



THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**EFFECTS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN
AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA SOUTH RIFT, 1992 – 2013**

BY

KENANA JOHN SARUNI

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SUPERVISOR: MR G. IKIARA (PhD)

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STRATEGIC STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

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

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Signature

.....

Date

JOHN SARUNI KENANA

Reg No. R47/87853/2016

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

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Signature

.....

Date

Mr. G IKIARA

Senior Lecturer, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

University of Nairobi.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my wife Edith and my children Dennis, Ivy, Cynthia, Abigail and Gabriella. Without their support, tolerance and enthusiasm, I could not have completed this study.

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This research project would not have succeeded without the contribution from the following persons.

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Finally to my respondents who willingly provided the information I required for the research.

May the Almighty God reward you abundantly.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to find out the effects of ethnic conflict on economic development of Kenya: case study of South Rift. The study objectives were to analyze the effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities, livelihoods (seen in terms of the household poverty, employment opportunities and the provision of social services such as education and health) as well as to explore peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony. The study adopted descriptive survey design with focus on qualitative analysis. The population of this study includes the residents of South Rift region among them teachers, parents, leaders and other stake-holders. Using sample data, 40 respondents were interviewed. The study used both primary and secondary data through an interview guide. The interview questionnaire was administered and incorporated both open and close ended questions. Secondary data was also used mainly involving analysis of data and information for scholarly publications, journals, newsletters, government reports, internet, UNHCR Reports, periodicals and newspapers with a focus on qualitative and content analysis. The study findings revealed that land, poverty, fear, competition during election and widespread possession of illegal arms are the main causative factors of ethnic conflict in South Rift. The study also observed effects of ethnic conflict on education and the livelihood of the people. Among the strategies adopted to promote peace include reconciliation, restitution, creation of job opportunities and mediation. The study recommends that for the government to resolve land issues it is important to formulate policies that enforce education and ensure diversification of economic activities.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	Community Based Organization
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KAG	Kenya Assemblies of God church
KAMATUSA	Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu tribes
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCPE	Kenya Certificate of Primary Education
KNHRC	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
KPR	Kenya Police Reservists
NCCK	National Council of Churches in Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

By the time the Cold War was ending, there witnessed a significant reduction in inter-state conflicts. However, there was a notable intra-state conflicts rise. These intrastate conflicts were attributed to ethnic divides.¹ Despite the fact that there was rapid globalization occurring there was still a continual persistence to communal and ethnic violence which based on the perception of Azam, seemed to be the other side of globalization.² Due to this fact, the norm has been that the ethnic affiliations that once lived together in harmony are now fighting against one another, which leads to destruction among innocent civilians.

There seems to be a nexus between conflict and economic development in many states. In the world today, many authors have researched on this topic and provided crucial recommendations that would deter ethnic conflict while the vice continues to be a major disabling factor in many states. In Europe, especially in the Balkan region, Szayna³ argues that historical ethnic political division of different ethnic groups led to ethnic nationalism which led to ethnic cleansing after the fall of communism in 1989 and to date, different ethnic groups are fighting for independence in Europe

¹ Austin, G. (2006), "The Effects of Government Policy on the Ethnic Distribution of Income and Wealth in Rwanda: a Review of Published Sources", Dept. of Economic History, London School of Economics, London.

² Azam, J-P., D.(2004), "Some Economic Consequences of the Transition from Civil War to Peace", Policy Research Working Paper No.1392, Policy Research Department, World Bank, Washington, DC.

³ Szayna, T. S., Watts, S., O'Mahony, A., Frederick, B., & Kavanagh, J. (2017). What Are the Trends in Armed Conflicts, and What Do They Mean for US Defense Policy?. RAND Corporation.

In Africa, there has been ethnic conflict. Rwanda genocide epitomizes the need for national cohesion since the genocide was seen to occur in Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. McCauley⁴ argues that the Tutsi elites during the pre-colonial period used land to cause ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi. Hintjens⁵ points out that the traditional hatred between Hutu and Tutsi and the worsening of economic living standards in the 1980s led to Hutu blaming the Tutsi and this become a contributing factor in the 1994 genocide. Hinjents⁶ and Meredith⁷ states that the division of labour between the Tutsi and Hutu on a master-slave relationship during the pre-colonial period led to bitter hatred and was a cause in the 1959 ethnic conflict. If you look at this conflict, the main cause of this hatred was historical injustice met on one side and as Yanagizawa-Drott⁸ has pointed out the political power was in the hands of Hutu while the economic power in the hands of Tutsi thus there was a zero sum game on which side was to let go there power.

