INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS ON ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN ENDEBESS SUBCOUNTY, TRANS NZOIA COUNTY IN KENYA

BY

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A RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN PROJECT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2015
DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented to any other University.

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L50/83955/2012

This research project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor of the University of Nairobi.

............................................................  ..............................................
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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to thousands of children that are suffering as a result of violent ethnic conflicts in Kenya
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to the University of Nairobi for giving me the chance to undertake the Masters degree in project planning and management. I am indebted to my supervisor Mr. Patrick Simiyu for his invaluable guidance and moral support from conceptualization to the completion of this study. His experience and knowledge in research gave due diligence that contributed to the success of the study. Deep appreciation goes to all lecturers at the University of Nairobi, College of Education and Extra Mural Studies led by Mr Julius Koring’ura for their moral support and encouragement during the entire study. I am deeply indebted to the respondents for voluntarily dedicating their valuable time to participate in the research study by providing responses that have made this study useful for application. I acknowledge the support of my able and dedicated colleagues at Peace and Rights Programme, Caroline Lusweti, Caroline Okome, Sarah Chelimo, David Lopeyok and Rachel Wanyonyi for accepting to take some of my responsibilities to allow me successfully undertake this study. My special thanks go to my family members namely; my wife Esther Ngure and daughters Scholar Millen, Peace Maryanne and Charity Melvin for creating space for me to concentrate on my studies and for their moral support. Finally, I remain forever thankful to God for the grace He generously lavished to me and opening doors for financial support to undertake the study.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>FGDs</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GSU</td>
<td>General Service Unit</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization of Migrations</td>
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<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key informant Interviews</td>
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<tr>
<td>KLA</td>
<td>Kenya Land Alliance</td>
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<td>KMS</td>
<td>Kilometers</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNBS</td>
<td>Kenya National Bureau of Standards</td>
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<tr>
<td>KNFP</td>
<td>Kenya National Focal Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Master of Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCPD</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Police Division</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCS</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEV</td>
<td>Post Election Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDDR</td>
<td>United Nations Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UoN</td>
<td>University of Nairobi</td>
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<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
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ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine the influence of socio-economic factors on ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub-county, Trans Nzoia County in Kenya. The research specifically sought to establish the influence of socio-cultural, political, economic and security related factors influencing ethnic conflicts. The study findings are significant to conflict management practitioners, scholars, policy analysts and to the communities living in the sub-county. The study provides in depth information upon which the conflict management practitioners can draw lessons for use in their design of projects for intervention while scholars can gain from the theoretical arguments and suggestions for new lines of research. The policy analysts can enrich their justification for policy reviews and development. The study applied the Cross – Cultural Research design. Methods for data collection and analysis included Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Questionnaires, interviews and observation. A sample size of 384 was targeted but a response rate of 397 was achieved. Several sampling techniques were used including stratified, multistage, and simple random sampling. Non probability sampling methods like purposive and snowball were widely used. Secondary data was obtained from both published and unpublished literature. Both qualitative and quantitative research approaches were used. The theoretical framework was built on the tenets of Symbolic Politics Theory to analyze the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics that included mean, and mode and Inferential statistics like Chi Square tests. In conclusion, the study found that economic factors comprising historical land injustices (49.4%), inequitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities (44.8%), land resettlement problems (66.9%), competition over resource use (45.6%) and insecure land ownership (67.3%) influenced ethnic conflicts in the area. Socio – cultural factors that included symbols and artifacts (12.9%) like trees and caves, intolerance in beliefs (15.1%), ethnic/clan rivalry (57.9%), high illiteracy level (60.4%) and moranism and/or heroism (16.9%) contributed to the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. Politics played a fundamental role through militia groups (14.9%) such as Jubilee boys in the area, funding ethnic clashes (76.6%) and ethnic alignment to political parties (39%) in the area. Security related factors that included proliferation of small arms (33%), violent crimes (48.8%), threats against members of certain communities (43.6%) and inefficiency of the security agencies sustained and enhanced ethnic conflicts in the study area. The study recommends equitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities to the landless poor as well as redressing colonial wrongs and re-establishing justice in the land sector. The council of elders from every ethnic community in the sub-county should be re-energized as they are very essential and paramount in resolving conflicts before they escalate. County Cohesion structures should be established, strengthened and supported by the county government to promote peaceful coexistence in the area. Establish effective Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Mechanisms. Civil disarmament should be encouraged.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Intractable ethnic conflicts are the greatest historical and contemporary threat to peace and development in the world. The rising state of ethnic conflicts is likely to continue because the world is highly divided according to ethnicity. According to Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, there are 184 independent states, 600 living language groups, and some 5,000 ethnic groups giving an average of 27 ethno-cultural groups in a single state (Kymlicka, W & Bashir, B., 2010). More than 66% of all ethnic groups are minorities that constitute not more than 10% of the population of any state in which they reside. The remaining third are those that comprise more than 10% of at least one state’s population. These groups are often politicized in the global state system. Currently there are more than sixty countries in the world with ethnic movements seeking self-determination, political representation, redress for injustices and land rights.

Several inter-ethnic conflicts that started at the end of the Soviet Union remain unresolved (International Crisis Group, 2012). The Ingush-Ossetian conflict continues as both groups assert claims over the Prigorodny district. Exclusionary historical narratives and competition over land, fuel conflicts in Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria and Stavropol Krai.

In Latin America, after democratization, many countries have witnessed increasing ethnic conflicts based on citizens’ ethnic identity (Stoiber, M., 2013).
Political inclusion of the indigenous and afro-descendant citizens has been at the core of the conflicts (Stoiber, M., 2013).

Nigeria is experiencing problems of ethnic rivalry that continue to beset its efforts at democratization and development (International Crisis Group, 2012). Ethnic violence in South Sudan began in 2011 as part of the Sudanese nomadic conflicts but continues to affect communities such as the Murle, the Lou, the Nuer and Pibor (Dziadosz, A; Jeremy C., 2012).

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya occur frequently after the introduction of multi-party politics in the early nineties. The worst of the ethnic conflicts was the 2007–08 election related crisis. Several factors such as historical injustices, political intolerance, competition over resources, discriminatory behaviors, cattle raiding and poor governance have been identified as key causes of ethnic conflicts (Oucho, 2002).

Endebeess, in Trans Nzoia, is a still experiencing ethnic conflicts even today. The Chepchoina land Settlement Scheme (Phase I, II and III) in Endebeess is feeding the conflict. Phase I of the scheme was carved during President Moi’s incumbency but Phase II pieces of land were allocated in the last regime. The people who were shown Phase III have not been able to move to their farms because others encroached on it and have refused to return to their original homes (Wepundi, M., Nthiga E., Kabuu, E., Murray, R., & Alvazzi del Frate A. 2012). Therefore, there is need for understanding the various factors of ethnic conflict in Endebeess Sub-county. This proposed study therefore, seeks to give a description
of the factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess area in Trans Nzoia County.

1.2 Problem statement

This study therefore, sought to examine factors that influence the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County in Trans Nzoia County. Endebess Sub County borders Eastern Uganda and has been and remains the epicenter of a series of violent confrontations and incidents that came in the wake of 1992, 1997 and 2007 general elections. Election related violence is endemic to the area ever since the introduction of multi-party politics back in 1991 (Wepundi, M., Nthiga E., Kabuu, E., Murray, R., & Alvazzi del Frate A. 2012).

Whereas Wepundi and others have attempted to describe the prevalence of small arms and light weapons in the area, the other factors are not discussed in detail (Wepundi, M., Nthiga E., Kabuu, E., Murray, R., & Alvazzi del Frate A. 2012). Mwangi and Njuguna wrote about the conflict in the area focusing on the election violence of 2007 (Mwangi S. K. & Njuguna S. N., N.d). A study by Akinyi-Dar Phoebe and others provided the impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts in the area (Akinyi-Dar N. P. & et al., 2011). From the foregoing literature, it can be noted that there is a gap with regards to factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County that this study sought to fill.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to examine socio economic factors that influence the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County in Trans Nzoia County in Kenya.
1.4 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to examine the influence of socio – economic factors on ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County in Kenya. Specifically, the study sought:

1. To investigate economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County
2. To establish socio cultural factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County
3. To determine political factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County
4. To establish the security factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County

1.5 Research questions

1. To what extent do economic factors influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County, Kenya?
2. To what extent do socio cultural factors influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County, Trans Nzoia County in Kenya?
3. How do political factors influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County, Trans Nzoia County, Kenya?
4. What influence does security related factors have on ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County, Trans Nzoia County, Kenya?
1.6 Significance of the study

This research study is of significance to conflict management practitioners, scholars, policy analysts and the communities living in the sub-county. The findings provide information for conflict management practitioners to use in their design of projects for intervention while scholars gain from the theoretical arguments and suggestions for new lines of research. The policy analysts can enrich their justification for policy reviews and development in the field of conflict resolution and management. The community can understand the conflict better thereby contributing to the conflict management process in the area.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

This study was delimited to Endebess Sub County in Trans Nzoia County as the study area. The focus was limited to four key factors influencing ethnic conflicts that include socio cultural, economic, and political and security related factors.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The target area was remote and almost inaccessible during the rainy season. This delayed the data collection process but the researcher made every effort to overcome this problem by collecting data on non rainy days and where possible heavy duty means of travel was used. Another challenge arose from the need to secure authorization to a research site. Some officers were not readily available to give authorization. The researcher overcame this challenge by making early booking with respective leaders.
1.9 Assumptions of the study

The study assumed that the area would still be peaceful during the data collection process because of the regular violence experienced. The study also assumed that the community members and the leaders would be willing to provide reliable feedback that would support the research process. The area remained peaceful during data collection and the community members were cooperative in the entire process.

1.10 Definition of significant terms

**Discriminatory Behavior:** referred to a condition where some people in Endebess area have been treated unequally, intimidated or humiliated on the basis of belonging to a certain ethnic or national group.

**Ethnic Conflicts:** referred to structural and physical violence among ethnic groups living in Endebess area.

**Historical Injustice:** in this research historical injustice referred to the squatter problem, displacements occasioned by land clashes, other community land claims, ethnic discrimination and marginalization.

**Political Intolerance:** referred to the unwillingness of communities to tolerate differences in political opinions and
opposition to the inclusion or participation of those different from oneself

1.11 Organization of the Study

The structure of this study took the form of chapters addressing different issues. Chapter 1 introduces the study provides with a background, the problem statement, the objectives, the significance, the scope and limitations. Chapter 2 focuses on the review of relevant literature on the key factors influencing ethnic conflicts in the study area. Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology that was applied in the study. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of the study and Chapter 5 gives key summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section provides a literature review based on the objectives of the study. The literature provides an understanding of the key words in the study and helps to clarify the variables. It further provides the theoretical framework in which the study is anchored. The conceptual framework which explains the relationships among variables is presented. The literature review starts with the discussion of the concept of ethnic conflicts and proceeds to historical injustices, discriminatory behavior, political intolerance, and accessibility to small arms.

2.2 The Concept of Ethnic Conflicts

Before discussing the concept of ethnic conflicts, it is necessary to clarify the meanings of various concepts associated with it such as ethnicity and ethnic group. Ethnicity is usually defined as that part of a person's identity which is drawn from one or more markers like race, religion, shared history, region, social symbols or language (Connor, W. (n.d). According to Donald Horowitz, ethnic groups are historically given collectivities or psychological communities whose members share a persisting sense of common interest and identity that is based on some combination of shared historical experience and valued cultural traits - beliefs, culture and religion, language, ways of life, a common homeland (Horowitz, 1985). From this definition, for a community or group to be considered ethnic then it must have a name and a language which are powerful indicators of ethnic and national identity. Another key marker of an ethnic group
is religion. Another feature of an ethnic group is territory. Territory is the basis of economic and political structures, which are the fundamental units in the life of ethnic groups and nations. Finally, shared culture constitutes a complex of distinctive elements of any ethnic groups. (Horowitz, 1985).

