to support the Murulle.¹⁵³ Most of the clan disputes between the Garre and the Murulle in Mandera area were caused by a mixture of political and clan factors.

The Alango area was seen to be a Garre territory before the government redrew the administrative boundaries between Murulle dominated Mandera East and Garre dominated Mandera Central. As a part of the administrative reform, the Alango area became a part of Mandera East dominated by the Murulle clan, which started making claims to the local resources. This is the reason why the region became a conflict hot spot.¹⁵⁴ For that reason, the 2007 clashes were seen to be a continuation of the disputes that started in 1988. The Garre continued making claims of ownership of the resources based on the traditional clan distribution, whereas the Murulle used the administrative boundaries to support their claims. When the local administration constructed the Alango borehole, the mutually exclusive claims led to the clashes that were common in 2007. The Somali traditional clan structures were, therefore, a means of exacerbation of the conflict, but could not be considered the cause alone.¹⁵⁵

The two clans continued fighting into 2007 and 2008. The government responded by launching a disarmament operation led by the Kenya Armed forces, but no sooner had the military retreated back into the barracks, than the clan fights erupted again. The incidents of violence started in isolated villages, and later spread to trading centers like Wargadud, El -Wak and Shimbir Fatuma. The elders from both the Garre and Murulle started pointing an accusing finger at each other. For instance, Murulle elders blamed the Garre for failing to observe the peace agreement reached by the two clans. They cited an incident in May 2007 when Murulle elders traveling to attend a peace meeting were ambushed and two elders killed, while the rest were injured by the Garre militia. The Murulle claimed that the Garre were never remorseful and instead dismissed

¹⁵² Nadifa Osman, *Fellowship Report: A Visit to Mandera. Generation for Change and Growth*, University Of Minnesota, USA, 2004, pp 13-16.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁴ John. C. Wood, *when Men are Women, Manhood among Gabra Nomads of East Africa*, Wisconsin University: Press Wisconsin, 1999, pp. 23-33.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*

the incident as the work of unruly Murulle youth. This angered the Murulle who organized for revenge attack burning down villages belonging to the Murulle.¹⁵⁶ On their side, the Garre elders accused Murulle men for raping Garre girls and women when they found them collecting firewood or hawking milk. The Garre accused the Murulle for not punishing their men who violated the Garre women even when arrested. The Garre cited an incident where a Murulle rapist was arrested and taken into police custody, but the Murulle elders went to Alango Police Station and had him released after bribing the authorities.¹⁵⁷

The descent into full-blown chaos between the two communities can be attributed to the severe drought that hit Mandera in 2007. The Murulle opted to negotiate with the Garre for access to grazing resources. Negotiations for pasture and water during droughts are common among pastoralists and neighbours are not supposed to turn down such requests. Garre asked for twenty-one days to allow their elders make a decision. Murulle herders, who were now desperate, interpreted this to mean tacit denial of access, proceeded to water, and graze their animals in Sukela and Gaari village, which are in Murulle territory. To justify their foray into Garre territories, Murulle raised the old claim that the two areas of Qura' Madow and Wargadud belonged to them too. This elicited great resentment from Garre clan who waited for an opportunity to hit back at Murulle. This came sooner rather than later, when it emerged that Murulle bandits had raped two Garre girls from Qura' Madow. Garre militia attacked Ashabito, about fifteen kilometres from Gaari villages killing two Murulle youths. In retaliation, Murulle killed two men leading to full-blown fight between Lafey and Wargadud that continued into 2008.

The conflict between the Garre and Murulle clans were the latest of many similar disputes and clashes that characterized the relationship of the two communities.

Tensions over the Alango borehole were linked to disputes over the exact boundary between Mandera East and Mandera Central districts, which created confusion among the population because people on the border line wanted to associate administrative boundaries with clan boundaries and thus with their grazing and water rights.¹⁵⁸ After the conflict of 2008, the two

¹⁵⁶ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

¹⁵⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011

¹⁵⁸ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera Central, 20/07/2011

communities engaged in a three-day mediation meeting involving elders from both clans and observed by army and police commanders and district commissioners from both Mandera Central and East.¹⁵⁹ A technical team was set by the government to ascertain the district boundary as a measure to prevent further conflicts. While mediation efforts were ongoing, however, the hostilities continued, resulting in the killing of 18 people from both sides in September 2008. The government was forced to launch a security operation to smoke out militia groups from Ethiopia and Somalia.¹⁶⁰ The launching of the military operation was highly condemned by political, civil society and human rights leaders not only from the region, but also from across the country. The Member of Parliament for Bura, Dr. Abdi Nassir Nuh, argued that the violence had been finished by the time the security operation to disarm the militias began.¹⁶¹ He condemned the government for failing to address the root causes of conflict and instead opted to inflict suffering on the local people.¹⁶²

In 2008, a new borehole was drilled by the government as a means of assisting the communities to access water for domestic and livestock use. Soon disputes around the new borehole erupted into clan warfare in villages around the borehole. The Garre and the Murulle conflict lasted about six months. The conflict did not only affect the countryside of Mandera District but also split Mandera town into clan zones. The 2008 conflict was quite severe compared to what had been experienced in 2005. The town was divided into two, with people throwing stones and *pangas* (machetes).¹⁶³ Even people who had married for years feared for their lives that and had to separate exposing their children to psychological trauma as noted by Haji Abdul Latif of Mandera District Peace Committee that;

¹⁵⁹ The report on, "The inter clan peace dialogue meeting between the Garre and Murulle community at Air Time resort Mandera East District 12 to 15 July, 2008," <http://kenvasomali.blogspot.com/2008/10/case-in-which-kenyan-woman-fromgarissa>.html (accessed April 27, 2009).

¹⁶⁰ Assistant Minister Ojode, Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, Parliamentary Debates, November 11, 2008, Col. 3345

¹⁶¹ Human Rights Watch Report, *Documentation on Conflict in Damasa, Warankara, and Qaramado.: Lafey, Elele, Wargadud, and El Wak*, Nairobi: Human Rights Watch, 2008.

¹⁶² *Ibid*

¹⁶³ USAID and Pact Kenya, *Peace in East and Central Africa; Strengthening African Capacities in Conflict Transformation*, Nairobi: USAID, 2010, pp. 1-15

"I'm a Garre and my mother is a Degodia. I have two wives, one from the Murulle clan and my second wife is a Garre like myself. When the conflict broke out in Mandera, I was out of town and both my families were in Mandera at the time, but what my Murulle wife did was most telling about the intensity of the conflict. My Murulle wife took my two sons to my other wife's house and left the kids to go to her father's home. When I was given this information, it was one of the most difficult and lowest points of my adult life. My wife did not go with our sons to her father's home because she was scared for their lives."

At that point, according to another member of the Muslim Council, Sheikh Abdirizak Abdullahi, the religious leaders were forced by the circumstances on the ground to call a peace forum, but the Kenyan government intervened, launching a security operation, which the locals viewed as brutal.¹⁶⁴

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. It began by assessing the conflict between the two clans between the periods of study. The chapter has identified the main sources of conflict in Mandera District. Of all the conflict-generating factors, the most important ones are pastoral rangeland disputes, environmental stress and politics. Each of these sources of conflict inflames and exacerbates the other and none can be properly understood in isolation.

The chapter has also revealed that the conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle are characterized by raiding assaults and banditry incidents. Moreover, reprisals and counter-reprisals are the dominant features of the conflicts. The conflicts are also cross border because of clan affiliations and pastoral groups living both in Kenya and Ethiopia. The chapter reveals that the conflict scenario is complex in a way that a conflict breaking on one side of the border has a spillover effect on the other side because of kinship ties. Shifting alliances and temporary group formations that characterize pastoral conflicts leave a big impact on the society as discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON THE GARRE AND MURULLE PEOPLE

5.1 Introduction

Conflict is perhaps the most distinctive, dramatic, documented, and studied phenomenon in the social sciences, yet it remains one of the most problematic concepts to quantify and compare. In order to better understand the problem of conflict from a structural perspective it is necessary to develop measures of the societal and structural impact of conflict that can better inform analyses of social conflict and political violence in Mandera District. This will yield a better conflict management and prevention strategy that can be implemented. The conventional analysis of warfare that evolved during the era of state-centric internationalism unduly prioritizes state sovereignty, military strategy, and international anarchy in its preoccupation with issues of national security.¹⁶⁵

Mandera District has been characterized by protracted inter-clan conflict, humanitarian crises and regional disorder. Strategies for increasing security in the District must take into account effects of conflict on individuals, local societies, regional communities, and the world system. The successive Mandera District security policies will be evaluated not by measuring individual successes and failures but by a systematic assessment of net systemic gains and losses in terms of human security concerns and resources expended.¹⁶⁶ National conflict management demands answers to the questions, is there more or less conflict in the District today than yesterday? Is the District's human security improving or deteriorating? Who and where are the winners and the losers in the Garre and Murulle conflict?