In Somalia, clan is said to be the main source of disunity⁹. A country with five major clans—Darod, Hawiye, Isaq, Dir and Digil-Mirifleh – has been controlled in major ethnic conflicts for decades. Samora¹⁰ argues that the Greater Somalia quest was shattered when warring clans fought over traditional conflict as was witnesses in the in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, Northern frontier District in Kenya and the clan boundaries in Somalia. With the end of communism 1989, the Isaq clan in Somaliland was exploited by Barre’s clan – government – and

⁴McCauley, J. F. (2017). Disaggregating Identities to Study Ethnic Conflict. *Ethnopolitics*, 16(1), 12-20.

⁵Hintjens, H. (2014). ‘As if there were two Rwandas’: polarised research agendas in post-genocide Rwanda. In *Conflict, Peace, Security and Development* (pp. 145-161). Routledge.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Mugovera, G. (2016). *Trans-border Ethnic Linkages and Conflict in the Great Lakes Region: A Case of DRC and Rwanda* (Doctoral dissertation, BUSE).

⁸ Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2014). Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan genocide. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(4), 1947-1994.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Samora, M. (2013). The Somali Question. *World Policy Journal*, 30(3), 99-106.

this made Somaliland secede from Somalia since from 1991 to date the rest of Somalia is largely ungovernable except Somaliland. Although the Somalian government has suggested that federalism would be the best model for them, it has not explained how different warlords and political leaders were to govern the proposed federal states.

In South Africa, the apartheid policy clearly defined how one ethnic group – whites – benefitted over the other ethnic groups –coloured and blacks. Maylam¹¹ has argued that institutional failure to accommodate all ethnic groups in South Africa led to ethnic animosity and unequal development thus the redefinition on who was a South African. Mariotti¹² have argued that the post-apartheid regimes has had insignificant reforms in ensuring equal economic reforms to all ethnic groups since a small black elite and the white ethnic group have continued to use the oppressive apartheid system that has made a big black population live in abject poverty.

It is worrying to see the trends of this phenomenon in East Africa and across the globe and it is important for us to discuss it. Africa has lost a lot of resources because of these fights in the last 50 years. 70% of the wars are of ethnic type. It is ironic to say that before the start of colonialism, most countries in the continent were so united. Different communities that comprised of people of different cultures lived so well together. They intermarried, did business with each other, learnt from each other and respected each other's way of life. Fast forward in to the 20th century, ethnic hatred started creeping in and sparks of violence started showing up. Some countries (or at least parts of them) have remained in conflict for over half a century now. These countries for instance Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan, Ethiopia and parts of Kenya open up to ethnic wars spontaneously either because of resources, power, elections or boarder issues.

¹¹ Maylam, P. (2017). *South Africa's racial past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation, and apartheid*. Routledge.

¹² Mariotti, M. G. (2008). *White control of black employment: An analysis of the effects of apartheid era labor legislation on black employment in South Africa*. University of California, Los Angeles.

The effects of these conflicts have been evident. East Africa as a continent has lagged behind in development for quite a long time. Because of these wars, most African countries make one step forward and few steps back. Multinationals that had pitched tent in most countries in this continent have closed business after interruptions coming from intra-state conflicts most of which are ethnically instigated. The economies of these countries have hence nose-dived greatly oblivious of the riches of natural resources in the continent.

In Kenya after the post-election violence occurrence in 2007/2008, a major conflict arose which led to serious ethnic divisions which became the 'New World Order' in the area of democratization.¹³ The cases mentioned above, brings up a lot of questions concerning the reasons behind the persistence in ethnic divisions within the African continent. The Kenyan democracy from the year 1991 started its transition into ethnic democracy when the Kenyan country received pressure from the international community to force KANU to revisit multiparty elections which was a suggestion that received a high level of opposition from those in power in Kenya.¹⁴

Due to the eventual re-introduction of multi-partism, great strides were made towards realizing the freedom of expression in the political realm, human rights protection and promotion, equal distribution of economic and national resources e.t.c. All these aspects are in line with the spirit of democracy.¹⁵ However the notion of democracy has been abused during Kenyan elections as violent ethnic conflicts have continued to surface and is increasingly becoming more and more intense after every general election held in Kenya. In the 2002 elections, ethnic conflicts had