Ethnic conflicts can therefore, be defined as conflicts between ethnic groups within a multi-ethnic state, which have been going on for some time, which may appear to be unsolvable to the parties caught up in them. According to Michael E. Brown, an ethnic conflict is a dispute about important political, economic, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities (Michael, 1993).

Since the 1960s, increasing numbers of ethnic groups have begun to demand more rights and recognition, demands that are now recognized as the major source of domestic and international conflict in the post-Cold War world (Crawford & Lipschutz, 1998). There are currently several hundred ethnic conflicts of varying intensity on all continents. Examples of ethnic conflicts in Africa are in Zagon Kataf / Hausa conflict Tiv / Jukun conflict, and lbo / Annang conflict in Nigeria, Konkomba / Narumba conflict and Nawauri / Gonga conflict in Ghana and Topose and Dongiro (Southern Sudanese groups), and Kikuyu/Kalenjin conflict in Kenya have been cited as classical cases of ethnic violence (Osaghae, 1994).
2.3 Economic factors and ethnic conflicts

In this study, economic factors analyzed include Land injustices, Landlessness, squatter problem, forceful displacement of persons, unsecure land ownership, competition over land use e.g. farming and pastoralism or indigenous people vs wildlife and forest service, land resettlement problems, inequality based on distribution of economic resources and opportunities.

The concept of historical economic injustice is used here in a limited sense to refer to recognition by alleged perpetrators of their own commission of gross injustices or demands for such recognition from victims (Marrus, 1997). Historical injustices are generally seen as targeting entire groups, either disfavored minorities or foreign populations. They are different from and more than individual cases; they concern populations that have been killed, excluded and subject to discrimination by others who through privilege and suppression have enriched themselves. In most cases amending such injustices has not been on the political agenda resulting in constant agitation for reparations, restitutions and apologies by ethnic groups (Roht-Arriza, 1995). Abuses perpetrated against indigenous peoples represent the largest number of claims for historical injustices.

In Canada, claims involve the relocation of the Inuit in the 1950s and sexual and physical abuse of aboriginal students in residential schools where the children were sent after removal from their families. Native Hawaiians demand redress for the loss of their independence, lands, and culture. They have filed state law claims based on the overthrow of the government in 1893, seeking back
payment of trust revenues and to enjoin negotiation, settlement and execution of a release by trustees.

Focusing on the issue of historical land dispossessions in South Africa for instance, the question that is troubling the country is should land seized under apartheid be returned today to its rightful owner? Even when individuals have experienced no direct harm in the past, they care about the fairness of the treatment of their group to the extent that they identify with that group. Gibson's analysis shows that land issues in contemporary South Africa are salient, volatile, and enshrouded in symbols and, most important, that interracial differences in understandings of the past and preferences for the future are profound (Gibson, 2009)

In Kenya, economic factors revolve around land grievance which stretches back to the colonial land policies and laws that resulted in the disinheritance of communities from their land. Such grievances were not resolved upon the attainment of independence (KLA, 2004). The injustices manifest in the form of the Squatter problem which is a direct consequence of the colonial land policy and law. Displacement occasioned by the politically instigated Land Clashes in the 1990s is another injustice that needs to be addressed to reduce ethnic conflicts. There are Lingering Claims to Land by Certain Communities due to the acquisition of land by white settlers which meant the displacement of entire communities from their ancestral land. Upon independence, the lands in question either remained in the hands of the settlers or were acquired by other communities through purchase.
The most pronounced of this scenario is the land which had been occupied by the Pokot and which now forms Trans- Nzoia County where Endebess sub county falls. In this case the communities were pushed into marginal areas which have not adequately catered for their pastoral needs. The Pokot claim that the British government did pay compensation to the Kenyatta Government for onward transmission to the community. They have frequently agitated for compensation or resettlement. The Ogiek people are dependent on forest habitats. Over the years, they have lost their forest land through government action.

Literature on historical economic injustices is wanting because narrations by Kenya Land alliance has focused only of land related injustices and left out others that include ethnic discrimination, forceful assimilation which this study seeks to establish and how they link to ethnic conflicts.

2.4 Socio cultural factors and Ethnic Conflicts

This section considers the influence of tribal/clan rivalry, religious intolerance, cattle rustling, moranism/heroism, illiteracy level, drug and substance abuse and discriminatory behavior in ethnic conflicts at the global, regional, national and in the target area of Endebess. Underlying this section is the central hypothesis that identity and threats to identity that are embedded in cultural practices are at the core of many ethnic conflicts (Edward, L., 2001). Therefore, in this study, discriminatory behavior is discussed in the context of cultural factors as the main source of identity. It focuses on the power of symbolic phenomena such as the language of street signs in Montreal and Bratislava, Orange Order marches in Northern Ireland, and religious sites and imagery in the Jerusalem.
Identity and meaning are part of every human life in all world cultures. Meaning is generated from the sense of identity. Cultures give messages about desirable identities (who we are, who we seek to be, and how we relate to others) and sources of meaning (what matters and why) and therefore it can become the basis for ethnic discrimination. Since our cultures give us different ideas about identity and meaning, our way of pursuing our goals and working out differences can create or escalate conflict (LeBaron, 2003).

Cultures exist within larger worldview structures (Clark, 2002). Mary Clark defines worldviews as beliefs and assumptions by which an individual makes sense of experiences that are hidden deep within the language and traditions of the surrounding society (2002, p. 5). These worldviews are the shared values and assumptions on which rest the customs, norms, and institutions of any particular society. According to Clark, worldviews are tacitly communicated by origin myths, narrative stories, linguistic metaphors, and cautionary tales and they set the ground rules for shared cultural meaning and discrimination. For example, when Europeans first came to North America, they labeled First Nations and Native American ways of life as 'backward' and 'primitive'. With this evaluative ranking, they justified imposing new ways of life on the indigenous peoples in North America. The painful and destructive legacy of this perspective continues today (Sanford, 1998).

Three ethnic conflicts related to cultural factors have stood out in India. Two occurred in the states of"Assam and Punjab; another, the more widely
known Hindu-Muslim conflict, continues to persist. The Assam problem is primarily ethnic; the Punjab problem is based on both religious and regional conflicts, while the Hindu-Muslim problem is predominantly religious (Aurel Croissant & Christoph Trinn (2009).

In various countries such as Sudan, Rwanda and Somalia, cultural characteristics and differences have been more unchangeable and easily resolved than political and economic characteristics and differences. For example in these countries, affiliation with a group could be distinguished by the question “which side are you on?”

In Tanzania, ethnic conflicts are caused by differences in cultural behavior between different ethnic groups and their perception of taboos. For example it is a taboo to give someone something using the left-hand. For some people it is not their taboo, but some people will give using their left-hand leading to conflicts. The taboos of different ethnic and cultural groups should be well known if conflict is to be avoided (Claude-Hélène Mayer & Christian Martin Boness, n.d)

There are many communities in Trans Nzoia and in Endebess that exhibit different cultural values, norms and beliefs that if not tolerated can be sources of ethnic conflicts. The Luhya and Kalenjin are the majority in that order. There are other communities such as Kikuyu, the Kisii, the Luo, and the Teso. The way of life of the Teso for example is different from the Bukusu and this forms the basis for discrimination. The Bukusu circumcise their boys but the Teso do not have the practice and at times the Bukusu force the boys from the Teso community into
their practice. Some Kalenjin ethnic groups like the Sabaot and the Pokot practice female genital mutilation while others like Bukusu, Teso, Kikuyu and Kamba do not and therefore intolerance to such practices can contribute to ethnic tensions (CRECO, 2012).

Literature in this sub section shows that there is a gap in determining the extent to which the elements of culture of ethnic communities living in Endebess contribute discrimination and subsequently to ethnic conflicts. This research study will seek to determine some of the cultural factors, practices, beliefs and values that are likely to influence ethnic conflicts in the area and the corresponding discriminatory behavior.

2.5 Political factors and Ethnic Conflicts

This section examines the following political factors that influence ethnic conflicts: Boundary Disputes (traditional, administrative, electoral units), Political parties aligned to ethnic groups, Existence of political gangs/militia, Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups and Political incitement. Politicians exploit ethnic differences by drawing upon historical memories of grievances and build hatred in order to gain or strengthen their power. The dynamic that develops between political entrepreneurs and their followers causes an inter-ethnic security dilemma. As Stuart Kaufman explains, belligerent leaders stoke mass hostility; hostile masses support belligerent leaders, and both together threaten other groups, creating a security dilemma which in turn encourages even more mass hostility and leadership belligerence (Kaufman, 1996).
According to Zupanov and his co-authors, politicians whose goal is that of exploiting and/or provoking ethnic/national hatred are in control of media production which is controlled and directed by hate-prone politicians that provokes national intolerance and hatred in the population leading to violence (Josip Zupanov & etal., 1996). Therefore, the politicians’ manipulation of ethnic emotions leads to particular actions such as intolerance. As Brunner argues, the disposition towards national ethnic intolerance can be strengthened by new or old political leadership if the leaders do not have the necessary political sense of responsibility and do not resist the temptation to avert attention from the acute socio-economic problems by creating national concepts of enemies (Brunner, 1996).

In Rwanda and Burundi, the problem of bad governance as manifested in preferential treatment of the Tutsi by the colonial authorities was largely responsible for politicization of Hutu ethnicity, which culminated, in the case of Rwanda, in an anti-Tutsi movement from the early 1950s climaxing in the so-called Hutu revolution of 1959, a revolution which was preceded by massive propaganda against the Tutsi spearheaded by political elites who were positioning themselves to take over power in anticipation of the exit of the colonial power (Raila Odinga, 2007).

In the neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire, ethnic tensions also characterized socio-political relationships, especially in the latter phase of colonialism. By the time of independence, politicization of ethnicity was
an accomplished mission. Ethnicity in DRC was politicized at the time of independence. The politicization of ethnicity would result in the formation of ethnic political parties by the various ethnic groups (the Bakongo, the Luba-Kasai etc.), some of which had been fostered by the former colonial masters on the eve of independence. It is these political formations that would introduce a conflictual relationship in the body politic of the Congo (Crawford, B. & Lipschutz, R., (1998).

Kenyans used their regional parties to fight for the objectives of freeing the country from colonial rule. The independence political parties in Kenya, the Kenya African Nation Union (Kanu) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (Kadu), were formed in response to the colonial policy of sanctioning only district parties, which were mainly ethnic coalitions. The district in most cases coincided with an ethnic group and hence the creation of ethnic parties between 1955 and 1959. These included, for example, the Abaluhya Political Union, the Kalenjin Alliance and the Maasai United Front. When the ban on territorial associations was lifted, the district political associations merged and joined either Kanu or Kadu. Kanu revolved around the majority ethnic groups (Luo and Kikuyu), while Kadu revolved around the minority ethnic groups (predominantly based in the Rift Valley (the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana, Samburu) but also included the Luhya of Western Kenya and the Coastal ethnic groups (Raila Odinga, 2007).

The result has been the emergence of toxic and negative politics of ethnicity. Politics is at the heart of violence in Kenya with elections being a key
trigger for conflict. The recent example is the violent ethnic conflict in Tana River Delta that caused the death of more than 140 people since August 2012, the majority of which are women and children. MPs are accused of incitement. A UNDP report that maps conflict in Kenya also finds that many people perceive politics as the greatest contributor to conflict (UNDP, 2013).

In Endebess, politicians and local leaders have been involved in violence. During the post-election violence and other times of heightened political tension they have exploited sensitive issues such as the land question and marginalization perceived by certain ethnic groups for the purpose of inciting political violence (Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray, & Alvazzi, 2012).