This chapter discusses the impact of conflict on the people of Mandera District the chapter presents the impact of the conflict during the study period. The District aggregation of the number and magnitude of societal warfare effects gives us a sense of the more general, systemic impact of conflict and how the problem of conflict affects the further development of an

¹⁶⁵ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011

¹⁶⁶ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmaru: Red Sea Press, 2005.

effective, District conflict management and prevention regime. There were several impacts of the Garre- Murulle conflict, which were twofold; on one hand, there is the impact of the conflict between the Garre and the Murulle clans and on the other hand is how the intervention by the combined security forces Operation Chunga Mpaka impacted the local communities.¹⁶⁷

5.2 Social Impact of the Conflict

Mandera District population has suffered effects of the Garre-Murulle conflict. The population suffers poor health, malnutrition-especially among children, falling standards of education, stress resulting from disappearance of family members, torture, rape, mass arrest and prolonged detention. Efforts by the security forces to eliminate the conflict led to more suffering as military controls, weakened the indigenous institutions of conflict management and general indifference by the government to a politically and economically marginalized communities have all contributed to the miserable condition of the Mandera District populations.¹⁶⁸

5.2.1 Impact on the Garre/Murulle populations

Indicators of general well-being of children in the Garre/Murulle conflict zones declined dramatically during the years of conflict. Infant mortality rate rose in the District since the start of the conflict. According to the government of Kenya development and district health reports, the mortality rate was at least twice that the rest of Kenya. Apart from high mortality rates, there has been a three-fold increase in low birth weight babies, to one in five of all newborns, in the District since the conflict began. Maternal mortality is at least twice as high as the rest of the country. Anemia is found in a high proportion of pregnant and lactating women. Similarly, the District's health service is a casualty of the conflict, which seriously resulted to malnutrition.¹⁶⁹

Malnutrition among the population of the District was very high as many of the people particularly children, were underweight. According to the oral interviews, displacement, poor living conditions, poor personal and environmental hygiene, seasonal food shortages, infectious diseases, lack of access to health services, inadequate maternal and childcare, poor education and

¹⁶⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir , Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹⁶⁸ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005. pp.6-7

¹⁶⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

lack of income were blamed for the malnutrition found. Even in safer areas, these factors have been compounded by undercounting of the displaced population and delays in getting allocated rations to those qualifying. The NGOs have taken sole responsibility for providing relief to those in need, so the government was not supplementing the NGO rations. Looking at the medical reports of the District in the period of conflict the population in IDP camps in the Mandera Triangle showed that the children less than 5 years were wasted, stunted and the remaining were small for their age. Before the conflict got worse, very few children in the area were wasted. A major cause of malnutrition and dropping out of school is poverty. The economy of all of Mandera District has been affected by the conflict, but that of the Mandera Triangle has been devastated.¹⁷⁰

This is clearly seen through the available nutritional data shown below which highlights generally high prevalence rates of underweight among children 6-59 months of age, a composite measure which is determined by the prevalence of wasting and stunting.¹⁷¹ Underweight is a condition measured by weight-for-age; a condition that can also act as a composite measure of stunting and wasting. Acute malnutrition reflects recent weight loss and is defined as weight-for-height or 80% weight-for-height median by NCHS standards and/or oedema, usually in children aged 6–59 months. This is also sometimes known as Global Acute Malnutrition. Chronic malnutrition reflects a height deficit and is defined as height-for-age by NCHS standards, usually in children aged 6–59 months.¹⁷²

Around 30% of all children in Garre and Murulle, occupied areas of Mandera are below the acceptable weight for their age compared to international reference populations. For example, compared with the western Nyanza Province where comparable prevalence is 15%. Rates of stunting between about 10 and 15% are relatively low. This is concurrent with the broader situation in the Garre-Murulle occupied areas of Mandera where average 24.3% compared to

¹⁷⁰ Nene Mburu, "Bandits on the border: the lost frontier", in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

¹⁷¹ Mary Corbett and Claire Chastre, *A Causal Analysis of Malnutrition, Including the Minimum Cost of a Healthy Diet El Wak, Northern Kenya, October 2007 Study conducted by: Independent Food Security & Nutrition Consultant Analysis and interpretation of "Cost of Diet" by: Independent Food Security & Nutrition Consultant With input from Save the Children UK Hunger Reduction Programme and Advisory staff*, London: Save the Children UK, 2007, pp. 5-12

¹⁷² *Ibid*

over 30% in other parts of Kenya. Conversely, levels of wasting in areas occupied by the two clans vary between 20-30% depending on the season, compared to around 5% in other parts of Kenya. Overall, it appears that high prevalence of wasting is the major reason for high rates of underweight in the Mandera area.¹⁷³

Eastern Mandera	March 2006 Underweight 32.3%	March 2006 Stunting 15.4%	March 2007 Underweight 28.2%	March 2007 Stunting 15.2%
Central Mandera	30.0%	14.2%	27.7%	12.8%
Western Mandera	38.9%	18%	23.4%	9.8%

The Table adopted from Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), 2007

Acute malnutrition rates have always been problematic in Mandera District area, with huge seasonal fluxes and variations between years depending mainly on rainy season performance. ACF has conducted surveys in parts of Mandera over many years, and even with selective feeding programmes in existence and food aid distributions taking place, the acute malnutrition rates have remained unacceptably high at around 20% <-2 WFH Z-score. During the drought of '05-'06, when MSF Belgium responded in Central Mandera District, a nutrition survey conducted in March '06 indicated extremely high levels of acute malnutrition in children below 5 years, which was at 29.8% below the required score, were significantly higher than the internationally recognised emergency threshold of WHO of above 15% and below 2 score. Malnutrition in adults was measured through looking at the body mass.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁴ Mary Corbett and Claire Chastre, *A Causal Analysis of Malnutrition, Including the Minimum Cost of a Healthy Diet El Wak, Northern Kenya, October 2007 Study conducted by: Independent Food Security & Nutrition Consultant Analysis and interpretation of "Cost of Diet" by: Independent Food Security & Nutrition Consultant With input from Save the Children UK Hunger Reduction Programme and Advisory staff*, London: Save the Children UK, 2007, pp. 5-12

Destruction of the economy in Mandera has threatened the people's right to survival. Their economic rights have been seriously threatened by the particularly dilapidated state of the health services, infrastructure, and severe shortages of doctors, midwives and public health inspectors that mean that unqualified health volunteers from various NGOs are left in charge of caring for the population. Most medical professionals fled from conflict areas of the District. Consequently, population displacement led to a rise in infectious diseases and malnutrition. As a result, malaria has increased since the conflict began. Furthermore, during conflict many essential supplies to the District-including basic items such as sutures, surgical gloves, and oxygen-were subject to government embargo, and drugs and medical materials were often critically low. When the military was deployed to counter the situation, relief agency representatives were often afraid to speak out, fearing that they will be denied access to the region or even banned from operating in Kenya.¹⁷⁵

Lack of supplies caused suffering of the people and trauma. During the conflict in Mandera District that persisted for decades, the people were traumatized by common experiences, such as raids, military round ups, cordon and search operations, deaths, injury, destruction, mass arrests, detention, shooting, grenade explosions, and landmines. Children growing up displaced and in a heavily militarized environment led to psychological stress, family break-up, despair, violence and suicides. Many of children in conflict areas have lost one or both parents, either to death or displacement. Suicide among the people who did not want to see their children suffer was alarmingly high, especially in IDP camps.¹⁷⁶

According to oral interviews, inhabitants of the District who are Somalis and who fled the conflict were not allowed to leave the northern frontier to seek refuge in other areas of the country. The only alternative was the IDP camps, which, those fleeing conflict felt were not safe. Some of these people lived in IDP camps for over 15 years. It would be difficult to imagine a group of people suffering more from the psychological trauma of conflict. They were the direct victims and witnesses of conflict and human rights abuses. They were cut off from employment and the hope of self-reliance, and remained confined to squalid conditions that amplified the

¹⁷⁵ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹⁷⁶ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmar: Red Sea Press, 2005.

psychological trauma of the past and exacerbate mental health problems. These pushed the rate of suicide very high and almost three times the national average. A big population that was interviewed had been attacked, arrested, taken hostage or detained, maltreated by police or army personnel and tortured. Of those in the IDP camps, some had lost a partner, a child, parents, a sibling, or a grandparent. Almost over 50% were separated from family members and a quarter had family members who had attempted suicide. On average, a large number of the people had been displaced many times.¹⁷⁷

Inter-clan conflicts created IDPs as minority pockets of clans flee back to their ethnic home grounds, and distant trading groups were forced out of hostile areas. IDPs in Mandera District were found in Qura' Madow (about 1000 households), Elele (about 300 households), and in Wargadud town (about 500 households). Even wealthy members of society were affected by the clan related IDP phenomena. There are landlords who had been forced to flee the areas where they had houses, and were unable to personally collect their rents because they feel insecure.¹⁷⁸

Surveys done conducted in schools in Mandera District during the study revealed high rates of war stress in adolescents, threat to life, injury, detention, torture, death and worsening of relationships, witnessing violence, displacement, lack of food and economic problems that led to a high number of stresses. Among the children, the survey revealed a disruption of schooling and displacement of home in multiple occasions. The survey revealed children as being exposed to violence such as shooting, extreme poverty and deprivation, all as a consequence of the conflict. For example, going without food or water, seeing dead bodies, disappearance of a family member, forced separation from parents for longer than one month, direct family member killed by conflict fighting, houses burnt all of which resulted to trauma.¹⁷⁹

As indicated above, education in the Mandera District was severely affected by the conflict, both in the percentages of children attending school and the quality of education. Illiteracy rates are over 80%. This means that at least one third of the children from these areas were not in school as a result of the conflict. There were very few schools, which were functioning. Many were shut