¹³Busia, K.A. (1968): *The Position of the Chief in the Political System of Ashanti*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd

¹⁴ Collier, P. (2006), "On Economic Causes of Civil War", Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford. 26

¹⁵ Girard, R. (2017), *Violence and the Sacred*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MA.

reduced significantly.¹⁶ The success that was experienced during this era went on to lead Kenya towards embracing the spirit of democracy. The international community therefore praised Kenya for their bold move which was a symbol of stability which was witnessed by the rest of the African continent as a step in the right direction. However, the occurrence of the 2007 post-election violence led to the disapproval of Kenyan politics as it had proven to be one that was brutal and the worst type of violence recorded since independence. The research therefore is an exploration of the ethnic conflicts in Kenya experienced since its transition into multiparty democracy in 1991.¹⁷

It is also a fact in history that since the 2007/2008 post-election violence, many Kenyan localities are still being haunted by the possibility of the occurrence of future conflicts. The main reason is due to the fact that many communities still continue to perpetuate the idea of ethnic dominance which has been brought about by ethnic conflicts within the country. This is shown in terms of dominance in scarce resources which has led to fear and prejudice among ethnic communities. The ethnic conflicts are widespread across the country and any community is vulnerable as a result. The need for a new vision approach to the problem is key in the management of ethnic conflicts which is a fact that needs to be taken seriously.¹⁸ In recent times, studies have been conducted concerning the state of ethnic conflicts within Kenya and the Greater Horn of Africa. Evidence suggests that despite the fact that the violence has been controlled, there is still the existence of psychological trauma that has been left behind and is rarely solved, more so among children, the elderly and the women. The study therefore offers empirical evidence to justify the

¹⁶ Halakhe, A. B. (2013). R2P in Practice”: Ethnic Violence, Elections and Atrocity Prevention in Kenya. *Global Center for the Responsibility to Protect: Occasional Paper Series No, 4*.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸Jackson, Richard (2012): The Social Construction of Internal War: Towards a framework of understanding, in: [www.inter-disciplinary.net/jackson paper.pdf](http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/jackson%20paper.pdf).

influence of ethnic conflicts on the development of the economy and the overall stability of Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There have been great consequences of ethnic conflicts in the North rift that are economic, social and political. Since the early 1990s, there have been constant conflicts of destruction within the North Rift region in Kenya which has become very common and it also has been known to threaten the existence of varying ethnic affiliations. They are also known to prevent both human and economic development.¹⁹ Life and property has been lost with the added situation of displacement of persons that have ended up leaving people with immense fears especially for those who have witnessed violent conflicts caused by negative ethnicity. Johannsen²⁰ states that the idea of new conflicts triggers immense fears of apprehension among Kenyans. Its generic importance cannot be overlooked. With the consideration of the neighbors in the Horn of Africa and the Great lakes region which include Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda,. Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) who have witnessed the occurrence of cold wars, the Kenyan nation plays a significant role in hosting exiles and refugees from neighboring nations.²¹ In addition to this, The Kenyan region is connected to its neighbors through the Indian Ocean and therefore most of the goods that have been transported to these countries pass through the Kenyan region.²² The Rift Valley Province is reported to have been affected to a great extent by the conflicts that have occurred in Nyanza and Western provinces. This has in effect had a

¹⁹ Kasara, K. (2014). Electoral geography and conflict: Examining the redistricting through violence in Kenya. *Work. pap., Dept of Political Science, Columbia Univ.*

²⁰Johannsen, M. (2011): Participatory Action-Research in Post-Conflict Situations, in: Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, www.berghof-handbook.net/

²¹ Ibid

²²Prescott, J. R. V. (2014). *Political Frontiers and Boundaries (Routledge Library Editions: Political Geography)*. Routledge.

significant impact on the transport system between Kenya and her neighbors. There are also some sectors in the Kenyan region that have been adversely affected by the ethnic conflicts.

The ethnic conflicts that are violent are said to hinder the development of the Kenyan region. During the 2007-2008 post-election violence, there were heavy ethnic animosities that were prevalent and were brought to the reality which are seen to be very deep during the current wave of political democratization and liberalization. Also, it is also very important to find ways and means to manage the levels of negative ethnicity in order to curb the risk of destruction which leads to negative mobilization of ethnic groups against one another. This has led triggered the search of underlying elements that can cause this phenomena within the Kenyan region.²³

Even though ethnic based violence has affected the Eastern Africa south rift since 1992, studies that have been conducted seem to lay more emphasis on the causes of violence. The importance laid in the social, economic and cultural influence brought about by ethnic violence has had an effect on the populations and has not been adequately researched. The paper therefore aims to analyze these issues by analyzing the influence of ethnic conflicts on the development of the economy in addition to their implications on political and socio-economic stability in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To analyze the effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities of south rift people (commerce, agriculture and industry).