Literature in this sub section provides the influence of politics on ethnic conflicts in general and at the national level. Literature is limited in analyzing the political influence on ethnic conflicts at the micro level like Endebess. This study therefore, will seek to provide an in-depth analysis of politics and ethnic conflicts at the grassroots level that will provide specific lessons to practitioners at the national level.

2.6 Security factors and Ethnic Conflicts

The most notable security triggers of conflict are ineffectiveness of security agencies, mushrooming of organized gangs, and proliferation of illicit small arms, decreased community safety and cattle rustling violent robbery. The proliferation of small arms is a complex and increasingly international issue. The problems caused by small arms are primarily regional, sub-regional and internal
in nature (Bedeski Robert E., Andrew Andersen & Santo Darmosumarto, 1998). Although the presence or proliferation of small arms and light weapons does not cause the conflicts that are evident around the world, they do contribute to their level of violence, and generally therefore make the resolution of these conflicts more difficult (Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray, & Alvazzi, 2012).

It has been estimated that over 100 million small arms and light weapons are circulating in Africa (Salopek, 2001). This proliferation has been facilitated by the lengthy, porous and poorly policed borders, inefficient border controls, corruption, that make illicit trafficking in small arms difficult to manage (Collier, 1997; Collier and Hoeffler, 1998; Gamba, 1998; Reyneke, 2000).

In Brazil, 10 percent of GDP is consumed by violence, but in Colombia, the figure rises to 25 percent. Small arms figure prominently, accounting for over 70 percent of homicides in Columbia and 88 percent of homicides in Brazil. Even in developed countries, the economic costs of violence are staggering. In Canada, the costs of small arms death and injury (including murder, suicide, and unintentional injuries) have been estimated at $6.6 billion per year (Mayra Bunvinic, Andrew Morrison, and Michael Shifter, 1998).

Governments in Southeast Asia (and the rest of Asia, in general) are worried about the growing illicit trade in small arms. The security impact of illicit small arms movement is not confined to the region. Regional ports are becoming popular sites for transshipping weapons around the world, including destinations in the Middle East and possibly North America. Taking this argument into
consideration, the small arms proliferation in Southeast Asia could have significant implications for Canada.

In Africa, SALW has served as a weapon of mass destruction judging by the deaths it is directly and indirectly responsible for. Indeed intra and interstate conflicts that are active in Africa today are fuelled by the easy availability, relative inexpensiveness, technical simplicity and easy mobility of illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (Mayra Bunvinic, Anrew Morrison, and Michael Shifter, 1998).

Until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, South Sudan experienced decades of armed conflict, and was in 2011 still suffering from the consequences, including underdevelopment, large-scale displacement and continuing armed conflict at the community level. The presence of small arms contributes to these conflicts and makes them more deadly. For example, violence between pastoralists and crop farmers or among pastoralists over cattle rustling or grazing rights has historically occurred in South Sudan. Traditionally, these conflicts were fought with spears and sticks. However, this has changed due to the circulation of small arms during the civil war (UNDDR 2006).

Kenya has struggled with insecurity for a long time, largely as a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray, & Alvazzi, 2012). Both internal and external factors contribute to the firearms-related challenges facing the country. Domestically, social, economic, and political causes have contributed to the demand for and proliferation of small
arms. Long and continued political instability and armed conflicts in the countries neighbouring Kenya have also contributed to the small arms challenge facing Kenya, given its long and porous borders. The effects of small arms availability and misuse have long been felt throughout Kenyan society. Pastoralist communities with relatively little police presence and numerous challenges (such as conflict over grazing and water access for their cattle) are greatly affected (Muchai, 2005, pp. 117–19).

Endebess area, despite an overall perception of a reduction in the number of firearms nationally by the Kenya National Focal point’s survey, show a significant increase in gun possession since 2003 (Wepundi, M., Nthiga E., Kabuu, E., Murray, R., & Alvazzi del Frate A. 2012). This is even withstanding the important disarmament initiatives that have been carried out in the area. One of the major impacts of illicit small arms is the displacement of people. In Endebess alone in 2007, according to Wepundi Manasseh and his co-authors, over 40,000 people were displaced.

Livestock rustling and inter-ethnic conflicts still persist in the area and this feeds the quest for arms, since it builds communities’ self-defense capabilities (Ochieng Onguje, Kyalo Musoi & Otieno Ombok., 2010). Endebess borders Uganda, West Pokot and Mt. Elgon Sub County to some extent. All her neighbors have communities which own and use small arms to engage in cattle rustling and self-defense. It is likely that these arms find their way into other parts of the county where they can be used for political purposes (CRECO, 2012).
This sub section has surveyed literature in terms of access to small arms and light weapons and their influence on ethnic conflicts. The gap identified is that a lot of literature has focused more on arms and security with the corresponding costs but little on how they influence ethnic conflicts. This gap will be filled out by this proposed research study.

2.7 Theoretical framework

There are many theories of ethnic conflicts classified as rational choice theories which focus on insecurity and economic needs that are explained by Economic theories of Ethnic Conflict and the Security Dilemma theory. The second group of ethnic conflict theories is psychological theories that has the social identity and symbolic choice, Realistic Group Conflict Theory and Psychoanalytic/Psychodynamic Theories (Reilly, B. 2001)

This research study adopted the symbolic politics or symbolic choice theory to explain the factors influencing ethnic conflicts. This theory was relevant to the study because it has been successfully applied in analyzing and understanding ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Sudan. Another reason was possibility to combine it with the Security Dilemma theory that describes how security failure can cause fear leading to proliferation of arms.

Symbolic politics theory asserts that extreme ethnic violence is driven by hostile ethnic myths and an emotionally driven symbolic politics based on those myths that popularize predatory policies. This theory has been used in understanding the ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Sudan. In both cases ethnic
mythologies and fears made predatory policies so popular that leaders had little choice but to embrace them by playing up associated ethnic symbols, even though these policies led to the leaders' downfalls. Ethnic security dilemmas in such cases are driven not by uncertainty but by predatory leaders engaged in symbolic politics (Kaufman, 2006).

In this theory that was advanced by Stuart Kaufman, each ethnic group is defined by a "myth-symbol complex" that helps single out those elements of shared culture and an interpretation of common history that ties members of one group together and binds the group together while distinguishing it from others. Consequently, the more a group's myth-symbol complex emphasizes hostility toward a particular (potential) adversary, portraying them as enemy and/or inferior, the greater the probability of ethnic conflict (Kaufman, 2006).

For example in this study, myths related to historical injustices, access to arms and political dominance may justify hostility against other ethnic communities. A group fears that its existence is threatened (perception, rather than reality matters). Fears related to marginalization and political dominance may drive the community to prepare for war with those perceived to be enemies. Opportunity to mobilize for instance political space (political freedom, state failure/regime collapse, support from third party) and political concentration of a group or territorial base in a (neighboring) country.

The conceptual framework in figure 2.1 indicates that factors influencing ethnic conflicts are economic factors that include land historical injustices,
landlessness, squatter problem, forceful displacement of persons, unsecure land
tenure, competition over land use e.g. farming and pastoralism or indigenous
people against wildlife and forest service, land allocation problems and Inequality
based on distribution of economic resources and opportunities. Secondly, socio-
cultural factors that comprises tribal/clan rivalry, religious intolerance, cattle
rustling, moranism/heroism, Illiteracy level, drug and Substance abuse and
accumulated community trauma. Thirdly, political factors that manifest in the
form of boundary disputes (traditional, administrative, electoral units), political
parties aligned to ethnic groups, existence of political gangs/militia groups,
political dominance by some clans or ethnic groups and political incitement.
Finally, security factors that include violent robbery, violent land disputes, small
arms and light weapons (SALW), violence by organized gangs, sexual and
gender-based violence, violent inter-clan or inter-ethnic disputes and disputes
over natural resources.

Each of these factors influence specific measures of ethnic conflicts which
manifests in the form of high level disagreements, types of violence, displacement
and high level of insecurity. However, the intensity of influence is dependent on
intervening variables that include community initiatives towards cohesion and
government policies that enhance security, reduce violence, eliminate
discrimination and address land historical injustices
2.8 Conceptual framework

**INDEPENDENT VARIABLES**

- **ECONOMIC FACTORS**
  - Land injustices
  - Landlessness, squatter problem
  - Forceful displacement of persons
  - Unsecure land ownership
  - Competition over land
  - Land resettlement problems
  - Economic Inequality

- **SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS**
  - Tribal/clan rivalry
  - Religious intolerance
  - Cattle rustling
  - Moranism/heroism
  - Illiteracy level
  - Drug and Substance abuse

- **POLITICAL FACTORS**
  - Boundary Disputes
  - Political parties aligned to ethnic groups
  - Existence of political gangs/militia
  - Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups
  - Political incitement

- **SECURITY FACTORS**
  - Violent robbery
  - small firearms
  - Violence by organized gangs
  - Sexual and gender-based violence
  - Violent inter-clan or inter-ethnic disputes

**DEPENDENT VARIABLES**

- **ETHNIC CONFLICTS**
  - Level of disagreements
  - Types of violence
  - Level of Displacement
  - Level of inter ethnic rivalry
  - Level of insecurity

**INTERVENING VARIABLES**

- Community cohesion initiatives
- Government policies and interventions on peace

Figure 2.1 Conceptual frameworks showing various factors that influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County

2.9 Knowledge gaps

Although the foregoing studies indicate that ethnic conflict is as a result of community development challenges, no specific study has been carried out to
determine the extent to which different factors influence the nature of ethnic conflicts. For example studies related to historical injustices focused only on land related injustices with little or no consideration of others like ethnic discrimination and forceful assimilation. Studies on discriminatory behavior focused on cultural related discrimination and behavior and literature related to political intolerance was more on macro than micro level. A lot of literature on small arms revolved around their role in enhancing insecurity but little focus on their linkage to ethnic conflicts. This proposed study will therefore fill these gaps in knowledge.

2.10 Summary of the Literature review

The concept of ethnic conflict is clearly explained by breaking it down into components per terminology. The definition of ethnicity, an ethnic group and the key features of an ethnic group are discussed. The studies identified further gave examples of ethnic conflicts in Africa and beyond (Horowitz, D.L., 1985, Connor, W. (n.d), Michael E. B., 1993). Osaghae, 1994 and Collier, P. 2001).

Different scholars have discussed the level of influence of politics on ethnic conflicts in different continents including Africa where the study will be carried out. The literature further explains factors such as the role of political leadership and institutions in ethnic conflicts. The challenge of governance is clearly brought out by Raila Odinga in relation to the Kenyan context. Case studies are made from Rwanda, Sudan and Congo. Wepundi and his co-authors have given a detailed illustration from the study area how politics has contributed to ethnic conflicts (Kaufman, S. J., 1996, David, A. L. & Rothchild, D., 1996, Josip Zupanov & etal., 1996, Brunner, 1996, Morris, S., 2001, Stone, Douglas F., Patton, Bruce, and Heen, Sheila. 2000, Raila Odinga, 2007).

The literature further considered the small arms and light weapons problem and its influence on ethnic conflicts. The survey considered latin America, Canada, South East Asia and Africa. They showed that small arms have remained a great hindrance to the process of conflict management and resolution, they are the engines of insecurity even in post conflict situation however, they are not the direct cause of ethnic conflict (Crawford, B. & Lipschutz, R., (1998, UNDP, 2013, Wepundi, M., Nthiga E., Kabuu, E., Murray, R., & Alvazzi del Frate A. 2012): Bedeski Robert E., Andrew Andersen & Santo Darmosumarto, 1998, Salopek, 2001, Collier, 1997; Collier and Hoeffler, 1998; Gamba, 1998; Reyneke, 2000, UNDDR 2006, Muchai, 2005, pp. 117–19, Ochieng Onguje, Kyalo Musoi & Otieno Ombok., 2010)

The literature survey also looked at the historical injustices and their role in ethnic conflicts. They scholars highlighted the squatter problem, the
community land claims, and ethnic displacements as the key manifestations of historical injustices all over the world. In some areas indigenous communities’ grievances such as evictions and restriction from accessing their ancestral lands remain key drivers of ethnic conflicts. A global survey of the historical injustices is provided in this section. (Marrus, M. R., 1997, Arriaza, N., 1995, Mazrui, A., 1993 and Gibson, J.L., 2009 and KLA, 2005).
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the approaches and methods that were used to conduct this research study. The study area and the study population are described. The sampling techniques, sample size and methods of data collection are explained. As well, methods of data analysis and presentation are determined.