¹⁷⁷ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹⁷⁸ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

¹⁷⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

due to the conflict. Other schools were displaced because of fighting. The number of schools functioning in the District had been at least temporarily closed in fear of attack. The total school population in the District was very low at the time. According to Save the Child personnel, a large number of children in Mandera do not attend school on a regular basis. Many are displaced; others have recognizable disabilities caused by the conflict, while a large number of girls are married. UNICEF Report 2008 says that the increasing number of children dropping out of school is due to Conflicts and a shortage of trained teachers and the need for children to supplement their families' income.¹⁸⁰

Education has been affected by conflict both directly and indirectly.¹⁸¹ As a result of people running away from the conflict zones, the population of the school-going pupils went down significantly. Garri Hills primary school pupils abandoned the Lafey primary school, which is in Murulle area, while those in the local secondary school disappeared.¹⁸² Likewise, Murulle students in schools on the Garre majority locations were displaced. For those who remained, learning at night and preparations for examinations could not go on as usual because of the insecurity.¹⁸³ According to the executive secretary of the Kenya National Union of Teachers in Mandera, parents fled with their children. This also led to children being traumatized after they saw their parents being beaten or being killed.¹⁸⁴ The clan conflict led to loss of lives of innocent members of the two communities who were assassinated in isolated roads, or were attacked in their homes either at night or in broad day light. Many of the combatants from the two communities lost their lives during engagement in the attacks and defence before the military intervened.¹⁸⁵

5.3 Economic Impact

No aspect of life has been left unaffected by the conflict between the Garre and Murulle in Mandera District. The District's infrastructure has been severely damaged through the

¹⁸⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹⁸¹ Oral interview, Discussion with the District Education Officer, Mandera, July, 2011.

¹⁸² Oral interview, with Head Teacher, Lafey Primary School, July, 2011.

¹⁸³ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmaru: Red Sea Press, 2005.

¹⁸⁴ IRIN, "Hundreds injured in attacks", in *Amani Papers Volume 1* No. 2 May 2010.

¹⁸⁵ UNDP, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers Volume 1*, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

destruction of roads, buildings and other economic facilities. An estimated 80 percent of all economic facilities were destroyed or abandoned during the conflict period. The traditional micro- and macro-economic systems in Mandera District were affected through the conflict. The two communities attacked the others' products stealing harvested crops as well as animals from their owners, forcing many people to abandon their economic lifestyles. Creativity and desperation have led to many innovative survival strategies, which include goat farming in small backyards and informal trading. Socio-economic conditions vary greatly between regions and between social groups. A small minority of the wealthy elite live a life full of wealth, while the vast majority of the population struggles with issues of daily survival. Such discrepancies between rich and poor are even more pronounced in Mandera District than in other counties in the region.¹⁸⁶

In the inter-clan fighting, houses were burnt, food destroyed and livestock lost. The army displaced people from Lafey to Damasa (25 km away) where they stayed for two weeks without food or water and they had to depend on rainwater for the whole of that period.¹⁸⁷ The displacement of people led to increased dependence on government relief food by the families that were displaced. According to the field study carried out, a common complaint was that the conflict had driven away trade. There were no more businesses in the towns. Traders were driven out of business. But it was observed that there were some winners among the many losers. In the areas where the Garre dominated, only the businesses of the Garre traders were going on, while in the areas where the Murulle dominated, only the businesses of the Murulle were going on. Towns such as El Wak, which was the other business hub, business had gone down because of conflict. The busy livestock market across the Somalia border at Bur Hache had almost collapsed, as it was also affected directly by conflict and blockage of stock routes. Prices of items, which were obtained cheaply from across the border, like sugar, had gone up since the army closed the borders.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*,

¹⁸⁸ UNDP, "Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera", in *Amani Papers* Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30.

Livestock plays a very important role in the Mandera District economy as demonstrated by pastoral livelihoods. Historically, it has consistently contributed to more than 90% of the District's GDP. More significantly, it provides a source of employment and income for a large proportion of the rural population as well as an important source of protein in the local diet. The livestock population was high before the conflict and it dominated traditional systems of production, processing and marketing.¹⁸⁹ Eighty percent of cattle, sheep and goats were reared by transhumant Garre/Murulle pastoralists. The livestock sub-sector generated revenue for the District through its many diverse upstream and downstream enterprises, such as livestock trade tax, slaughter fees paid in government owned abattoirs, hides and skins, buyer's license fees and clinical treatment fees for livestock at government veterinary clinics.¹⁹⁰

A large-scale national trade network in livestock existed and Mandera District served as one of the supply centers of this intricate trade. During conflict period, many heads of livestock were lost, revenue loss from the livestock sub-sector and the cost of livestock products rose as a result of the conflict. The location of Mandera District in the borderline with both Ethiopia and Somalia made it a strategic communication network as well as trading or commercial nerve centers for the Northeastern. The products of the industries from Ethiopia and Somalia which were equally important centers of the manufacturing industry made the goods and services produced easily available before the conflicts intensified.¹⁹¹

5.4 Political Impact

The communities in Mandera, all Muslims and Somalis, have a good level of interaction and are guided by common cultural practices. However, the conflict led to a lot of hatred, especially between the Garre and the Murulle not only those living in Mandera, but also those living elsewhere in the country. By extension and through alliances, other clans are viewed as aligned to one group or the other.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

¹⁹⁰ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier in *the Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmara: Red Sea Press. 2005.

¹⁹¹ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011

¹⁹² Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011

5.4.1 Increased insecurity

The few Kenya government security personnel deployed and the entire security system was overwhelmed by the conflict in Mandera because they were overstretched, ill equipped and highly exposed to danger. The armed youth from the two clans took control of everything until the military intervened and suppressed their operations. Proximity to Somalia posed a major threat as the marauding militiamen had safe passage and attacked the Kenyan side frequently with little resistance. These exposed towns such as El Wak and Mandera to great security risk.¹⁹³

In the sixties, seventies, eighties and nineties, any semblance of political unity of the communities living in Mandera vanished in the face of the triumphant cultivator controlled state. The Garre and the Murulle became engaged in bitter wars among themselves, pitting clan against clan, and tribe against tribe, in battles that resulted in large loss of life and property. The Kenyan state seemed indifferent or merely incapable of doing anything in the face of continued inter-clan armed conflicts. In the sixties, the Garre and the Murulle, as was the case with other Somali clans, struggled to realize their political dreams. In the seventies, they struggled to survive not only conflicts, but also prolonged famine and food insecurity as donor assisted development programmes based on paradigms that relegated them to mere observers of their fate. Security became the prime Garre/Murulle concern for the nineties.¹⁹⁴

The Garre and the Murulle were engaged in a three-pronged struggle for survival. They are the bitter localized conflict over resources between the two groups, the wider equally complex national level conflict with state authorities, voracious local elite, and expanding populations of peasants, and the struggle for meaningful development cognizant and respectful of social and ecological realities of arid areas. The conflicts made the life of the Garre and Murulle a bitter and often no win battle, in which the focus so far was the debilitating and fierce struggle between the two groups. Instead of receding under the impact of Kenya's growing modern economy, the problem of large group conflicts pitting entire Garre and Murulle clans scattered over several hundreds of square kilometers, with all the internal trappings of enraged sub-nationalisms,

¹⁹³ UNDP, Kenya, Amani Papers: Dynamics and Trends of Conflict in Greater Mandera in *Amani Papers* Volume 1, No. 2. May 2010, pp. 18-30

¹⁹⁴ Nene Mburu, 'Bandits on the border: the lost frontier, in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthara: Red Sea Press, 2005.

involving the use of selected propaganda, automatic weapons and hundreds of heavily armed co-ordinated warriors in single battles, was increasing. More areas, more ethnic groups and clans were locked in heated hatred and bitter battle that had all the appearances of total war between them. This seemingly incessant and uncontrollable armed conflict rendered vast areas of the Garre and Murulle territory no-go bandit areas.¹⁹⁵

5.4.2 Insecurity due to the Security Operation

The joint police-military disarmament operation in the Mandera Triangle began on October 25, 2008. It was ostensibly an attempt to address one of the underlying causes of insecurity in the region by seizing illegal firearms from warring Garre and Murulle communities. The government deployed more than 600 personnel from the regular Kenyan police, Administration Police, and Kenyan army. They targeted Garre and Murulle settlements in the districts of Mandera Central and Mandera East. The approach used by the security forces was terrorizing the civilian population through violence while demanding that they turn over illegal weapons, if they wanted the violence to stop. By the time the operation was over on October 28, more than 1,200 people from both clans were injured as a result of severe beatings and torture by the security forces, while one person died.¹⁹⁶

The government hailed the operation as a success and that it had led to seizing 130 illegal firearms and arrested more than 150 Ethiopian and Somali militiamen found on Kenyan soil and implicated in the clashes that triggered the operation.¹⁹⁷ The operation swept through Bambo, Gari, and Warankara, Lafey, Elele, Qaramadow, Wargadud, and Damasa and El Wak and the village of Qalankalesa. The operation unfolded in a largely similar manner in each location. Police, Administration Police, and army personnel attempted to gain an element of surprise by arriving early in the morning, though some people were able to escape and flee into the bush. Men were rounded up en masse and forced to march or crawl to a central gathering point, often beaten by security force members along the way.¹⁹⁸ The security forces did house-to-house

¹⁹⁵ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

¹⁹⁶ Editorial, "Investigate Mandera abuse claims," in *The Standard*, November 3, 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Noor Ali, "Kenya arrests 155 Somali, Ethiopian fighters in north," *Reuters*, November 5, 2008.