²³ Obala, L. M., & Mattingly, M. (2014). Ethnicity, corruption and violence in urban land conflict in Kenya. *Urban Studies*, 51(13), 2735-2751.

2. To analyze the effects of the ethnic violence on livelihoods of south rift people (seen in terms of the household poverty, employment opportunities and the provision of such social services as education and health services)
3. To explore peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony hence economic development in Kenya.

This study was purposed to establish detailed information on the effects of ancient ethnic potential conflicts on development sustainability and peace, mitigation strategies and conflict management strategies.

1.4 Research questions

- i) What are the main causes of conflict within the south rift?
- ii) What are the effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities, livelihoods, security, health and education of south rift people?
- iii) What peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony hence economic development in Kenya?

1.5 Hypothesis of the Study

- i) There is no significant relationship between the causes of conflict within the south rift region and the economic development of Eastern Africa
- ii) There is no significant relationship between the ethnic conflicts and economic activities, livelihoods, security, health and education of south rift people.
- iii) There is no significant relationship between peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony and economic development in Kenya.

1.5 Significance of the study

The information obtained from the study is expected to augment other research work carried out in Kenya, Africa and the world on conflicts.

Despite the paper's contribution to the understanding of influences of ethnic conflicts, the study aims to lay a foundation on policy making in solving and managing the occurrence of ethnic conflicts that occur within communities.

The study is also expected to help governments, donor agencies such as USAID, churches, policy makers, international and local civic institutions, non-governmental organizations, institutions of traditional community to find out the structural, social, legal, economic, political, religious, cultural and other hindrances to national and regional stability in addition to fostering sustainable development.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study is largely limited to Eastern African general and specifically in Kenya's south rift region. Further the study restricts itself to economic impact of ethnic violence. Like, any relatable violence consequences in areas not studied. In similar, other affected areas are beyond the scope of this study.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Concepts of Ethnicity and Ethnic

Ethnicity is a concept that is used to describe the differences of people, groups and other indicators in terms of appearance, language, color, race, common ancestry, body structure, height complexity, level of education, e.t.c. it is also to a large extent premised on a myth on common

ancestry, physical settlements, belief systems, links and affiliations within groups. It is also very common in societies in many locations worldwide such as in countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, South Africa and Ethiopia e.t.c.²⁴

The issues concerning ethnicity and conflicts which are used in current studies are not always the true picture and seem to be wrongly defined. Johnson²⁵ States that most of the times individuals try to deal with issues related to ethnicity. This issue is often difficult to deal with conceptually and the literature is often too difficult to identify and exhaust in terms of the review.²⁶ The ethnic conflicts are mostly not caused by national and continental boundaries which seem to cover the multi-ethnic groups. The issues of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts are issues that cause grudges among ethnic groups that pile up over a period of time. The previous inter-ethnic strategies of managing conflicts are more concentrated on the influences.²⁷

The issue of ethnicity has proven to be a difficult issue to resolve and the literature that exists mostly does not capture the terms of review.

There are many authors who define ethnicity in different ways. According to Mohamed²⁸ ethnicity is used to refer to the group that is linked biologically which shares important cultural values and it is what shapes the field of communication or interaction and they have a membership that gives them a sense of identity from others groups²⁹ Spencer³⁰ Goes further to add to the definition of culture that apart from the personal link that exists between ethnic units,

²⁴ Elischer, S. (2013). *Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation*. Cambridge University Press.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Angelo L. L. (2011): Regional Elections in the Southern Region, 1973: Decentralization and political participation, in: *Journal of Studies on Regionalism*. Khartoum: University.

²⁷ Lonsdale, J. (2014). Moral ethnicity and political tribalism. *Occasional Paper*, (11), 131-150..

²⁸ Mohamed A. (2008): *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*. Uppsala.

²⁹ Spencer, S. (2014). *Race and ethnicity: Culture, identity and representation*. Routledge.