3.2. Research design

This research study used Cross-cultural research design. Cross-cultural research design was used to systematically compare cultures from different ethnic groups so as to answer questions on how economic, socio cultural, political and security factors influence ethnic conflicts. Through this design the patterns of coherence and sources of coherence in the practices, beliefs, social roles, norms, expressions, and forms of organization and conflict in communities living in Endebess were determined. Further this design was chosen because results are generalizable to all types of society from a small hamlet with population in the hundreds or a few thousands to urban societies with population in the hundreds of millions. It helped the researcher to make general (cross-cultural) statements about the similarities and differences of cultures and identify what may be universal and variable about human cultures, as well as to discover reasons why the variation existed.

3.3. Target population

This section highlights the units of analysis and units of observation. It includes the key informants, interviewees, and observation units. The population
of study was located in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County. It had a
total population of 91,192 with 17,937 households according to the (KNBS, 2009)
distributed in seven sub locations that included Kiptogot, Mubere, Matumbei,
Twiga, Kaibe, Chorlim, Kaptega and Endebess.

The study population was drawn from the total population of Endebess.
The units of analysis comprised the community elders, women leaders, youth
leaders, professionals, government heads of departments, IDPs, CBOs and NGOs
working in the area. Specifically the study relied on the community elders to
provide in-depth information on the history, cultural practices and occurrence of
ethnic conflicts. The government officials provided data on the security situation
in relation to small arms prevalence. Professionals from the area formed key
informants because of their knowledge and experiences in the area. The civil
society and other non state actors were interviewed in relation to ethnic conflicts
and their level of intervention to draw up recommendations. Households
comprised heads of households to provide quantitative data on socio-economic
demographics of the study population and on the factors influencing ethnic
conflicts in the area.

3.4. Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The study used both probability and non probability sampling techniques.
The elders, women, youths, professionals, IDPs and government officials were
sampled using purposive, and snowball non probability sampling techniques
while the households were sampled using stratified random sampling technique.

Sample size Determination: Fisher’s formula as contained in Kothari, C.
R. (2007) was applied to calculate the sample size.
\[ n = \frac{Z^2pq}{d^2} \]

Where:
- \( n \) = the desired sample size
- \( z \) = the standard normal deviate at the confidence level of 95% is 1.96
- \( p \) = the proportion in the target population estimated to have characteristic being measured will be set at 50%
- \( q = 1-p \)
- \( d \) = the level of statistical significance is set at 0.05

Therefore,
\[ n = 3.8416 \times 0.5 \times 0.2 / 0.0025 = 384. \]

However, due to foreseen possibility of low returns of questionnaires, more than 384 questionnaires were dispatched and at the end of the data collection process, 397 were found to be valid. Therefore, the sample size for this study was 397.

The number of households in each sub location was proportionate to the desired sample size was distributed as shown in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1: The proportionate distribution of the sample size**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chorlim</td>
<td>2235</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endebess</td>
<td>2409</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaptega</td>
<td>3171</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiptogot</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matumbei</td>
<td>2957</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mubere</td>
<td>2898</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twiga</td>
<td>2739</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KNBS 2009
3.5. Research Instruments

3.5.1 Data collection procedures

The study utilized both primary and secondary data. Secondary data collected include the history of ethnic conflicts and its dynamics and the history and demographic information about the target groups and the area. Document Content analysis was done from both published and unpublished sources such as journals, research reports and government papers, policies and oral speeches from individuals. The researcher also collected primary data such as characteristics of the households, income levels, sources of income, and household’s attitudes, cultural attitudes, and opinion of community members towards ethnic conflicts and the factors behind them. The following methods were used in collecting data:

Interviews were conducted for key informants drawn from the sub locations among the women leaders, youth leaders, community elders, government officials, security officers, IDPs and professionals. The interview items were based on the four objectives of the study. A household survey questionnaire was administered to adult members in the sampled households to gather both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of perceptions of the population towards socio economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts. Various related secondary literature on socioeconomic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in the area was reviewed for the purpose of corroborating with the information gathered through other data collection instruments to ensure consistency of information. An observation schedule was used by the researcher to collect data for corroborating the information obtained from the other instruments. Livelihood
assets in the area such as livestock keeping, farming patterns distributed according to settlement patterns, cultural features like monuments, special trees, caves, dress codes, house types and social behavior such as ceremonies, evidence of IDP presence such as camps, resettlements, evidence of marginalization or exclusion such as distribution of infrastructural facilities and development benefits across the area and presence of security patrol and bases were observed.

3.5.2 Validity of Research Instruments

Kerlinger (2007) indicates that validity of instruments is meant to ensure that data collected is current and true hence leads to objective findings. This study determined validity through a pilot study. The respondents were selected on the basis of their credibility, age, knowledge and experience in the subject matter concerned. Additionally, the instruments were assessed by the University of Nairobi lecturers to determine their adequacy in terms of depth, relevance and clarity.

3.5.3 Reliability of the Study

The research study ensured inclusivity of the respondents with extreme opinions to ensure objectivity. Test – retest method was used to measure the reliability of the tools. For example the elders were asked the same question after two weeks. The consistency in the answers provided assurance of reliability of the instrument. The research instruments were designed to address all the research questions and objectives. In ensuring the reliability of the instruments, the
researcher considered the consistency between the main focus of the study and the items on the data collection instruments.

3.6 Data analysis techniques

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in data analysis. Descriptive methods included mean, median, variance and standard deviation. They were applied in summarizing data into tables. Inferential statistics were applied in drawing conclusions. For example whether there was a relationship between access to arms and the occurrence of violence or displacement in the study area. In this study, Chi Square Tests were used and SPSS was used to manipulate data.
### 3.7. Operational definition of variables

Table 3.2: Measurable variables in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific objective</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Measurement scale</th>
<th>Methods of data collection</th>
<th>Data analysis technique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts | • Land injustices  
• Landlessness, squatter and resettlement problems  
• Forceful displacement of persons  
• Unsecure land tenure  
• Competition over land use  
• Inequality based on distribution of economic resources and opportunities | No. of people lacking title deeds, number of land cases, number of displaced people and squatters, distribution of county positions according to ethnic communities, frequency of loss of livestock, presence of IDPs camps, number of petitions on land resettlements, | Nominal and numeric | Questionnaire, FGDs, KII, Document Analysis | Chi Square Tests, Descriptive statistics |
| Socio-cultural factors influencing ethnic conflicts | • Tribal/clan rivalry  
• Religious intolerance  
• Cattle rustling  
• Moranism/heroism  
• Illiteracy level  
• Drug and Substance abuse  
• Accumulated community trauma | Level of intolerance on beliefs and values, frequency of loss of livestock, frequency of prejudicial tendencies, derogatory name calling, level of alcoholism, intensity of threats due to cultural characteristics. Discriminatory comments, denigrating words or actions and exclusion. | Nominal and numeric | Questionnaire, FGDs, KII, Document Analysis | Descriptive statistics, Chi Square Tests |
| Political factors influencing ethnic conflicts | • Boundary Disputes (traditional, administrative, electoral units)  
• Political parties aligned to ethnic groups  
• Existence of political gangs/militia  
• Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups  
• Political incitement | Number of boundary disputes, level of political dominance, number of politically linked militia groups, gang robbery, abductions, level of discrimination in political appointments, frequency of hate mongering, the degree to which ethnic communities align to political parties, frequency of politically | Nominal and numeric | Questionnaire, FGDs, KII, Document Analysis | Descriptive statistics |
| Security factors influencing ethnic conflicts | • Violent robbery  
• Violent land disputes  
• small firearms  
• Violence by organized gangs  
• Sexual and gender-based violence  
• Violent inter-clan or inter-ethnic disputes  
• Disputes over natural resources | Frequency of robbery with violence, prevalence of small arms, frequency of kidnapping, heavy presence of security, number of rape cases, frequency of violent disputes over natural resources, number of murders | Nominal and numeric | Questionnaire, FGDs, KII, Document Analysis | Descriptive statistics |
3.8 Ethical consideration

In consideration of the APA (2009) ethical considerations that emphasize openness, protection of the rights of participants, consent and authorization in research, this research study ensured that permission was sought from people who participated in the research process especially the respondents. The researcher ensured that the research process does not cause physical or emotional harm to the subjects by being careful with the wording of questions directed to the respondents during interviews and ensuring confidentiality of the information received from them. Objectivity was observed through managing any personal biases and opinions. Authorization was sought from the Kenya National Council for Research and Technology and from the local administration in the study area. Other scholars’ opinions or studies were respected by citing references.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has described the study site of Endebess, the population characteristics, Cross-cultural study design, the sample size was determined with the final sample being 397 and respondents from other instruments were 59. The study used questionnaires, interviews, observation, FGDs to collect data. Data analysis was undertaken using Chi Square tests, multiple regression analysis, Spearman rank order correlation and descriptive statistics. Ethical issues of confidentiality, consent, and legality were observed.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes, presents, interprets and discusses data to answer the research questions. The data is categorized, ordered, manipulated and summarized in the form of qualitative, quantitative, presented in tables, percentages and discussed according to objectives and research questions. The section specifically looks at the demographics of the respondents. It further considers the economic, socio-cultural, political and security factors that influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess sub county. The data analyzed was obtained through key informants, questionnaires, focus group discussions and secondary literature. Over 420 questionnaires were dispatched but 397 were found to be valid and the targeted minimum sample size was 384. Therefore, the sample size used in this study was more than sufficient to make reliable conclusions.

4.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

This section analyzes the age, education level, and gender, period of stay in the target area and the marital status of the respondents. Determining the age of the respondents was important because most of the data needed elderly people who can remember vividly the experiences of conflict with clear historical timelines. The period of stay in the area was needed because of the level of experience and understanding expected from the respondents in terms ethnic conflicts. Education level in most cases influences perceptions on any subject.
including conflicts. Gender factor is one of the most current global topics under discussions especially when it relates to parity. In this regard the role of women in conflict and Peacebuilding is being emphasized even in the UN circles (Resolution 1325). The level of income is a key measure of the economic power of the community and therefore determines the people’s involvement in ethnic conflicts.

4.2.1 Age distribution of the respondents

The study targeted respondents above 18 years because this is the internationally recognized age by which an individual is capable of making independent decisions. Table 4.1 shows the age distribution of the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 and Above</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 4.1 above, all the respondents were above eighteen years and those above 45 years were 121 (30.5%) an indication that the findings of the study are reliable because they were obtained from the most critically thinking age group. They were also mature people whose information can be relied upon.
4.2.2 Gender of the respondents

Gender perspective in conflict management has become a trending issue in the society. Therefore, gender sensitivity in this kind of studies is important to ensure inclusivity.

Table 4.2 Gender of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research study achieved near gender balance by interviewing 189 (47.5%) females against 208 (52.5%) males as shown in Table 4.2. This indicates that the findings in this study captured well the gender perspectives on the factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County.

4.2.3 Education levels of the respondents

4.3 Highest education level of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Determining the level of education was important because most young people used in violence are usually the less educated ones. Understanding the level of
education help explain the low income levels leading to poverty and therefore, increased ethnic violence in the area. The study established that over 325 (81.1%) had education of secondary level and below – Table 4.3. This social factor could be contributing to the prevalence of ethnic conflicts in Endebess.