<http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/L5114704.htm> (accessed April 27, 2009).

¹⁹⁸ Nene Mburu, "Bandits on the border: the lost frontier", in *The Search for Somali Unity*, Asthmara: Red Sea Press, 2005.

searches for weapons, often beating, and raping women found at home. Widespread looting of homes and businesses by the security forces took place in some communities. As narrated by the Human Rights Watch, a woman told how at Lafey, on February 13, 2009, security forces looted from her husband's shop:

“They came to our home. My husband was in the shop. They asked, “Where is your husband?” and I told them. They searched the house and they looted my husband's shop they took around 45,000Ksh [\$660] from him. They beat up my husband and marched him to the place where people were being Brought together”.

Throughout the length of the operation, the men who had been rounded up were beaten and ordered to produce illegal firearms in order to escape further punishment. Although the security forces announced an amnesty for arms surrender, people were not given an opportunity to surrender weapon. Instead, they were thoroughly beaten. The security forces kicked and punched their prostrate victims, beat them with clubs, wires, and iron rods, and squeezed or mutilated the testicles of some of the captive men. At the operation's conclusion, the security forces moved on, leaving the local populace to nurse their wounds and search for lost family members. Many people fled into the bush, fearing further attacks, and spent days or weeks living with their herds before returning to their homes. In some communities, residents fled across the nearby border into Somalia to seek shelter there.¹⁹⁹

5.5 Conclusion

In order to understand the problems associated with the conflict, this chapter undertook an extensive analysis, comprising both theoretical and empirical components, which establishes patterns of corroborating evidence for effects and trends of the Garre/Murulle conflict in Mandera district.

The information derived from this study will assist the relevant government ministries to develop policies that promote peaceful coexistence among different ethnic communities in Kenya and

¹⁹⁹ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011.

also initiate development programmes as well as enhance national security for all citizens. Non-governmental organizations based in Mandera can use the information from this study to implement their projects, especially those that are aimed at addressing insecurity in the arid areas. The study findings will be useful to other scholars who may use them as a reference point for future related studies in arid areas. The Mandera inhabitants are the ultimate beneficiaries when the findings of this study are used to develop policies and programmes which promote their social and economic welfare and long term sustainable peace in Mandera district.

Population dislocations led to trauma and inefficiencies. It also indirectly was associated with the displacement, whether for personal safety, logistic, predatory, retaliatory, or strategic policy considerations, of large numbers of domiciled people. Societal networks were damaged. There were distortions to the fragile fabric of inter-personal associations. There also was disintegration of relationships and identities based on amity, trust, exchange, mutual benefit, comity, reciprocity, and deferred gratification-a relation necessary for the proper and effective functioning of normative systems social cooperation, cohesion, coherence, and coordination in politico-legal, economic, professional, and socio-cultural sub-systems.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir, Bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERVENTION EFFORTS TO END THE CONFLICT IN MANDERA DISTRICT

6.1 Introduction

The communities living in Mandera have a long history of conflicts; there has been tension, hatred and hostilities between various Somali clans in Mandera district. This conflicts and tension had started over resources and grazing land and gradually spread to parts of Mandera East, Central and North Districts and other parts of Mandera District. The pastoralists groups are warring over land disputes and farm ownership, watering point etc. The hostilities led to the displacement of people, burning of houses, closing of schools, disruption of livelihoods for both communities and lose of lives. Various interventions were undertaken to reduce the escalation of the tension into a bigger problem among the warring clans. The District Peace committee Mandera East, Central District and Mandera West, North, mobilized both warring clans together with prominent business people, religious leaders, and representatives from the Provincial Administration as well as other peace actors in the district with the view of ending the inter clan conflict between Garre and Murulle in Mandera District . This chapter outlined different efforts done by government and other peace actors, local traditional influential clan elders to reduce tensions and conflict between different communities in the districts.

6.2 Government Intervention Setting the Stage

In regard to frequent conflicts in Mandera District the leaders from warring communities met in Nairobi and formed what was referred to as the Joint Nairobi Community Peace Resolution Committee that was coordinated and facilitated by the Ministry for Northern Kenya and other arid lands.²⁰¹ The members of the committee included the following: Hon. Mohamed Elim, Minister Northern Kenya, Hon. Abdikadir Mohamed MP Mandera Central, Hon. Adan Mohamed Noor, Former MP Mandera central and Assistant Minister and Chairman for joint Nairobi committee, Hon. Mohamed Abdow, Former MP Mandera west, Hon. Mohamud Maalim, MP Mandera west, assistant minister energy, Hon. Billow Kerrow, Former MP Mandera central, Hon Adan Keynan, MP Wajir West, Hon Mohamed Hussein Mp Mandera East , Amb. Bishair Abdirahaman Hussein, Haji Mohamud Khalife , Businessman, leader, Sultan sheikh Ali Noor,

²⁰¹ Oral interview, Mohamed Abdi Saney, Lafey Division, Mandera District, 24/06/2011

Garre council of elders Chairman, Haji Omar Hussein, Ali Maalim Mallow, Haji Mohamed Ali, Billow Edinow, Councilor, Haji Yunis among others.²⁰²

The above joint Nairobi team met in Nairobi with the mandate of ending the tension between Garre and Murulle living in Mandera District. During the meeting at New Stanley Hotel, they recommended that fifty (50) clan elders from both sides be invited to Mandera Town to address the dispute and grievances of both clans and find out possible solution to their conflicts.²⁰³ The 50 elders were selected from Elwak, Lafey, Fino, Wargadud, Alungo Gari hills, Ashabito, and Elgolicha and Arabia, while some elders came from Wajir and Garissa District as part of peace delegation and to play neutral role to resolve the disputes. The Nairobi meeting was followed by the peace meeting which commenced in Elwak and Mandera.²⁰⁴ During the peace events clans members from both sides met separately in a group discussion and came up with 15 elders out of the 50 previously selected elders and presented their grievances to the joint Nairobi committee that was chaired by Hon. Adan Mohamed Noor former Mandera Central Mp.²⁰⁵

6.3 Government Peace efforts to end conflicts.

Garre and Murulle are predominately pastoralists' communities of Somali clan living together in Mandera and Wajir counties and the neighboring country of Somalia. They share pasture, water and land, since they drive their main livelihoods from Pastoralism. According to the Historical, records and clan elders with Chronological accounts of history of both Garre and Murulle clans fought in 1980s over pasture, watering point and land boundary that conflict lasted for about four years in Mandera district. Both groups have armed groups in rural areas of Mandera District that are used in the interclan conflicts. The presence of armed groups in areas such as Wargadud, Elgolicha, Sukelatinfa, Gari, Bambo, Lafey and along Elwak- Mandera High way etc generated a lot of fear of attack from the armed groups and later lead to displacement of people to other secure and safer ground in the District.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Oral interview, Mohamed Sheikh Abdikadir bulla Mpya Location, Mandera central, 22/06/2011.

²⁰³ Oral interview, Mohamed Salah Ali Adan, Bulla Mpya, Mandera Central, 23/06/2011.

²⁰⁴ Oral interview, Hassan Hache Issack, Elwak, Mandera East, 20/07/2011.

²⁰⁵ Oral interview, with Head Teacher, Lafey Primary School, July, 2011.

²⁰⁶ G o K, Office of the Prime Minister, Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and Other Arid Lands, Mandera District, *Peace building, conflict prevention and social reconciliation*, Nairobi; Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya, 2012

Movement of people from their homes was sometimes initiated due to rumor mongering and incitement, which was responsible for artificial tension and displacement of the poor innocent pastoralist from their settlement. The rumors would also state that both sides are arming themselves for major battles. These raised a lot of concerns from the government and other stakeholders and peace actors so that proper and timely interventions are undertaken to avoid possible escalation of these skirmishes and prevent ugly images from our sight and inter clan feud.²⁰⁷ In response to these conflicts, the government appointed a ten-member team comprising of representatives from warring clans, various groups and government agencies in the area. The Minister of Northern Kenya and other arid lands formed ten (10) member team from Nairobi five selected from both parties to conflicts and mandated them to broker peace and return normalcy, law and order to the area, because the early peace initiative that was initiated by Members of Parliament from the area had failed to materialize, therefore there was urgent need to address the conflict before it escalated.²⁰⁸ And also provided logistical and financial, and personnel to provide conducive environment for elders to undertake peace building, conflict prevention and social reconciliation among the warring pastoralists in Kenyan side of Mandera District. The objective was to have long term peaceful and cohesion and coexistence are realized between the parties in the dispute. Also the efforts were to find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma.²⁰⁹

The ten member committees of elders were also joined by other local leaders and elders from the area with the local knowledge and wield much influence from both communities' together with Mandera mediation council and religious fraternity to face task ahead of them. The elders met at arid land conference hall in Mandera before they departed to the hot spot areas of tension and conflicts in order to brainstorm and developed common working strategy for peace building and social reconciliation for the assignment that was given to them by the minister of Northern Kenya. In the preliminary stages, the team appointed Mr. Mohamed Abdi Noor as the chair of the team.²¹⁰ And assisted by Jack Bashir of community policing Chairman Mandera.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*