³⁰ Ibid

there also exists cultural differences and similarities. But the most defining aspect that distinguishes the actors of an ethnic organization cannot be overlooked. The individuals who ascribe themselves to a general identity base them on the background and origin. The issue of ethnicity according to Barth is a term used in an organizational setting for the purpose of categorizing people from a particular ethnic affiliation. The boundaries have a fluid characteristic.³¹ The limitations and organizations of a particular group is not static, but they are always sustained.

The differences identified in cultural features are diverse among varying ethnic affiliations in order to boost the bonds among different ethnic groups. As a result of these bonds leads to interdependence or symbiotic relations among various groupings. The cultures that complement each other in the process become strong but the groups that do not complement each other tend to have very little interaction between them. Cohen³² views contemporary ethnicity to be caused by very heavy interactions among ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are usually involved in changing interactions in relations and customs which does not touch on their conservation and continuity. This dilutes the importance of culture in ethnicity. Cohen also argues that ethnicity is brought about by political influence and traditions which is mostly used for the purposes of safeguarding one political interest to gain power.

According to Haan³³ ethnicity is not used only for the purposes of gaining identity but for the organization of the group in terms of taking sides politically. The discussion provides a broader

³¹Brettell, C. B., & Hollifield, J. F. (2013). Theorizing migration in anthropology: The social construction of networks, identities, communities, and globalscapes. In *Migration theory* (pp. 121-168). Routledge.

³² Cohen, A. (2014). *Urban ethnicity*. Routledge..

³³Haan, A. (2007), "Employment and Poverty Monitoring", Issues in Development Discussion Paper No.19, ILO, Geneva

definition on ethnicity which sheds more light on its complexity in comparison to the universal term that is used to describe ethnicity

Based on this context, ethnic groups are viewed to exist more as interest groups as opposed to identity groups. Another term used to describe ethnicity is the term 'tribe'. Petersen³⁴ states that the term is often used in place of ethnic group within the African continent as it is seen to have a negative influence amongst the Africans themselves. It is a term that is seen to be used by colonialists in a manner as to undermine the status of African ethnic groupings as they perceived ethnic affiliations to be 'uncivilized'. The terms 'tribe', 'ethnic community' and 'ethnic group' are used interchangeably.

1.7.2 Ethnic Conflict

The multifaceted nature of African ethnicity in terms of the violent and non-violent struggle has many levels. It mainly involves the ethnic groups, nations, clans, regions and lineages and has been battled with between and within countries, ethnic affiliations and religions. According to Girard³⁵ it is the main aim of a state's leadership to incorporate various affiliations in society, which are separated by way of class, religion, political, economic and regional lines into a new national organization.

In this current day, various African countries have been inhabited by individuals who come from different ethnic affiliations. In Kenya for example, there exists more than 40 ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the idea that some ethnic affiliations continue to involve themselves with barbaric inter-ethnic driven conflicts; it is a sad fact that Kenya is not the only country that deals with

³⁴ Petersen, W. (2017). *Ethnicity counts*. Routledge.

³⁵ Girard, R. (2017), *Violence and the Sacred*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MA.

inter-ethnic vices. The ethnic conflicts have also gained a considerable amount of interest among scholars. The problems with inter-ethnic conflicts are the recurrent cases of its multidimensional nature since the early 1990s which has received little attention from scholars. Other than the post-election violence in Kenya, researchers feel that various parts in the country are vulnerable to violent attacks. Another issue is that the ethnic conflicts are known to repeat themselves in the future where there is an environment of complacency and pessimism.³⁶

Ethnic conflicts are used to refer to a wide range of events that include a show of discontentment, mobilization, protestation, sporadic violence, confrontation and insurrection which play a major role in propagating ethnicity.³⁷ Ethnic conflicts can therefore be categorized to be either non-violent or violent. Unfortunately, non-violent conflicts cannot be done away with in a society. However, violent conflicts are not tolerated within a society and are therefore termed as unacceptable which can be prevented given the application of the right measures. The study also applies Smith's definition which focuses on ethnic violence. Hence, ethnic conflicts are therefore used in reference to ethnic conflicts. 'Tribal clashes' is also another term that has been used to refer to ethnic conflicts that are violent in nature. The main notion of violent conflicts does away with the influences of other manifestations of ethnic conflicts as indicated previously. The research paper agrees that there are other forms of ethnic conflicts such as mobilizations, ethnic tensions and protests that may supersede the idea of ethnic violence.