4.2.4 Income levels of the respondents

4.4 Level of Income per month of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 1000</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-5000</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5001-10000</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10001-20000</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 20000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study established that 284 (72.7%) of the respondents earned KES 5000 and below per month an indication of the extreme economic poverty in the study area as shown in Table 4.4. Poverty is one of the economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts.
4.2.5 Main occupation of the respondents

4.5 Main occupation of the respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working (labourer)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired Disabled</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoralist</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisherman</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman/woman</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Employee (Incl. Military &amp; Police)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee NGO</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be noted from Table 4.5 that majority of the respondents were farmers 149 (37.5%). This means that land is a big factor of production and therefore is likely to be a source of ethnic conflicts in the study area.

4.2.6 The time the respondent lived in the study area

4.6 The time the respondent lived in the area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time (yrs)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-6 Years</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-13 Years</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-20 Year</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 20 Years</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The period of stay in the target area by the respondent was important in determining the reliability and accuracy of information provided because of experience and historical knowledge. From Table 4.6, it can be noted that most respondents 336 (84.6%) had lived in the study area for over 14 years. This means that they had enough knowledge and experience of ethnic conflicts hence the reliability of the information gathered.

4.3 Economic Factors and Ethnic Conflicts

The study through household questionnaire, key informant interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), observation and secondary literature established that the main economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess area were land issues revolving around competition over its use, resettlement problems, unsecure ownership and historical land injustices. Other economic factors contributing to conflicts were poverty manifested in low levels of income and unequal distribution of resources and opportunities. This section discusses these factors and the extent to which they influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County.

4.3.1 Claims of Land Injustices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of seriousness</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Serious</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Serious</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Serious</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                  | 397       | 100.0   |
The study sought to determine the level of seriousness of the claims of historical land injustices and how they influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County. It was established from the household respondents that it is a serious problem. Table 4.7 shows that 29 (7.3%) of the respondents felt the issue is very serious while 163 (41.1%) indicated that it was serious. The two categories of respondents combined means that 192 (49.4%) which translates to nearly half of the respondents felt that the problem is serious and contributes to ethnic conflicts.

Data obtained through key informants confirmed the finding from the household questionnaire. An elder who was a key informant confirmed the existence of conflicts in the area caused by so many factors that can be categorized in political, socio cultural, security and economic factors which all in one way or another result into conflicts. The land issue is a major conflict problem in the sub county. Claims of land injustices were advanced by the key informants mainly drawn from the Sabaot and Pokot communities. One of the respondents exclaimed, “yes, infact not only Endebess but the entire Trans Nzoia county is our land and one day we will reclaim it. This is ‘Chitab Koret’ (wenye inchi) which means the owners of the land.” In 1994 a presidential decree declared the Chepchoina scheme land for the Pokot community as the majority and some Sabaot, Luhya and Turkana community who were landless as a result of the construction of Turkwel dam that covered over 41,000 acres of land which was for grazing their animals. The land has allegedly been occupied by non beneficiaries as the rightful owners remain squatters. The Pokot saw themselves as the only rightful owners whereas the other tribes; Luhya, Turkana, Sabaot saw
themselves as part of the rightful owners since the land was allocated to all of them. The people that live in Chepchoina claimed to have bought the land through the Cooperative Society. A scan through secondary literature revealed that there were several court cases as regards the rightful owner of the scheme. One of the claimants filed a case in court and the ruling was in his favor where he was to be compensated KES 880 million. Interviews with representatives of the land Corporation in area however claimed that the land was auctioned after some claimants failed to pay back loans. Most people interviewed also had allotment documents including those that claimed suffering from land injustices. Conflicts arose as some people without any documents ploughed the land and planted illegally. The legal owners were left out as the people who planted got court orders that enabled them to stay until harvesting time. According to the key informants, this happened every year resulting in ethnic conflicts between the land users and the land owners.

A policy brief submitted by the Kenya Land Alliance to the Government of Kenya through the National Land Commission also pointed out the seriousness of claims of land injustices in Trans Nzoia among other areas. The policy brief states, “Kenya inherited a highly skewed system of land ownership at independence in 1963. British colonialism in Kenya was not merely administrative. Rather, it was accompanied by massive and widespread land alienation for the benefit of settler agriculture. As a result the best agricultural land-the White Highlands and the adjacent rangelands were taken from the Africans, without compensation, and parceled out to white settlers. Colonial
legislation was enacted to legalize this process. As a result, whole communities lost valuable land that they had occupied over generations. The customary land tenure systems under which Africans had guaranteed claims over the land they occupied were supplanted by the registration of individual title holders under the colonial system. The successive post-independence governments have continued to uphold the sanctity of privately owned land to the frustration of the large number of Kenyans who had been dispossessed through colonialism leaving them squatters on their ancestral land or landless poor. The severity of the problem of historical injustices has repeatedly been articulated to the various forums established by the government, including the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission, the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Land Law System of Kenya and the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Illegal/Irregular Allocation of Public Land and the National Land Policy Formulation Process.”

4.8 Historical injustices of concern in Endebess area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of historical injustice</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>land dispossession</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forced assimilation</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extra judicial killings</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marginalization</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discrimination</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 shows the importance the respondents attached on the land claims. 165 (41.2%) of the respondents indicated that land dispossession was the main historical injustice in the area. The Sabaot and the Pokot claim the injustice meted
on them by the colonial legacy while the Bukusu and other ethnic communities claim they dispossessed of their land by the Sabaot.

The failure by successive governments to adequately deal with historical injustices has allowed the grievances to fester and the problem to ferment into violent ethnic conflicts. Reports by both government and non-governmental agencies have recorded that the violent clashes and conflicts over land-based resources in Endebess and the Rift Valley and other parts of the country are ignited by the political exploitation of these grievances. Since then, far from subsiding, these kinds of clashes appear to have gained momentum nationwide with the most recent occurring in Mpeketoni in Lamu County.

### 4.3.2 Unsecure land ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the respondents 267 (67.3%) felt that unsecure land ownership was a serious issue contributing to ethnic conflicts in Endebess. From Table 4.9, it is noted that only 67 (16.9%) indicated that the issue is not serious in the sub county. The study findings from FGDs confirmed that majority of the inhabitants in the area do not have land title deeds. Some were still paying cooperative loans. They expressed concerns that it was difficult to fully develop land which was still
in the hands of the government. This leads to uncertainty of land ownership as no one knows the fate of the land they call their own.

Key informant data revealed that the unsecure land ownership provided opportunity to some communities that claim land injustices to forcefully evict others perceived as strangers. This has caused many to lose their parcels of land through ethnic clashes without compensation. One of the key informants who also was a victim of clashes expressed bitterness and unwilling to reconcile with those he suspected to have instigated the ethnic clashes in the area.

4.3.3 Competition over Land use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A chi square test performed to determine the relationship between competition over land use and ethnic violence gave 4.064 indicating that there is no significant (P>0.05) relationship between the two variables. Study findings from both the household questionnaire and other qualitative tools such as key informants and FGDs showed that there was also competition for land use in Endebess Sub County. Table 4.10 shows how the respondents rated the problem of competition over land use. 179 (45.6%) acknowledged that it is a serious problem while 217 (54.1%) underplayed its seriousness. The study through key informants established that Pokot were pastoralists while their
neighboring Sabaot and Bukusu were mixed farmers. Whereas the Bukusu and Sabaot wanted to practice both farming and livestock keeping, the Pokot on the other hand wanted the land to remain for their grazing. This has caused frequent violence between the communities. Sources from the FGD also claimed that the Pokot took away animals belonging to the other communities in the surrounding areas. However, most key informants argued that this used to be a serious problem but it is slowly fading. Ethnic conflicts therefore arose as the Pokot grazed their animals on crops planted by their neighboring Bukusu, Sabaot and other communities.

Another conflict arises between the Sabaot and the Bukusu where they fight over land use as the Bukusu and Sabaot plant crops all the year round whereas the Pokot want the land to be left bare so that their animals can graze. There is also the issue of leasing out the Suam Forest land to non-residents for farming. This has left the locals agitated and aggrieved as they feel left out. It is because of the same corruption that some locals have been allocated more than one plot when everybody is just supposed to get one in order for it to serve more residents. The officers also overcharge the locals as they are told to pay 10,000 when they are supposed to pay 6000.

Another land use problem contributing to conflicts in the sub county was between the community members and the forestry department. According to key informants, some government representatives were harvesting trees in Kimothon forest without involving the locals and in a manner that was against all the environmental acts. The locals felt left out as they had been taking care of the
trees. The community wanted to be given first priority before involving the outsiders. The locals were also concerned as some of the trees like cider and Bodo being felled took more than 300 years to mature and there were no plans from those felling the trees to plant them. All this was because of corruption as the people who were felling the trees had bribed. Documents availed to the researcher showed that there were threats to those engaged in the malpractice. Documents were availed in the form of court orders, petitions to the County Government and the National government.

4.3.4 Land Resettlement problems

4.11 Land resettlement problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data from household survey as shown in Table 4.11 indicates that 263 (66.9%) respondents felt the land resettlement exercises in the area contributed heavily to ethnic conflicts. Key informants particularly expressed concern over the issue of resettling IDPs in Chepchoina from Rongai yet there were many local squatters or landless people whose plight has never been addressed. The locals viewed the IDPs negatively since they have been given many privileges unlike the local people. They have been given more security, decent houses, built for hospitals and schools. The locals were also unhappy with the IDPs since they were renaming their ancestral lands with the names from homeland. For example
instead of naming their villages Molem, they changed to call them Rongai. The IDPs were also demanding everything of their own as they did not want to be integrated into the local cultures and systems. From these findings, it was noted that the land resettlement being undertaken by the government would contribute to more ethnic challenges than had been experienced in the past. It could have been wise to resettle the IDPs on their farms where they were forcefully displaced to foster reconciliation.

4.3.5 Inequality in distribution of economic benefits

Table 4.12 Inequality in distribution of economic resources and opportunities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to distribution of economic resources and opportunities, the survey revealed that it was a serious problem in Table 4.12, 178 (44.8%) of the respondents said that it was a serious issue. FGDs findings also concurred with survey results. They argued that in the recent times inequality manifested itself in the distribution of the bursaries to needy students. According to the key informants favoritism was rampant in the area and was based on ethnic definition. Leaders distributed economic benefits such as bursaries, youth funds, women funds and CDF funds with ethnic consideration deepening the divide among ethnic groups in the area. With the devolution system coming into place,
corruption is also rampant which is affecting the economy and development of the Sub County. During the FGDs, one participant was quoted saying, “we had been discriminated for long and now it is our time to ‘eat.’”

4.4 Socio – Cultural Factors and Ethnic Conflicts

The study focused on a few cultural factors principally ethnic groups/tribes, social identity, values and norms thought to be causative to violence, including social sense of belonging and identity, community practices and beliefs. The main socio-cultural factors considered were: tribal/clan rivalry, cattle rustling, incitement to violence, religious intolerance, cultural practices and beliefs. Different cultures also cause conflicts between the ethnic groups whereby forced assimilation can be seen. Most respondents were in agreement that assimilation was mostly perpetuated by the Bukusu who forced other communities to circumcise during the circumcision season in August. The culture of drinking alcohol has led to many people being drug addicts. The traditional liquor is brought in from Uganda late at night as the dealers bribe the police to gain entry into the Sub County and Kenya at large.

4.4.1 Moranism and/or heroism

| Table 4.13 Moranism or heroism in Endebess Sub County |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|
|                                | Frequency | Percent |
| highly                         | 18        | 4.6    |
| high                           | 49        | 12.3   |
| somehow                       | 133       | 33.5   |
| not at all                   | 196       | 49.4   |
| do not know                  | 1         | .3     |
| Total                        | 397       | 100.0  |
According to key informants, the Sabaot and Pokot to some extent still practice moranism where the young men were used to carry out attacks and cattle rustling among other communities like the Bukusu. 57 (16.9%) of the respondents indicated that moranism was a highly serious conflict issue in the area. However majority 196 (49.1%) denied the existence of such practice in the area. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that those who practiced moranism did not view it in the context of conflicts but as good cultural practices.