²⁰⁹ Oral interview, Daud Maalim Ahmed, Takaba Chief, Mandera District, 13/ 07/2012

²¹⁰ Oral Interview Mohamed Ibrahim Alio Community Peace Elder –Arabia August 2011

The delegation team with about 40 elders in a convey started going round each villages in the hot spot areas of Mandera District. They met different District Commissioners from different districts within the District. They engaged in a fact-finding mission as a means of obtaining a clue of the conflicts. For instance, the team met with District Commissioner of Mandera Central and East Mr. Leparmarijo and Mr. Ole tutui, together with his security team members and district peace committees together with local elders from the district to discuss on the interventions to conflict in the area.²¹¹

During the meeting, it was made clear that the tension and build up was originated from border areas of Mandera central and East over drilling of Water borehole in Alungo trading center which both clans disputed over its ownership and the spillover effects of the conflicts affected other peaceful communities in Mandera districts that are not party to the conflicts ,the spillover effects had tremendous repercussion on clans living in Mandera, Haji Abdille sheikh Billow the Chairman of Mandera East peace committee informed the elders present that, all the tension, mistrust, animosity and displacement occurred over Alungo Borehole , and those IDPs from the affected areas may want to rise our conflict and peace temperatures and leads us to hostility which the people of Mandera are not party to . Haji Abdille' argument was supported by many, among them was the area DC who said that all the conflicts started over resource sharing and land boundary by pastoralist groups and spread by the rumors that fear of attack from the armed groups which created displacement of people from various centers , the DC added that the conflicts was over land ,water and other resource in the districts like political related agenda. And both clans shifted to areas inhabited by their clans for seek of their own peace and safety.²¹² For instance the Garre shifted from Lafey to Elwak and Wargadud ,while Murulles moved to Fino, Arabia and Mandera, this action created impression that attack is likely to occur between the two disagreeing parties, therefore this is how animosity hatred and suspicions spread to safer centers and its environs.

After the lengthy meeting with area DC the delegation team members addressed joint peace baraza at Elwak , Lafey and Wargadud trading centers with intention to spread peace messages and prevail up on all the groups and youths who have been accused of burning houses at night to

²¹¹ Peace delegation elders address peace Baraza at Rhamu stadium of Mandera North District, for different communities jointly.

²¹² Oral Interview Honey Dubi Hassan Councilor fino July, 2012

desist from such habits and allow cohesion and harmony as brothers and sister for sustainable development to be realized, the communities present at the baraza was told to maintain peace since its corner stone and a pillars for successful growth and development of our areas cohesion and stability .²¹³

The team also preached prayer of peace dua so that the Almighty Allah lead them to right direction and path and make those who hide in turmoil and mayhem to change their mind and heart for seek of peace and harmony of the communities, also during the peace baraza the women populations who come to listen at the peace baraza were told to encourage their sons and husband to work for peace and harmony whenever they are.²¹⁴ The team made 8 days visits to affected areas and communities. Some of the centers and hotspot areas that they visited included Lafey, Wargadud, Elgolicha, Gari, Bamboo, Elwak Fino, Sukelatinafa, Quramodow etc. And its environs.²¹⁵ They all unanimously agreed that the problem is in Mandera must be addressed and resolved by all parities to conflicts under the government efforts and something urgent must be undertaken , so that clam may be returned to the affected areas said Wargadud East Councilor Mr.Ibrahim ibrein ,

According the then District Administration Police Commander, Mr. Somane M farah in charge of Mandera District, the area was very peaceful until when conflicts erupted in over Alango Borehole which is located between borders of Mandera Central District and Mandera East The conflict from this Drilled Borehole disturbed the peace of the both communities since they are cross border pastoralist in nature, and share livelihoods together, since time in memorial. The conflict eroded trust and communities did not have confidence for each other due to the tension and regrouping to specific area for reprisals attacks on each other.²¹⁶

Because both warring groups claim that the area where the borehole is located is in their borderline, these borders are not clearly demarcated, and both Garre and Murulle use to share pasture and water in the same disputed area because water has been found in it.²¹⁷

²¹³ Oral Interview Abdi Malim Hussen Community leader Mandera, July, 2012

²¹⁴ Oral Interview Abdia Sheakh Hassan Women for peace Mandera, July 2012

²¹⁵ Oral Interview Mohamed Ibrahim Alio Community Peace Elder –Arabia August 2011

²¹⁶ Oral Interview Ibrahim Abdille Ahamed Community elder July, 2012

²¹⁷ Oral interview Abdi Adan Giro Youth leader Mandera central, July, 2012

The government fact-finding team came up with the following observations. It was realized that the epicenter and the mother of all source of the conflict is at Alango area, if the problem is addressed and solved amicably, it is presumed that entire problem is solved and peace and tranquility is likely to be restored between the parties in the disputes, through win-win techniques.²¹⁸ That there was conspiracy where hidden individuals/groups with hidden agenda to further their own interest were taking advantages of tension among the groups and create atmosphere of incitement and fear in the community with view of displacing the innocent populations from their settlement, some of the hidden element and agenda includes the followings; political issues (Mandera Central constituency), land disputes and watering point / pastures /creation of locations and accusation or labeling as militia groups.²¹⁹

The team made the following recommendations as a mechanism to solve the problem. The elders in the peace delegation mission together with the local community and other peace stakeholders, religious leaders members of provincials administration and internal security and Mandera mediation council, after assessing the situation on the ground and also collected views of the local inhabitant of the affected areas and made field visits to the burnt houses scene recommended the following as short term mitigation measures to stop further escalation of the skirmishes. The second recommendation was that the fighting groups to observe immediate cease fire by both sides this will be undertaken using the following methodology and measures such as the parties to conflicts should reconcile with each other and come to the common goal of Peace Building Conflict preventions and social reconciliation with each other for sustainable Peace to be achieved between two warring clans.²²⁰

Thirdly, that both parties should preach peace to their followers and local people so those peace messages are disseminated across border to everyone in the affected areas so that fruits of these peace agreement may bear results. That no party should take any hurting action (act of belligerence) that are likely to reverse the gains made or perpetration against the other in disobedience to the reconciliation and peace building and conflicts resolution effort by Peace elders and that, there should be a peaceful cohesion coexistence and harmony among the Kenyan

²¹⁸ Oral Interview Ibrahim Ibrein Ali –Wargadud councilor, July, 2012

²¹⁹ Oral interview Sadia Ali Sheikh –Peace committee member Elwak August, 2012

²²⁰ Oral Interview Fatuma Adan Ali – Women care Elwak August, 2012

communities living in Mandera.²²¹ A committee that would be supervised and coordinated by the District Peace Committees and members of the District Security Committee was formed to make a follow up on the following Peace resolutions reached by parties to conflicts.

RESOLUTIONS

On this 26th Day of October 2008 after Seven days of meeting and consultations the following Summary resolution were reached between Garre and Murulle in Mandera District.

1. Complete Cease-fire accepted by both Murulle & Garre clans.
2. The two clans agreed to remove all road barriers/ barricades controlled by their armed militias along Mandera- Elwak Main roads.
3. To disseminate the peace talk resolutions to the residents of the nine location of Mandera town where both clans resides to cool down conflicts tempers.
4. To disseminate the peace talk resolutions to all parts of the six districts of Mandera East, Central & West. Lafey, North and Banissa. (by jointly visiting the communities from Border Point One to all the four corners of the District)
5. Dissemination of the peace and social reconciliation information by visiting all watering points & trading centers through word of mouth, imams in the mosque and any other channel of relaying information such as mobile phones, radio calls & thuraya and public peace Baraza all the hotspots centers of the District ..
6. Schools & institutions to be included in the areas to be visited by the teams.
7. The dissemination teams of the peace talks to include all the clan's residents of Mandera.
8. The local media i.e B.B.C Somali service, Star FM & Radio FM to be used to relay the Peace resolution agreed Messages.
9. Meet the Provincial Administration heads and inform about the resolutions reached by both Clans regarding peace and reconciliations.
10. All damages caused to both sides during the conflicts should be assessed by teams of subcommittees from both sides for possible compensation by their clans.

After the above are achieved, it was agreed on the following measures be undertaken by the government to support and sustain Peace effort by the local communities and the peace actors to find elusive Peace between Garre and Murulle clans in Mandera Districts.

²²¹ Oral Interview Musa Haji Adan – NGO representative Elwak August, 2012

Deployment of security forces on the Kenyan –Somalia border and all affected centers in Mandera District to deter any further fights among the clans, and also resettlement of IDPs to their original homes, distribution of humanitarian aid assistant by GOK /NGOs to the returnees such as food and non food items, opening of schools in the affected areas, and government to provide school feeding programme (SFP) to attract and retain school children in order to smoothen process of registration for KCPE and KCSE fourth coming examinations, teachers and teaching materials.²²² In addition, Peace Building and Conflict management be given a chance by peace committees from the affected centers under direct supervision of area DCs.