This shows the Kenyan ethnic conflicts negative impacts on international contexts needs a research on ethnicity reduction ways. Looking to the 1990s ethnicity conflict accompanied

³⁶ OECD (1997), DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation, DAC Taskforce on Conflict, Peace and Development Co-operation, OECD: Paris.

³⁷Johannsen, M. (2011). Participatory Action-Research in Post-Conflict Situations, in: Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, www.berghof-handbook.net/

political enemies' reprisal, according to Johannsen, the 20th century last ten years, Kenya is remembered for conflict, massacres, riots, demonstration, and displacement³⁸ Milward³⁹ also did descriptions on negative ethnicity repercussion, using the Africa number of deaths caused by conflicts based on ethnicity.

Dube and Vargas⁴⁰ gives micro-evidence on Colombia civil and export violence relationship. The results show that international price raise of export intensive labor commodity lowers violence while an increase leads to an increased violence. Investigation on where the flower industry was affected was not done, we did the producers response on the violence. Dercon and Romero-Gutierrez⁴¹ and Dupas and Robinson⁴² finally gives the violence-based survey evidence following the election of Kenya's president. Finally, Dercon and Romero-Gutierrez⁴³ and Dupas and Robinson⁴⁴ found out that the results of this paper affects largely on violence income, expenditure and consumption on a sex-worker sample and western Kenya shopkeepers.

Hechter⁴⁵ observes that when ethnic groups are victimized in some ways or if they have some perceived or real threats that are coming from other ethnic groups who in most cases rival them, identification in terms of ethnicity becomes the most important way of shielding themselves. This is because all across the globe, and especially among people living in Africa, Asia and

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Milward, A. (2014). *The Economic Effects of the Two World Wars on Britain*, 2nd edition, Studies in Economic and Social History, Macmillan Press, London.

⁴⁰ Dube, O., & Vargas, J. F. (2013). Commodity price shocks and civil conflict: Evidence from Colombia. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 80(4), 1384-1421.

⁴¹ Dercon, S. and R. Gutierrez-Romero (2010) "Triggers and Characteristics of the 2007 Kenyan Electoral Violence", Working Paper Series 2010-12, CSAE..

⁴² Dupas, P., & Robinson, J. (2012). The (hidden) costs of political instability: Evidence from Kenya's 2007 election crisis. *Journal of Development Economics*, 99(2), 314-329.

⁴³ Dercon, S. and R. Gutierrez-Romero (2010) "Triggers and Characteristics of the 2007 Kenyan Electoral Violence", Working Paper Series 2010-12, CSAE..

⁴⁴ Dupas, P., & Robinson, J. (2012). The (hidden) costs of political instability: Evidence from Kenya's 2007 election crisis. *Journal of Development Economics*, 99(2), 314-329.

⁴⁵ Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1936-1966*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 30.

South America, ethnic grouping is seen as the major source of protection. Susan and Woodward⁴⁶ in his analysis of causes of economic growth as a recipe for conflicts says that in situations where there are declining quality of life in a state, say for instance Bosnia which was part of her case study, there will always be a collapse of the community because the expectations that people were clinging on and the hope for the future has diminished. In this case of Bosnia, there came the collapse of communism. The political entrepreneurs used the tactic of ethnic hatred to protect their interest, a move that created some social categories that had disguised as a concerned organization which was protecting group interests. As this became the attitude among the group members against the other group, the two tribes played safe to try and remain cautious not to be denied the limited resources available⁴⁷. This kind of a hide and seek game paralyses a lot of operations and reduce the per capita and hence the GDP of a nation.

The already large number of Kenya's squatters is further exacerbated by internal displacement and the problem of lack of enough lands. Since the outbreak of ethnic violence in year 1991 ethnic clashes have politically been a major internal displacement cause. The IDPs in rift valley area forcefully sold their property and land cheaply. The displaced people in early 1993 were around 300,000 and 1,500 had lost their lives. 600,000 people in different parts of the country were displaced during the 2007 election violence. The plethora of written reports showed that the establishment of constant figure or exact of people displaced internally is easy.

IDPs are living in very had conditions in police stations, camps, churches and many other places which are said to have good security. The characteristics of these squalid conditions are poor

⁴⁶Susan and Woodward, Interventions in civil wars- Bosnia and Herzegovina, working paper, Institute of War and Peace Studies, university of Colombia, 1997.<http://www.ciaonet.org> accessed on 18/8/14, 1125hrs.