4.4.2 Intolerance in Beliefs, values and practices

Table 4.14 Intolerance in Beliefs, values and Practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>highly</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somehow</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County have been as a result of social cultural factors integrated in the communities that result into conflicts. There was cultural intolerance where each ethnic group viewed herself as more superior than the others. From Table 4.14, it can be noted that 249 (62.7%) of the respondents rated the issue as somehow meaning that they did not view it as a major issue in ethnic conflicts but in essence it existed. Whereas it may not be the main issue, its contribution to ethnic conflicts may not be underrated. 15.1% or 56 respondents rated it being high and above meaning it influences ethnic conflicts in the area.
The Bukusu saw themselves more culturally superior than the Sabaot. This has resulted to cases of forced assimilation as the Bukusu force other tribes to practice their rites such as circumcision, where they circumcise other men from other tribes by force. The ethnic groups also call each other mock names that were demeaning instead of referring to each other in a respectable manner. For example the Bukusu referred to the Sabaot as “Biyobo” or “Bisuta amuka” while the Sabaot referred to the Bukusu and “nomindet.” All these built strong prejudices and stereotypes that promote hostile relationships among the ethnic communities.

4.4.3 Ethnic / clan rivalry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>highly</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somehow</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 4.15 it can be noted that 230 (57.9%) responded in the positive that tribal or clan rivalry was a major conflict issue in the area. According to FGDs clan rivalry were highly pronounced among the Sabaot community and the contributed heavily to intra ethnic conflicts. For example other Sabaot sub tribes viewed one of her clans (the Sabiny) as outsiders and intruders claiming that they were originally from Uganda. This finding can also be confirmed by the fact that the previous findings identified ethnicity as a key player in resource distribution including land, land injustices were ethnic based and even political conditions were dictated by ethnic biases.
4.4.4 High Illiteracy level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>highly</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somehow</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 4.16 household data revealed that 240 (60.4%) of the respondents contended that illiteracy level was high. This was confirmed by the level of education of the respondents whereby 325 (81.1%) out of 397 had secondary level of education and below. Illiteracy level was highest among women because according to FGDs, most girls were married off at very early ages in some communities in the area. Some communities like the Pokot and Sabaot practice Female Genital Mutilation which undermined the importance of education to the girls. According to key informants, most children preferred to pick maize in plantations and herding cattle rather than going to school. A visit to some schools confirmed that schools were highly understaffed due to hardship conditions of ethnic conflicts. The high illiteracy level contributed to a lot of youths who were idle thereby making them vulnerable to manipulation into committing crimes against certain ethnic communities while others engage in armed violence. They also still practiced cattle rustling from other ethnic communities which resulted into ethnic hatred and conflicts.
4.4.5 Community symbols and artifacts

Table 4.17 Community symbols and artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>highly</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somehow</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17 shows statistics that proved this narrative. 51 (12.9%) highly agreed that this were issues of conflict in the area. Another 145 (36.5%) contended that it was an issue but not that high. Other social cultural factors identified through the household questionnaire data and key informants pointed out community symbols as contributing to ethnic conflicts. One such symbol is a traditional tree called ‘mukuyu’ near Elgon Downs Farm at Endebess.

The Sabaot and the Pokot claim that the tree was their sacred place with historical significance. The Sabaot claim that long time ago their Chief arap Kwemei used to live there. In remembrance of him they made it their shrine. The area around the tree has since been occupied by the Kenya Seed company. The Sabaot have since requested the government through Kenya Seed Company to give them 100 acres around that area to build a cultural and educational centre so that it could be always remembered as their historical site. They also wanted a resort in form of a traditional Sabaot village build there as a way of preserving their culture. The Pokot on the other hand claim that the tree marked the boundary
of their land. They used to make and shape horns of their cows on the tree. They therefore see it as their right to hold their rituals there. The Sabaot however got orders from the government to stop the Pokot from holding their rituals at the tree. The Pokot believe that the tree signified their ownership of the land in Trans Nzoia and that they would reclaim it the moment the branches of the tree touch the ground. It was prophesied to them that it would take 100 years for the branches of the tree to touch the ground. This period elapses in 2014. There were also caves which section of the Sabaot community laid claim of ownership. The Someek and the Sabiny both claimed that those were their places of worship.

4.5 Political Factors and Ethnic Conflicts

The study established various political factors that influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess area. Among them were Boundary Disputes (traditional, administrative, electoral units), Political parties aligned to ethnic groups, Existence of political gangs/militia, Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups and Political incitement.

4.5.1 Political Parties aligned to ethnic groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>55.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evidence from the household survey revealed that ethicized politics contributed highly to ethnic conflicts in Endebess area (Table 4.18). The table shows that 160 (39%) of the respondents agreed that ethicized politics played a fundamental role in ethnic conflicts.

In Endebess Sub County, Trans Nzoia County there were various political parties of which most of them drew membership from specific ethnic groups. People supported a given party on the basis of their ethnic groups. There were two dominant ethnic groups in the sub county which in turn influenced political parties that the people were affiliated to. The Bukusu who are a majority in the Sub County associated themselves with Ford-Kenya which has been their mother party since the introduction of multi party democracy. The Sabaot on the other hand in the sub county were affiliated to a more recent formed party that is part of the ruling coalition Jubilee the URP (United Republican Party). This causes a lot of ethnic tensions which manifest themselves during elections and persist on over the years. This also causes ethnic animosity as the political followers mock each other or take advantage of each other long after the elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actions and words by the top leadership of the respective parties were used against the followers. The leaders incited their followers by activating certain
myths engrained in the culture and beliefs of their communities thereby causing hatred and animosity between ethnic groups living in the sub county (Table 4.19). From the table, it is found that nearly half 47.9% of the respondents acknowledged that political incitement contributed seriously to ethnic conflicts in the study area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.20 Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key informants argued that the Bukusu community used their numbers to dominate other ethnic communities politically provoking interethnic anger and hatred (Table 4.20). However, in Endebess, the Bukusu complained about being marginalized. The Sabaot who were in URP that form part of the ruling coalition dominate all the other ethnic groups and feel superior. The MCAs were said to have been holding secret meetings with their respective ethnic groups which has resulted to some tensions in the area. 196 (48.8%) of the respondents confirmed that political dominance was a major political factor influencing conflicts in the study area. A report by the Nairobi Peace Initiative of Africa (NPI-Africa) on conflict mapping confirms this study finding (NPI – Africa, 2012).
4.5.2 Political gangs/militia

4.21 Existence of political gangs/militia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study found that political gangs or militia groups existed in the area although not on very significant level. Table 4.21 shows the outcome of the household survey on the militia operations in the area. 60 (14.9%) agreed that the existence of militia gangs was a reality. 124 (30.9%) acknowledged that they were in existence but less serious issue as it related to ethnic conflicts. Key informants also confirmed this whereby members said political insecurity of some leaders drove them to maintain gangs in order to protect themselves. Such gangs translated into community militia groups when there was eminent threat to their communities. According to FGDs, in the recent past, there was the formation of a militia group which was referred to as jubilee boys. Jubilee boys was formed with the main objective of evicting the Sabiny clan from Chepchoina and Endebess due to perception that they were foreigners. It was however combated with the help of the security agencies, although it has not been completely wiped out. The militia group was associated with some section of the Sabaot community who did not want the Sabiny in the area. The area had also experienced the operations of Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) in 2006 to 2008. This was a militia group that raged havoc in the area following disputes on land allocation process.
Table 4.22 Political funding of ethnic conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household respondents (Table 4.22) confirmed the fact that politicians fund militia groups to engage in inter community clashes especially those seen not in support of their parties. 307 (76.6%) of the respondents felt that this was an ethnic conflict issue that need to be tackled to deal with inter ethnic conflicts in the area. According to the key informants, the militia groups were armed and told the enemies of the community whom they should target in violent attacks that happen especially around electioneering years. The politicians have funded this militia groups in order to be more secure.

4.5.3 Feelings of indigenous vs migrants

4.23 Feelings of indigenous vs migrant groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 4.23, 273 (68.1%) agreed that the feelings existed and that the political will exploit it to advance their political agenda. The study also found that feelings of indignity were strong among the dwellers in the area and has been the cause of political fallouts. Politicians have in the past evoked the myths in their
communities of being the original dwellers and that other communities were settlers or migrants in the area to hype the emotions of the residents for their political gain. Some people in the sub county were seen to be intruders like the Sabiny clan as they were seen to be from Uganda and the other Sabaot always discriminated them in employment, political positions, and even in resource allocation. The Bukusu were also perceived in the same way but they struggle through their numbers to gain leadership positions. FGDs claimed that the fear of having less numbers by some communities has made some politicians from the area to ‘import’ people from Uganda to protect and secure Endebess sub-county.

4.5.4 Political Boundaries

4.24 Boundary disputes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less serious</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study found that boundaries both political and community were contested by different communities living in the area. From Table 4.24, 97 (24.2%) found the boundary issue serious, others 231 (57.6%) found it a conflict issue but less serious. FGDs confirmed that the boundary issue has remained contentious for a long time affecting the relationship between the Pokot and Sabaot Communities. The Pokot community saw Endebess and Trans Nzoia as a whole as their ancestral land. Sabaot on the other hand felt they were more entitled to the land than the Bukusu who view the same land as their own as they have been living
there since pre-colonial period. This contention has often led to eviction threats as Pokot threaten to expel all the other tribes and retain their homeland. The Sabaot on the other hand claimed Endebess to be their mother land and all the other tribes are seen to be intruders who should be chased away. This often lead to tensions especially during the election periods as each ethnic group claims a part of the sub county, the minority are thus from time to time evicted. Although the contention was boundaries, the actual driving invisible factor was land resource.

4.6 Security Factors and Ethnic Conflicts

The study sought to establish various security factors influencing ethnic conflicts in the study area. Through FGDs, key informants and household survey, the main factors found to influence ethnic conflicts were ineffectiveness of security agencies, mushrooming of organized gangs, and proliferation of illicit small arms, cattle rustling and violent robbery. Since the issue of organized gangs was discussed under political factors, this section looked at illicit arms and light weapons, cattle rustling and ineffectiveness of security agencies.

FGDs also concurred with other sources of data by agreeing that the security situation in the sub county was at stake as the locals keep trafficking in arms from the Ugandan border where they are hidden in sand and charcoal. There are many incidents of armed robbery with violence thus making the sub county to lag behind in development as everyone feared to invest as their property would be stolen.

Key informants were in agreement with FGDs on the issue of insecurity in Endebess. One of them said, “the security in the area is wanting as people mostly
the Sabaot have bought guns from Uganda. The Pokot on the other hand use guns to steal cattle. The KPR who were to provide security backup have become rogue and are using the same guns to steal and terrorize the residents.” Respondents also lamented on escalating state of corruption in the management of security in the area. They argued that the security agents were bribed not to follow up on some security concerns and also to traffic in guns, illegal liquor and other illegal stuff.

4.6.1 Violent crimes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally, the study found that Endebess sub county suffers regularly from violent crime that is a key characteristic of insecurity. From Table 4.25 it can be noted that nearly half of the respondents (197(48.8%) acknowledged that violent crime was serious in the area while an almost equal number 186 (46.4%) said that the issue was not serious. Further interrogation of data indicated the highest number who acknowledged the seriousness of insecurity were from Chepchoina area especially Twiga Sub location. According to key informants, this finding followed the recent threats of attack by the Pokot and subsequent killing of two
people in the area over land claims. It was also found that the area suffers from rampant cattle rustling compared to the rest of the sub county.

From the FGDs, rape related cases were on the increase caused by idleness, drunkenness as many youths were unengaged in productive economic development. Members expressed concern on the cost of following up rape and defilement cases as the reporting structures were very far from people and not friendly to common persons.