The group also suggested resolving the unresolved issue through the Islamic shariah and Somali traditional Heri systems that is acceptable to both parties and the precedence that was used previously to end disputes among them. The parties to conflicts should take pledge on the following issues, communities should promise to stop any further attack carried out from their sides and engage their fellow's clans in Somalia or Ethiopia to do the same and refrain from hostility and support that has negative impact on the peace agreement and reconciliation.²²³

The Garre Communities in Mandera should quickly facilitate a talks with their fellows Murulle in Mandera to prevent the armed militia from crossing over to their side and carry out attacks and to pave way for a peaceful intervention to be undertaken by both warring groups through ministry of internal Security and Northern Kenya Development . Involvement of all peace actors and stake holders in peace building and conflict resolution process especially the Sheikhs, imams and religious mediation council and other key clans influential respected personality and those we view them as spoilers to this peace accord are brought on board .²²⁴

6.4 Long Term Measures

The team also came up with suggestions of long-term measures that would solve the conflict. The measures were as follows, use of inter governmental diplomatic measures at National level to solve the Armed militia problem both in Kenya border and Somalia side. Involve the Sultan of the Garre and the Sultan of the Murulle as key personalities to address the conflict in Mandera. Facilitate consultation of peace meetings dialogue between elders from both communities in both

²²² Oral Interview Adan Abdi Mohamed- Opinion leader – Lafey district, August, 2012

²²³ Oral Interview Osman Adan- Youth leader Mandera, August, 2012

²²⁴ Oral interview Mohamed Yussuf Odo- headteacher Elwak, July, 2012

areas to discuss the way forward and emerging issues related to this tension and support from Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia until the peace dialogue bear fruits for all sides and strengthening of peace actors and peace committees to respond to issues of emergency and rapid response.²²⁵

The joint government and UNDP/NSC efforts led to several declarations being made. Such included the Sheikh Umaal Peace Declaration held in Mandera District in Oct 2008. There were reports of suspicion and tension between the two neighboring clans in Lafey and parts of Mandera Central District. There were many physical confrontations between the two clans hence cases of many deaths reported. This situation generated into mistrust and hatred among the members of different communities, which resulted into displacement of persons from their homes, setting houses on fire and closure of schools.²²⁶

The incidents occurred in early January and continued to the day of Peace agreement. There were several attempts to bring to calm, to the situation, and among them includes the following peace initiatives. The local DC and District Peace Committee (DPC), the provincial administration and the local opinion leaders held inter clan meetings, toured the affected districts and held public barazas in the hotspot areas. Members of parliament accompanied by former members of parliament and other opinion leaders of communities from Mandera District toured the affected district and in particular the affected settlements and held public barazas in attempt to calm the already volatile situation. They further appointed an adhoc committee which was mandated to spearhead social reconciliation peace building and immediate resettlement of people who fled their homes in fear of possible attack and ensure that school are reopened and operational.²²⁷

Third peace effort was initiated by Minister for Northern Kenya development and other arid areas, Hon Mohamed Elim who provided funds to the peace delegation and mandated elders from Nairobi to broker peace among the warring pastoralist communities, this effort unlike the previous peace initiative culminated into signing of peace agreement among warring groups, this is referred as Sheikh Umaal Peace Deceleration of Oct 2008. The declaration had the following content of peace agreement in details. 15 persons from both parties signed the peace

²²⁵ Oral Interview Issack Ali Issack- chairman cross border peace committee Mandera East

²²⁶ Oral Interview Haji Golo Ibrahim, Peace committee member Mandera Central

²²⁷ Oral interview Alio Ibrahim Waso -Business man

agreement and swore to uphold peace agreement to the later for peaceful and long-term coexistences is achieved.²²⁸

The terms were that all communities in Mandera to promote peaceful coexistence and cohesion. Peace must be restored at all cost and both parties should stop acts that will jeopardize peaceful coexistence and cohesion among the two communities in the Districts of Mandera and other hotspots areas. That action should be taken by communities, religious leaders, provincial administration, politicians and other peace actors to suppress acts of violations of peace.²²⁹ Hate speech and stigmatization should stop. The public and individual should stop use of derogatory word and phrases that can hurt feelings of their fellow locals, which can lead to a conflict and tension.²³⁰

There should be complete end of acts that leads to aggression that may trigger to conflict. There should be complete cease of attacks and counter attacks from the both side and vice versa. Displaced Families/IDPs and all persons who fled their homes due to insecurity, tension or fear of possible attack should be returned to their homes. Communities whose members fled should be tasked to assist those displaced and the host communities were obliged to ensure the safety of the returnees.²³¹ All schools whose pupils have fled with their parents should be returned and the schools in question should immediately be reopened and normal school session to resume. The government to ensure that humanitarian organization continuously provide school feeding programme.

6.5 Government and UNDP/NSC Initiated Voluntary Arms Surrender.

As an effort to end clan conflicts in Mandera District, the government of Kenya jointly with the UNDP initiated a voluntary arms surrender campaign. Three constituencies that previously formed the larger Mandera District before it was split into Six district Mandera East ,Mandera central ,Mandera west in run up to 2007 general election and Mandera North District in 2009 and Lafey and Banissa Districts were involved. The voluntarily surrender of illegal firearms by the people in the District was as a result of various effort by districts' peace committees and the members of provincial administration and the local elders in the District to hold public barazas

²²⁸ Oral Interview Ugas Adan Bule- Community elder

²²⁹ Oral Interview Ugas Adan Bule- Community elder

²³⁰ Oral interview Ugas Yussuf Ibrahim – Chairman council of elders Mandera District

²³¹ Oral Interview Alio Ibrahim Abdi – Teacher Wargadud, August, 2012

so that those with possession of illegal firearms to return to the government. More so their effort was boosted by our meeting with the Takaba peace committees' members on the 25th of Feb. 2009 in Takaba government and UNDP officials discussed on the kind of support they would give to those who surrender firearms to the government this assured them to convince the pastoralist and those with illegal firearms to surrender to the government immediately.²³²

Also the awareness creations campaign was initiated by the members of the District Peace Committees, chiefs and local elders. The awareness bore fruits as most of the locations in the District returned arms in the months of March 2010. In the Takaba location which is the district headquarter for Mandera West District, the exercise was spear headed by the following chiefs Daud Maalim Ahmed, (Takaba Chief), Ali Noor Ibrahim (senior chief takaba), Mohamed Adan Issack (Kubi Shaan Assistant Chief), Hussein Madkeri (Former Chief) but from 2010 he is chairman of Takaba District Peace Committee.²³³

Because of effort by the above-mentioned chiefs and District Peace Committees, members with support from the District Commissioners Office in the month of March 2009 surrendered the following guns voluntarily. Ibrahim Gab surrendered a Karben rifle with 3 rounds of ammunitions on 8th March, 2010 Ibrahim Hassan Alika surrendered a G3 rifle with 10 rounds of ammunition on 14 March, 2010, Samow Sheikh Ibrahim Hussein surrendered a Karben rifle with 3 rounds of ammunitions on 15th March, 2009, Ahmed Maalim Hussein Karu surrendered a Karben rifle with no ammunitions on 16th March, 2009 and Alikheri Dahir Abdi surrendered a Karben rifle with one bullet on 19th March, 2009.²³⁴ The photos depicting the above events are as shown below;

²³² Oral interview, Daud Maalim Ahmed, Takaba Chief, Mandera District, 13/07/2012

²³³ Oral interview, Hussein Madkeri (Former Chief) but from 2010 he is chairman of Takaba District Peace Committee, 13/07/2012

²³⁴ Oral interview, Hussein Madkeri (Former Chief) but from 2010 he is chairman of Takaba District Peace Committee, 13/07/2012



**Mr. Alikheir Dahir Abdi carrying the gun from the bush .These guns was previously used
In the inter-clan skirmishes.**



**Chief Mr. Mohamed Adan Issack together with the researcher Mr. Hussein Mohamed and Mr.
Derow Gamow of Arid Lands Mandera District .**

The recovery team going deep into the bush where the guns were buried in the hole at a village Ayan Aba trading center Kula in Mandera West District to collect voluntary arms surrenders.



The Government team at Kubdisha Sub Location where guns were recovered, these guns was previously used in the inter clan conflicts between Garre and Murulle 2004-2009 Conflicts.