4.6.2 Small arms and Light weapons (SALW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.26 Gun shots(small firearms)</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>397</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the household survey shown in Table 4.26, 4.7% or 18 respondents out of 397 said that the prevalence of small arms and light weapons was a very serious issue while 131 (33%) said it was a serious matter in Endebess. Therefore, 37.7% of the respondents confirmed that there were small arms in the area. However, 58.7% or 233 respondents said that SALW is not a serious issue in Endebess. Considering the sensitivity of the matter, many could be having small arms but fear of arrest made them not acknowledge the presence.

Key informants acknowledged that some locals have been trafficking in small arms and illegal guns from Uganda. Some of the arms come in through Suam border and also Kapkoi as they hide the arms in charcoal, maize or sand to
avoid suspicion as they pass through the border. Other areas where the arms come in through were Kanyarkwat and Kapenguria. The key informants blamed on corruption for the proliferation of arms as the officers who man the border were bribed. The politicians were accused of arming the locals so that they can always be called upon to defend their ethnic groups whenever there was a conflict. The KPR who were volunteer security personnel were accused of being security threats since some of them own two arms or more - one that was legal and the other one that was illegal. The illegal one was used to commit crimes. The illegal firearms have led to heightened insecurity as they were used to commit crimes that resulted into violence as people engaged in armed robbery. The same arms were used by the militia to terrorize people from other ethnic groups.

Table 4.27 Reasons for people owning guns in Endebess

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>self protection</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inheritance from family</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protect property</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>source of income</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all of the above</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 4.27 it can be noted that majority of respondents 124 (30.9%) listed self protection, inheritance from family, source of income and for protecting their properties. 20.7% or 83 respondents reported that guns were inherited from older family members. Key informant interviews revealed that several military operations had been conducted in the area and this might have contributed to fear among the respondents to open up freely on this sensitive matter. Through observation, it was noted that the area was flooded by different security agencies.
Interviews with key informants indicated that the area was under surveillance by military intelligence. The study further sought to establish reasons for owning guns. The presence of arms therefore facilitates the perpetuation of violence by the ethnic groups against each other. This has also led to increased cases of SGBV where women are the main victims.

### 4.6.3 Threats against members of certain communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very serious</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serious</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not serious</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do not know</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another key security finding that influenced ethnic conflicts was regular threats against members of certain communities. From table 4.28, it can be established that 174 (43.6%) nearly half of the respondents indicated that threats were serious insecurity issue in the area. FGDs confirmed that over the years the area had experienced forceful eviction of people from their lands leading to massive displacement of people. One such experience quoted was 1992 and 2007 clashes. It was noted that many locals lived in fear and could not invest in long term businesses nor could they built permanent houses for fear of destruction. Visits to the field confirmed this finding where majority of houses were of temporary nature in the area. Key informants attributed the formation of militia groups to such fears so that they protect property and land. It was also said that such
feelings heightened the hostility between the ethnic groups as they do not trust each other and each considers the other as an intruder.

4.6.4 Inefficiency of the security agencies

Most key informants complained of the ineffectiveness of the security agencies whose response in emergency situations was wanting. The security agencies on the other hand accused the community of harboring and hiding criminals and not reporting security incidences. The ineffectiveness was attributed to poorly equipped security agencies. Government officials confirmed that the terrain and impassability of most roads made intervention extremely difficult.

FGDs confirmed that the security agencies especially the AP and GSU kept blaming one another as no unit was ready to take responsibility in dealing with a security issue. For instance when cattle rustlers attacked and the GSU were informed they referred the people to the AP thus making gangs and militia have time to get away. Home guards who were appointed to help beef up security were also a cause of insecurity since most of them were not sincere and had only taken the guns to disguise themselves as most of them were criminals. This was as a result of poor vetting of the home guards where locals were not involved and corruption as they were given guns after paying a huge sum of money.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is organized into five sections and arranged logically into summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations, contribution to body of knowledge and suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of findings

Based on the data obtained through household survey, key informant interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), observations and secondary literature, findings to the research questions were analyzed, determined and presented in chapter four. The findings are summarized in this subsection.

5.2.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

All the respondents in this study were above eighteen years and those above 45 years were 121 (30.5%) an indication that the findings of the study are reliable because data was obtained from independently thinking persons. Gender sensitivity in the study was important to ensure inclusivity. The study achieved near gender balance by interviewing 189 (47.5%) females against 208 (52.5%) males. The study established that over 325 (81.1%) of the respondents had education of secondary level and below. This explained the fundamental reason why youths engaged in violence in the area. The level of income among the respondents was very low.
The study established that 284 (72.7%) of the respondents earned KES 5000 and below per month an indication of the extreme economic poverty in the study area. Poverty is a fundamental factor of conflicts and security. The study also established that 149 (37.5%) were farmers. This meant that land was a big factor of production and therefore attracted strong attachment to it. The study also focused on respondents that had lived in the area long enough (336 (84.6%) had lived in the study area for over 14 years) to understand the conflict dynamics of the area.

5.2.2 Economic factors and ethnic conflicts

The study found out that claims of historical land injustices had serious influence on ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County with 192 (48.4%) of the respondents feeling the issue was serious. The majority of the respondents 267 (67.3%) felt that unsecure land ownership was a serious issue contributing to ethnic conflicts in Endebess. Another 179 (45.6%) acknowledged that competition over land use was a serious problem influencing ethnic conflicts. Flawed land resettlement processes also influenced ethnic conflicts where 263 (66.9%) of the respondents confirmed. Regarding the distribution of economic resources and opportunities, the survey revealed that it was a serious problem with 178 (44.8%) of the respondents saying that it was a serious issue.

5.2.3 Socio – Cultural factors and ethnic conflicts

Moranism was found to influence ethnic conflicts with 57 (16.9%) of the respondents indicating that it was a highly serious conflict issue in the area especially among pastoralist communities. The study also found that there was
cultural intolerance among ethnic groups with some viewing themselves as more superior than the others. Ethnic and/or clan rivalry was another socio-cultural factor that influenced ethnic conflicts with 230 (57.9%) of respondents indicating it was a major conflict issue in the area. It was found that high illiteracy level contributed to ethnic conflicts with 240 (60.4%) of the respondents confirming it as a problem in the area. The study found that community symbols and artifacts influenced ethnic conflicts. One such symbol was a traditional tree called ‘mukuyu’ near Elgon Downs Farm at Endebess.

5.2.4 Political factors and ethnic conflicts

The study found that politics had influence on ethnic conflicts in the area with 160 (39%) of the respondents confirming that it played a fundamental role. It was further found that political gangs or militia groups existed in the area although not on very significant level. 60 (14.9%) agreed that the existence of militia gangs was a reality. 124 (30.9%) acknowledged that they were in existence but less serious issue as it related to ethnic conflicts. It was also noted that feelings of indignity were strong among the dwellers in the area and has been the cause of political fallouts. 273 (68.1%) agreed that the feelings existed and that the political wing exploit it to advance their political agenda. The study found that boundaries both political and community were contested by different communities living in the area with 97 (24.2%) finding it serious.
5.2.5 Security factors and ethnic conflicts

Generally, the study found that Endebess sub county suffers regularly from violent crime that is a key characteristic of insecurity. It was noted that nearly half of the respondents (197(48.8%) acknowledged that violent crime was serious in the area. According to the household survey 4.7% or 18 respondents out of 397 said that the prevalence of small arms and light weapons was a very serious issue while 131 (33%) said it was a serious matter in Endebess. Therefore, 37.7% of the respondents confirmed that small arms contributed to insecurity in the area. Another key security finding that influenced ethnic conflicts was regular threats against members of certain communities with 174 (43.6%) nearly half of the respondents indicating that threats were serious insecurity issue in the area. Most key informants complained of the ineffectiveness of the security agencies whose response in emergency situations was wanting. The security agencies on the other hand accused the community of harboring and hiding criminals and not reporting security incidences. The ineffectiveness was attributed to poorly equipped security agencies. Government officials confirmed that the terrain and impassability of most roads made intervention extremely difficult.

5.3 Conclusions on the findings

In conclusion, the study found that ethnic conflicts in Endebess were a reality and that economic factors comprising historical land injustices, inequitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities, high level poverty, competition over resource use and insecure land ownership immensely influenced their occurrence in Endebess area.
This study also found that socio–cultural factors that included symbols and artifacts like trees and caves, intolerance in beliefs, ethnic/clan rivalry, high illiteracy level and moranism and/or heroism contributed to the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. Diversity in these factors hindered the promotion of ethnic cohesion in the area.

Politics played a fundamental role in maintaining and escalating ethnic conflicts through militia groups such as Jubilee boys in the area, funding ethnic clashes and ethnic alignment to political parties in the area.

According to the study findings, security related factors that included proliferation of small arms, violent crimes, threats against members of certain communities and inefficiency of the security agencies sustained and enhanced ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County.

5.4 Recommendations

Economic, socio-cultural, political and security factors that influence ethnic conflicts in Endebess area have been discussed and demonstrated in this study. In this sub section, a number of practical and policy recommendations to address some of these factors are provided.

5.4.1 Economic factors and ethnic conflicts

A key finding that influenced ethnic conflicts was inequitable distribution of economic resources and opportunities. This situation demands an equitable land distribution process that is capable of providing livelihood opportunities to the landless poor as well as redressing colonial wrongs and re-establishing justice in the land sector. The leadership of the day should stop corrupt dealings. Promote
effective community participation in all economic decisions including land resettlement and allocation processes. The government should move with speed to issue land title deeds to secure ownership of land by the residents of the area. Since the study showed overdependence on land as the means of production, there is need to offer young generations alternatives to land form of livelihoods.

5.4.2 Socio – Cultural factors

The council of elders from every tribe in the sub-county should be re-energized as they are very essential and paramount in resolving conflicts before they escalate. The locals should also embrace dialogue as it is the only way many issues can be solved instead of making assumptions and fighting other communities. The community should be sensitized against outdated cultural practices like FGM as it is a form of SGBV and affects education levels in the area. Prejudice reduction workshops and inter community cultural festivals should be organized to enhance intercommunity interactions.

5.4.3 Political factors and ethnic conflicts

County Cohesion structures should be established, strengthened and supported by the county government to promote peaceful coexistence in the area. The systems and structures would ensure inclusivity and effective political participation by key actors. On the question of militia gangs, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration of all people affiliated to armed violence or militia gangs would be necessary. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanism should be promoted in the area. The justice system should be made more efficient to ensure transitional justice for the victims of violence.
5.4.4 Security factors and ethnic conflicts

To reduce violent crimes, proliferation of small arms and threats against certain communities, community policing should be strengthened and establish effective Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Mechanisms. Civil disarmament should be encouraged where local community members actively engage through diplomatic means. Knowledge on conflict management should be spread. Concerning inefficiency of the security agencies, they should be well equipped to enhance faster response to crimes.