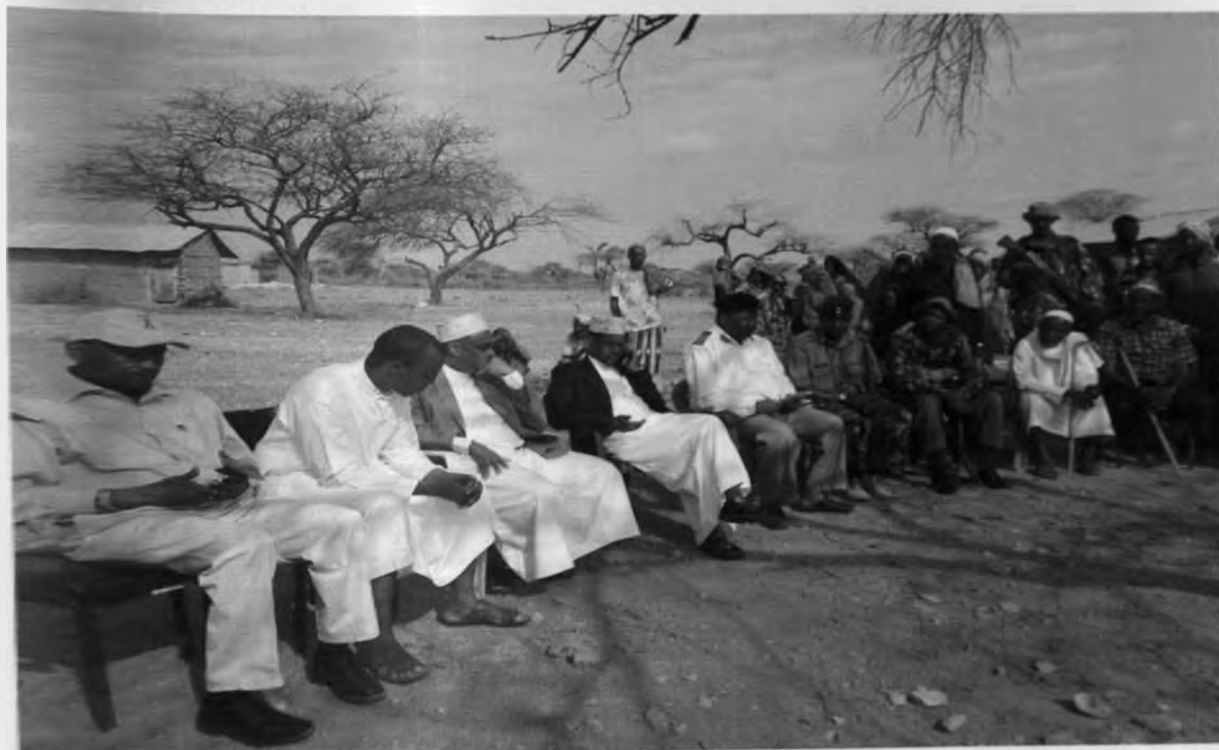
Mr. Alikheir handing over the gun to the area chief on behalf of the Government.



Both warring Clans of Garre and Murulle at a Public peace Baraza in Mandera District to surrender illegal firearms to the government. Look on is a Clan Elder Haji Abdi Yussuf.

The people of Mandera Districts obtained most of the guns in 1998 during the Garre- Ajuran war that led to a very high death toll and destruction of property. The people obtained the guns to protect themselves against attack and guard their livestock from raids as well as protecting their

other properties.²³⁵ Although the Mandera residents would argue that, they had never used the guns to attack or harm or robe anybody who is innocent but from the onset, the guns are a symbol of insecurity in the District. The main reason was to take care of themselves since the District is characterized by rampant inter-clan conflicts and land disputes between the Garre and the Murulle and Degodia communities. The other clans were also at constant conflicts with the government security, which was not adequate to guarantee security assurance to the pastoralist in the District.²³⁶



Minister for Northern Kenya development Hon Mohamed Elmi leading peace delegation to affected communities of Murulle- Garre Mandera District and accompanied by all the area MPs from the Districts of Mandera and ministry of Internal security representatives to end clan disputes.

²³⁵ Oral interview, Mohamed Adan Issack and the Chairman of Mandera Community Policing on 23/07/2011

²³⁶ Oral interview, Mr. Alikheri Dahir Abdi, Kubi Shaan Village, 23/07/2011



Clan elders in peace and social reconciliation peace dialogue meeting in Madera to resolve clan conflict between Garre and Murulle.

In an interview with Alikheri, he insisted that the surrendered of guns should be followed by an assurance by the government that it will provide security and ensure that conflict in the region is over and are no longer fighting. Then there would be no need for the people to keep the guns in the bush. Alikheri had this to say; “From now on let the government provide proper security to us and our livestock since we are all returning the guns in these village he pose rhetorically”²³⁷

There was positive response from the people in Madera District concerning voluntary surrender of illegal arms. Various barazas and meetings done in the District to sensitize the people on the importance of surrendering of illegal firearms to the government made some progress with surrendering of as many as 17 guns in the hands of the government. This was surrendered by communities in the various locations like Lafey, Elwak, Fino, Dandu, Darwad and Did Kuro. The surrendered guns were sent to the provincial headquarter in Garissa.²³⁸ Although the exercise of voluntary surrender of arms recoded a lot of positive response, there were challenges also. The District peace committees faced a lot of challenges and this challenges need to be overcome for

²³⁷ Oral interview, UNDP, Armed violence and Small Arms Reduction field Coordinator, 17/07/2011

²³⁸ Oral interview, with the chief of Kubishan Mr. Mohamed Adan, 24/07/2011

them to do good work in this exercise of gun surrender.²³⁹ The main challenges were associated with the following problems. That the government should deploy security officers in affected areas to avoid recurrence of conflict. The number of security officers was inadequate, the government therefore was requested to increase the number of the security personnel along the Kenya- Somalia - Ethiopia porous border. The security officers would re-open the blocked public roads for accessibility of public services. That traditional Dispute Resolution mechanism should be utilized.

4.6 Conclusions

The peace efforts by the government of Kenya and UNDP/NSC and local elders from both warring clans prevail up on both sides and led to adopted and signed memorandum of understanding as peace agreement that was supported by the locals and the all leaders in the mediation team. Therefore, both conflicting parities realized some peace as community leaders swore to up hold peace effort. It' also enabled those displaced from their homes be resettled and schools to be reopened in all affected centers .and government to engage Somalia - Ethiopian administration to iron out the root cause of inter clan conflicts along the borders by pastoralists groups. The mediation team also gave suggestions that would enhance security and peace in the affected areas of Mandera.

Most of the time pastoralist's clans' fight over water pasture and land due to resource scarcity, government and other peace actors have tried to provide peace dividend project in the affected centers by clan conflict. These peace dividend projects tries to bridge warring clans to own resource like water, pasture together and build good relation so that long time peace and community cohesion is achieved through such project. Also during the dry spell the government of Kenya through ministry of Northern Kenya development and other arid lands, in conjunction with ministry of livestock development try to provide livestock off take programmes so that communities that are affected by drought and conflict are assisted to avoid communities raiding each others livestock's to re-compensate what was lost during drought and inter-clan conflict.

²³⁹ Oral interview, UNDP, Armed violence and Small Arms Reduction field Coordinator, 17/07/2011

These livestock off take programme are some of the measures that are employed by the government to ensure pastoralists communities are supported during the times of calamities, such as conflict, drought, disease so that communities become more resilient to manmade and national disaster and catastrophe in the conflict prone areas of northern Kenya. The government also formed pastoralists peace initiatives which will look at the interest of the pastoralist communities during the times of conflicts, these initiatives will work hand in hand with peace committees and other cross border locations and local chiefs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The impetus for this study on the inter-clan conflict between the Garre and the Murulle was the urge to understand the reasons why the communities that shared a lot in terms of culture could rise up against each other. The outcome of this research can be of a lot of importance to peace and conflict issues. The chapters in this study provide tentative, but rich insights into understanding the inter-clan conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle. They reflect a variety of experiences with conflict from a clan level to national settings. Before attempting to highlight these insights it is worth noting that the study set to determine and analyse the drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts in Mandera District to determine the role of the colonial frontiers and administrative control of pastoral nomadic movements in Garre-Murulle conflict and to examine how the Garre and the Murulle alignments and realignment caused conflict in Mandera District.

To achieve the above objectives, the study tested the following hypotheses: there are various drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflict in Mandera, the colonial frontiers and administrative control caused conflicts in Mandera and conflicts in Mandera caused the alignments and realignments of the Garre and the Murulle clans. The study used Homer-Dixon's theoretical framework of resource scarcity. This theory explains why violent conflicts occur around resources. The theory provided a theoretical examination of inter-clan conflict. A triangulation of qualitative techniques was used in the study. Data obtained from oral interviews was analysed using qualitative content analysis.

In spite of the variety of methodologies and cultural settings, a number of consistent themes emerged from these chapters. These themes are as follows; the Garre and the Murulle people are part of the Somali pastoral communities who inhabit Mandera District of Kenya, since the pre-colonial times. The history of the Garre and the Murulle has been characterized by conflict and natural calamities. The conflict has negatively affected of the lives of these two communities. The Garre-Murulle conflict can be traced to pre-colonial period. The conflict has since persisted through colonial rule up to most recent. This inter-clan conflict is attributed to ethnic or clan

affiliation that reflects a particular social construction. These conflicts often served political functions.

The role of social identity is mentioned in most of the chapters. In particular, social identities are presented as set in clan boundaries, including those inherent in patriotism and nationalism and in influencing what social identities are formed and maintained. Arguing from a standpoint of indigenous peoples, clanism can be significant in maintaining social identities. Differing social identities are of course associated with differing views of history and such differences contribute to continuing conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. Ethnicity was brought by shared histories, which led to shared social identities, and consequently exacerbated intergroups conflicts. Finally, there is the encouraging suggestion that victims of clan violence can reconstruct social identities. Collective identity may have negative consequences for peace in Mandera District.

The research revealed that it is not uncommon for groups in conflict (that is, sharing the same history) both to claim victim hood and both to accuse the other of being victimizer. In turn, this sense of shared victimizations in social memory can be seen as elements promoting group cohesion. Most chapters have attempted to illustrate those victims of intergroups violence exist in a minimal space-that is, the victims are both part of and removed from society, and their lives are characterized by uncertainty and doubt. These victims are in need of closure, where the trauma is no longer seen as unfinished business. As with victims, perpetrators may be identified through ascription processes associated with social memories. For example, perpetrators may use social memories to legitimize, motivate and idealize their acts of violence and the power they wield.

The research on inter-clan conflict between the Garre and the Murulle yielded results that in many ways represent paradigm shifts since they suggest an innovative conceptualization of reality, both diachronic and synchronic, from the perspective of relations between individuals and groups and whether these relations are characterised by acts and feelings of clans on the conflict. Two initial observations triggered the author's interest in the topic of inter-clan conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. First is the researcher's experience as a NSC/ NDMA field officer in Mandera where he dealt with arms control and peace building section. The experience

indicated that arms are acquired by the two clans because they view each other as an enemy. To the two clans, therefore, conflict is of crucial importance in human relations, as both act and experience. And those cycles of conflict may permeate people's lives with an all-consuming intensity.

The severity of rifts caused by frequent conflict between the Garre and the Murulle called for research. Furthermore, it is often assumed that the conflict in Mandera can be understood through looking at Somalis as a cluster. The research has indicated that the Somali clan system is partly responsible for the conflict. It seemed, therefore, very important to understand the nature of conflict and how it is related to the occurrence of mass violence in Mandera. The work addresses parts of the dynamics that pertain to conflict in Mandera, but the conflict is differentiated from the larger Somali cluster to the specific, such as Garre and Murulle. It seemed important to focus on the notion of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle and differentiate it from other concepts because the two clans are the largest in the district and have a long history of conflict.

Scholars- Such as Miller, Cohen and Nisbett- Describe conflict as part of the mechanism used by the pastoral communities to achieve honor. The research question that imposed itself was why the two clans have developed a notion that is restricted to honor cultures that promote conflict.²⁴⁰ This study conceptualized conflict between the Garre and the Murulle as antonym of respect within the framework of pastoral Somali communities. The above noted research question could be expanded to asking in what way conflict in an honor context is similar, or different, to conflict in a human context, and whether honor and conflict are the only parameters.

Margalit wrote a book on *The Decent Society*, a society that ought not to entail conflict institutions. This book highlighted the notion that conflict may be more than an act or an emotion played out between individuals, but may be institutionalized.²⁴¹ My research had to attend to this point as well. The results of this study presented clan conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle as an intricately complex concept that requires research for better understanding and

²⁴⁰ Miller, A., *For Your Own Good: Hidden Cruelty in Child-Rearing and the Roots of Violence*. London: Virago Press, 1993, p. 60-62.

²⁴¹ Margalit, A., *The Decent Society*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 25-40.

differentiation from the larger Somali cluster. Conflict means the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honor or dignity. To be in conflict is to be placed, against your will or in some cases with your consent, for example in cases of sado-masochism and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel you should expect.

This study indicated that, to the Garre and the Murulle, conflict entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It may involve acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of conflict as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless. However, the role of the victim is not necessarily always unambiguous. A victim may feel humiliated in the absence of any deliberately humiliating act as a result of misunderstandings, or as a result of personal and cultural differences concerning norms about what respectful treatment ought to entail, or the victim may even invent a story of humiliation in order to maneuver another party into the role of a loathsome perpetrator.

People react in different ways to being treated in humiliating ways. Some just become depressed, others get openly angry, and others again hide their anger and plan revenge.

The person who plans for revenge may become the leader of a movement. A perpetrator might want to commit humiliation but not succeed, a benefactor might humiliate while trying to do good, a third party might observe victims who do not see themselves as such or fail to see victims in cases where they do exist, or humiliation is sought instead of despised. The above reported observations concerning the significance of processes of conflict that triggered the research were confirmed by the fieldwork. Being exposed to acts of humiliation has in many cases significant consequences on the direction of inter-clan conflicts in Mandera District.

Because of frequent conflicts, children who are systematically humiliated may not be able to develop the full range of human capacities and become so severely damaged that they show signs of affective blindness and lack of empathy. The fieldwork in Mandera shed particular light on the plight of children who are forced to become malnourished at a very young age. Other children are forced to take arms and be active participants in the conflict and represent a danger to security as soon as the conflict is over and they are not instrumental any more. Adults who are

exposed to acts of humiliation may become obsessed with and caught within cycles of humiliation and counter-humiliation that entail a whole range of conditions, including depression, anger, and violent behaviour. The research project collected broad evidence, supporting this assumption.

The fieldwork suggested that many differences, for example cultural differences, might not be primary, but secondary; namely, consequences of processes of inter-clan conflicts between the Garre and the Murulle. Experiences of humiliation may lead to the heightening of cultural and ideological antagonisms that otherwise would be learned to conflict. The cases of Murulle versus Garre demonstrate that available cultural and historical elements that indicate unity are not utilized. On the contrary, feelings of humiliation lead to an emphasis on differences and unbridgeable rifts, similar to the unforgivable humiliation that represents the ultimate obstacle to peace building. The fieldwork carried out in Mandera on the background of Somali history made clear that there are at least three contexts within which conflict is played out in different forms. Firstly, there is what could be named the context of clan pride in Somalia. Noble, proud, and free nomads promote a proverb that says, "A man deserves to be killed, not humiliated. "In other words, humiliation is feared and averted, if necessary at the cost of one's life, not endured.

Secondly, the context of honor in the Somali clans is deeply institutionalized in intricately hierarchical societal structures that attach honor. In addition, underlings are used to lowly positions characterised by humility and an exposure to routine acts of humiliation by superiors. Thirdly, in the context of dignity, all societies on the globe are currently affected by human rights ideals that postulate that each person's dignity ought to be respected and not humiliated. Somali egalitarianism, hierarchical structures, and recent egalitarian human rights ideals, though coexistent today, may be mapped on to human history, which, according to the researcher's view, leads to both interesting and stimulating perspectives on history that are new and innovative in their comprehensive modelling. Conflict may be taken as a term that describes the core transformation of the human condition either by going up or degrading. The notion of humiliation describes the application of a universal idea; namely, that something may be put down, or turned into a tool. This downward push may be applied to the biotic and abiotic world of nature may be instrumentalised, as may human beings.

Instrumentalising human beings, subjugating and degrading them, for example as slaves which exists among some Somali clusters, has long been regarded as normal. However, it becomes an illegitimate practice as soon as a society transforms from traditional hierarchical ranking orders to human rights based classless structures. Currently, a transition is taking place from an old condition where societal structures build on ranking orders that are associated with honor and customary practices of humiliation, towards a new condition where the ideal of human rights indicates that every human being has an inner core of dignity that ought not to be subject to abuse.

The fieldwork unearthed important evidence that people universally react with depression or anger and violence when humiliated. However, such reactions vary according to the three main societal settings described above. These findings are extremely relevant for cross-cultural encounters that fail because the cross-cultural differences pertaining to processes of humiliation are not understood. In an aggressive egalitarian nomad culture, such as Somalia people tend to display open anger and aggression when confronted with attempts to humiliate them. Reactions of covert anger or depression are to be expected in hierarchical systems. The research analyzed the role of conflict. The most benign scenario is a combination of weak security dilemma, expandable pie, long time horizon, and an atmosphere of respect. Conversely, the worst scenario brings together a short time horizon, positioned in an environment that represents a fixed pie of resources, combined with a strong security dilemma, within which individuals or groups are exposed to humiliating assaults. As already mentioned, feelings of humiliation and their consequences may be so strong that they override and undermine otherwise benign scenarios, in a downward spiral.

Central findings of the research with urgent policy relevance concern the consequences of the current historic transition from conflict. This transition dangerously increases feelings of humiliation in many segments of the world population. Feelings of humiliation increase whenever underlings come to perceive that their condition of subjugation, a condition they may have accepted as divinely ordained or nature's order, is far from legitimate and represents but illegitimate and humiliating lowliness. In conclusion, it may be stated that the concept of conflict is not only exceptionally fertile and interesting in its capacity to bridge several academic

disciplines and elements of the human condition and human history, but that it is also extremely timely to do research on conflict between clans that belong to same Somali cluster.

To achieve the above objectives, the study tested the following hypotheses: there are various drivers of inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflict in Mandera, the colonial frontiers and administrative control caused conflicts in Mandera and conflicts in Mandera caused the alignments and realignments of the Garre and the Murulle clans. The study used Homer-Dixon's theoretical framework of resource scarcity. This theory explains why violent conflicts occur around resources. The theory provided a theoretical examination of inter-clan conflict. A triangulation of qualitative techniques was used in the study. Data obtained from oral interviews was analysed using qualitative content analysis.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

M.A ARMED CONFLIT AND PEACE STUDIES

Dear responded I am an M.A student in the Department of History pursuing an M.A in armed conflict and peace studies. My area of research is conflict between the Garre and Murulle clans of Kenyan Somali please assist with relevant information that will enable me complete my thesis. Anonymity will be observed if requested, because this is strictly a scholarly work.

PART A

Name Sex

Age..... District.....

Division Location.....

PART B

1. How long have you stayed in this district?
2. Who are the indigenou communities in this district
3. Who are the Murulle people?
4. Who are the Garre people?
5. What is the relationship between the two clans before colonial period?
 - i. During the colonial period
 - ii. In the post colonial period
6. Why do the two communities conflict
7. Have they ever engaged in war
8. If yes which wars?
9. What caused these wars?
10. Who were the main actors in the war
11. What were the impacts of these wars?
12. What intervention government has done?