5.5 Contribution to body of knowledge

The study contributed to the body of knowledge in the following ways:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to investigate economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County</td>
<td>The study contributes knowledge to land related conflicts in Kenya with lessons from Endebess Sub County. Land management remains a thorny issue in national community cohesion and integration. Historical injustices are not only linked to land but also to forced assimilation and ethnic discrimination as discussed in the findings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to establish socio cultural factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County</td>
<td>Cultural symbols like trees play a big role in interethnic coexistence and cohesion. They generate myths and narratives that are passed on to other generations sustaining violent conflicts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to determine political factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County</td>
<td>The mushrooming informal militant groups are clearly linked to unhealthy political competitions that need to be managed for sustainable peace in Kenya. Negotiated democracy could be considered to help reduce the influence of political dominance by some communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to establish the security factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County of Trans Nzoia County</td>
<td>There are many ways that Small Arms and Light Weapons are smuggled into the country that the study reveals. The proliferation of SALW contributed to the sustenance of violent conflicts in the area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.6 Suggestions for further research

Though, the study has made everything possible to discuss the socio economic factors that influence ethnic conflicts in the area, there are other factors that require further study. These are: the role of symbols and artifacts in sustaining ethnic conflicts; civil disarmament as a better method of reducing small arms compared to military disarmament; methods of managing political elites in their influence on ethnic conflicts. Further, this study could be replicated in other neighboring sub counties such as Saboti and Kwanza or any other area that experiences similar conflicts in Kenya
REFERENCES


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Claude-Hélène Mayer and Christian Martin Boness (n.d) Culture and conflict in urban Tanzania: Professionals’ voices in educational organizations, Europäische


Osaghae, E. Eghosa. (1994). Ethnicity and the state in Africa. Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies


APPENDICES

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL OF DATA

University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197 - 0100
Nairobi

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Festus Mukoya is an MA student at the University of Nairobi (UoN). He is carrying out an academic research paper on the Socio-economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County in Trans Nzoia County as a requirement of the qualification for the award. The findings will contribute to the safe environment conducive for peaceful coexistence in Endebess. Your honest response to the questionnaire below and other tools of data collection will make you a contributor to safe conditions that would promote development leading to poverty alleviation in the area.

Information obtained in this research will be confidential and will only be used for the stated purpose; therefore, I would really appreciate if you can kindly devote your little time in answering the questions.

Yours faithfully,

Festus Mukoya

0722 238 944
APPENDIX 1: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

Festus Mukoya is an MA student at the University of Nairobi (UoN). He is carrying out an academic research paper on the socio-economic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County in Trans Nzoia County as a requirement of the qualification for the award. The findings will contribute to the safe environment in Endebess. Kindly answer the following questions:

Date: __________________________

Location: ________________________

S/Location: ______________________

Code No: _________________________

1. Gender of respondent: (1) Female (2) Male

2. How old are you? (1) 18 – 24 (2) 25 – 29 (3) 30 – 34 (4) 35 – 39 (5) 40 – 44 (6) 45 – 49 (7) 50 and above

3. What is your marital status? Married 1( ) single 2( ) divorced 3( ) widowed 4( )

4. What is your highest level of education? Primary 1( ) Secondary 2( ) College 3( ) University 4( ) None 5( )

5. What is your MAIN occupation? Working (labourer) 1( ) Pastoralist 2( ) Farmer 3( ) Fisherman 4( ) Businessman/Woman 5( ) Government Employee (Incl. Military & Police) 6( ) Employee NGO 7( ) Housewife 8( ) Student 9( ) Retired/Disabled 10( ) Unemployed 11( )

6. How do you classify your level of income per month? Below 1000 1( ) 1001 – 5000 2( ) 5001 – 10000 3( ) 10001 – 20000 4( ) above 20000 5( )

7. How long have you lived in this area? 1-6 Years (1) 7-13 Years (2) 14 – 20 Years (3) Above 20 Years (4)
“PLEASE INDICATE IF THE FOLLOWING ISSUES REPRESENT A VERY SERIOUS SECURITY CONCERN, SERIOUS OR NOT AN ISSUE AT ALL, OR YOU CANNOT TELL”

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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>99</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERY SERIOUS</td>
<td>SERIOUS</td>
<td>NOT SERIOUS</td>
<td>DO NOT KNOW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLEASE MARK RESPECTIVE CELL FOR EACH STATEMENT:

**1** Instability arising from militia groups

**2** Violent disputes over natural resources e.g. land, caves

**3** Violent crime within the community

**4** Threats against members of certain communities

**5** Cattle Rustling

**6** Attacks from neighboring village

**7** Gun shots? (small firearms), or regular disarmaments?

**8** Ethnic clashes

**INTERVIEWER:** “PLEASE INDICATE IF THE FOLLOWING SOCIO CULTURAL ISSUES CONTRIBUTE TO ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN ENDEBESS AREA – HIGHLY, HIGH, SOMEHOW, NOT AT ALL OR DO NOT KNOW?”

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<tr>
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<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>88</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGHLY KNOW</td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>SOMEHOW</td>
<td>NOT AT ALL</td>
<td>DO NOT KNOW</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PLEASE MARK RESPECTIVE CELL FOR EACH STATEMENT:

**1** Drug and Substance abuse?
17 Intolerance in Beliefs, Values & practices?
18 High Illiteracy level?
19 Moranism or heroism?
20 Tribal/clan rivalry?
21 Community symbols and artifacts?
22 Religious intolerance

Have you ever been a victim of ethnic clashes?
YES 1( )
NO 2( )

TICK AS MANY AS YOU SUFFERED

Which of the following forms of violence have you ever suffered from while living in this area?
SEXUAL HARASSMENT 1( )
ORGANIZED GANGS 2( )
CATTLE RUSTLING 3( )
ARMED ROBBERY 4( )
ABDUCTION 5( )
ETHNIC CLASHES 6( )
DAMAGE TO PRIVATE PROPERTY 7( )
VIOLENT CRIME IN THE VILLAGE 8( )
ASSAULT 9( )

ONE RESPONSE
RESOURCE SCARCITY & ALLOCATION (LAND, ETC) 1( )
DIVISIVE POLITICS 2( )
ORGANIZED GANGS 3( )
TRIBALISM 4( )
MARGINALIZATION 5( )
AVAILABILITY OF GUNS 6( )
INFLUENCE OF SPIRITUAL LEADERS 7( )
DIFFERENCES IN CULTURE 8 ( )
OTHER (SPECIFY) ____________________________ 55( )
DO NOT KNOW 88( )

Which factors explain the reason for ethnic conflicts in this area?

TICK AS MANY AS YOU SUFFERED
HISTORICAL INJUSTICES 1( )
POLITICS 2( )
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES 3( )
ACCESS TO SMALL ARMS 4( )
LAND ALLOCATION 5 ( )
DISCRIMINATION 6 ( )
ALL OF THEM 7 ( )
DO NOT KNOW 88( )

What are the sources of guns in your area?

TICK ALL THAT APPLY
UGANDA 1( )
HIRE/PURCHASE FROM POLICE 2( )
HIRE/PURCHASE FROM MILITARY 3( )
STEAL FROM POLICE/MILITARY 4( )
OTHER (SPECIFY) ____________________________ 55( )
ALL OF THE ABOVE 4( )
DO NOT KNOW 88( )

Which of the following explain the reasons for people owning guns?

TICK ALL THAT APPLY
SELF PROTECTION 1( )
INHERITANCE FROM FAMILY 2( )
PROTECT PROPERTY 3( )
SOURCE OF INCOME 4( )
ALL OF THE ABOVE 5 ( )
DO NOT KNOW 88( )

How safe is your area in relation to the risk of armed violence?

ONE RESPONSE ONLY
VERY SAFE 1( )
SAFE 2( )
UNSAFE 3( )
VERY UNSAFE 4( )
DO NOT KNOW 88( )

Which historical injustices

TICK AS MANY AS YOU KNOW
LAND DISPOSSESSION 1( )
FORCED ASSIMILATION 2( )
are of concern in this area?

EXTRA JUDICIAL KILLINGS 3 ()
MARGINALIZATION 4 ()
DISCRIMINATION 5 ()
DO NOT KNOW 88 ()

Which of the following are responsible for historical injustices in this area?

TICK AS MANY AS YOU KNOW

OTHER ETHNIC COMMUNITIES 1 ()
THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA 2 ()
THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT 3 ()
COMMUNITIES FROM NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES 4 ()
DO NOT KNOW 88 ()

How does politics contribute to ethnic conflicts in your area?

TICK ALL THAT APPLY

POLITICAL GANGS 1 ()
INCITEMENT 2 ()
DOMINATION BY ONE ETHNIC 3 ()
DISCRIMINATION IN APPOINTMENTS 4 ()
OTHER (SPECIFY) ________________________________ 55 ()

________________________

**INTERVIEWER:** “PLEASE INDICATE IF THE FOLLOWING ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE OF VERY SERIOUS, SERIOUS, LESS SERIOUS OR NOT SERIOUS CONCERN IN YOUR REGION

1 2 3 4

99

VERY SERIOUS  SERIOUS  LESS SERIOUS  NOT SERIOUS

DO NOT KNOW

PLEASE MARK RESPECTIVE CELL FOR EACH STATEMENT:

1 2 3 4 99

33 Claims of historical land injustices?

34 Landlessness, squatter problem?

35 Forceful displacement of persons (IDPs)?
Denied access to or displacement from ancestral lands for indigenous communities?

Unsecure land ownership?

Competition over land use e.g. farming and pastoralism or indigenous people vs wildlife and forest service?

Land resettlement problems?

Inequality based on distribution of economic resources and opportunities

High level of corruption?

INTERVIEWER: “PLEASE INDICATE IF THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL ISSUES ARE OF VERY SERIOUS, SERIOUS, LESS SERIOUS OR NOT SERIOUS CONCERN IN YOUR REGION

1 2 3 4 88

VERY SERIOUS  SERIOUS  LESS SERIOUS  NOT SERIOUS  DO NOT KNOW

PLEASE MARK RESPECTIVE CELL FOR EACH STATEMENT:

Boundary Disputes (traditional, administrative, electoral units)?

Political parties aligned to ethnic groups?

Political incitement (e.g. hate speeches)?

Existence of political gangs/militia

Feelings Indigenous vs migrant groups?

Political funding of ethnic conflicts
48 Political dominance by some clans, ethnic groups etc?

49 Threats of eviction and displacement of some ethnic groups?

50 Discrimination based on differentiated citizenship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How are conflicts related to politics</th>
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</table>

51 How are conflicts related to politics being managed or reduced in your region?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How are conflicts related to politics being managed or reduced in your region?</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
</table>
APPENDIX 2: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. In your opinion, are there ethnic conflicts in the area? If yes, how do they manifest? How long have they been going on? What is the conflict situation now?

2. Which ethnic communities are involved in the conflict?

3. What are the MAIN causes of these ethnic conflicts? Probe more on the following:
   a. Economic causes?
   b. Security causes?
   c. Socio cultural differences?
   d. Political factors?

4. What has been the major impact of these conflicts to the area?
   a. Community coexistence
   b. Economic development
   c. Political conditions

5. Are there any initiatives that help manage these conflicts?
   a. Community initiatives?
   b. Government initiatives
   c. Others (NGOs)?

6. In your opinion, what should be done to prevent and/or resolve the ethnic conflicts?
APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

1. Livelihood assets in the area such as livestock keeping, farming patterns distributed according to ethnic tribes

2. Cultural features like monuments, special trees, caves, dress codes, house types and social behavior such as ceremonies,

3. Any evidence of IDP presence such as camps, resettlements,

4. Evidence of marginalization or exclusion such as distribution if infrastructural facilities and development benefits across the area

5. Presence of security patrol and bases
APPENDIX 4 RESEARCH PERMIT

CONDITIONS:

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, fencing, and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two (2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MR. FESTUS MUKOYA MUKOYA of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 2191-20200 KITALE, has been permitted to conduct a research in Transnzoia County on the topic: SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN ENDEBESS SUB COUNTY, TRANG'ANZA COUNTY, KENYA for the period ending 22nd February, 2013.

Permit No: NACOSTI/P/14/0784/3913
Date Of Issue: 28th November, 2014
Fee Received: $100

Secretary, National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

[Signature]

Applicant's

[Signature]
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2215471, 2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.or.ke
Website: www.nacosti.or.ke
When replying please quote

Ref: No. 28th November, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/0784/3913

Festus Mukoya Mukoya
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Socioeconomic factors influencing ethnic conflicts in Endebess Sub County, Trans Nzoia County, Kenya,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Trans Nzoia County for a period ending 22nd February, 2015.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Trans Nzoia County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Trans Nzoia County.

The County Director of Education
Trans Nzoia County.