⁴⁷Cordell, S. Wolff. Ethnic Conflict: Causes, Consequences and Responses, (USA: Polity Press, 2010).

sanitation, unhygienic situations and malnutrition and people are forced to come in term with; the people affected greatly by this condition are old people, children and women.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Modernization theory

People live in a very insecure state. If ethnic conflict is rooted in resentment and hatred, all victims including children become vulnerable, not just their leaders.⁴⁸ According to Narayan,⁴⁹ armed conflict is a mechanism of social transformation that may originate either in competing claims over resources, power, or in conflicting cultural or social values, and is often aggravated by low levels of human security. The researcher used modernization theory in the study. This theory also called competition theory outlines ethnic conflict to be caused by associated scarce resources competition with society modernization. According to the armed conflict nature most fights occurs where people live than in battlegrounds. If the conflict is rooted in resentment or hatred, all lethal groups with children included becomes unsafe not just the fighters fighting for them. Narayan,⁵⁰ states that armed conflicts can be termed as social transformation mechanism that come from either resource competing claims, cultural conflicts, power, social value and most of the time triggered by low human security level. Sommers also says that religion, ethnic differences of other groups are current conflict characterizations and this is just half of the whole picture. The factual truth is the cause of this conflicts are rooted in resource completion, and greatly on influence for strangle of power. Although, Hettne observed that dominant ethnic group associates with state power most of the time, making it the modernization carrier and

⁴⁸ Mani, R. (2002). *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

⁴⁹ Narayan, L. (2002). "No Refuge from Conflict". *A Conflict Resolution Perspective on UNHCR Track 2*, Vol. 9 No.3.

⁵⁰ Narayan, L. (2002). "No Refuge from Conflict". *A Conflict Resolution Perspective on UNHCR Track 2*, Vol. 9 No.3.

building nation. The interest of ethnics of the dominating group and interest of the nation coincides.

1.8.2 Economic theory of conflict

The researcher also based the study on economic theory of conflict. Like all theories economists tries to put light in the human society conflict occurrence through explaining economics and see human as basic rational being that depends on fighting over material things. This causes thesis's like greed and grief in ad emption of explaining society conflicts. The thesis of greed views society conflict to be caused by human desires and greed of some people known as entrepreneur conflicts, to benefit from war propelling conflicts. Collier gives an example of country's rebel group that uses grievance as a war strategy so as to benefit economically. Society conflict is not brought about by greed only and come out a number of historical factors, social and economic factor. His arguments are factors that cause conflicts can be lack of education opportunities, under development, poverty and unemployment even although religious, ethnic, history and geographical factors can also be causes for conflict existence in the society.

Berdal & Malone states that some economic factors like unemployment, poverty and economics disparities are the main cause of people compelling to violence even though other many factors still exist. The contest believe of economic assets control, system and resources are the basic cause of conflict in society. Economic theories impute society conflict existence among population section contest for employment opportunities, economic inequalities, resources, under development, human greed and poverty. Conflict's arising from economic factors like fighting over resources negatively affect development because they become very violent, economic theory emphasizes that economic factors are the key to society conflicts. This theory put emphasis on factors of economy as the society main cause of conflict. This doesn't show that

conflicts can be in existence independently of factors of economy unless someone argue that man causes conflict because of natural economy.

1.9 Methodology

This study did a detailed analysis and looked at a number of ethnic conflicts in Kenya recently. The following questions are examined; ethnic conflict cause, stake issues and the participants, conflict management, the institution, policy success and other mechanisms to manage such conflicts. The study uses the descriptive survey design which entails fact findings and solutions through field research.⁵¹ The design was expected to provide a deeper insight of the various dimensions of ethnic conflicts in south rift region in relation to economic development in Kenya through observational and survey methods. The design helps to generate data from the field with the help of interviews. The research design is clear, real, simple, and applicable for generalization of research findings and it help to access qualitative data from the 40 respondents related to the research questions and objectives.

The study population was the rift valley region. The sample of 40 respondent was gotten through simple random sampling method. The study used both primary and secondary data. Open and closed ended questions were used in collection of primary data. Open ended questions give a new ideas insight while closed ended ensures that respondent respond in different category that is why this method was used. Interview guide give high cooperation and low rate of refusal that's why it was used. Scholarly publication analysis, newsletters, internets, reports, UNHCR and periodicals were used in secondary data. The secondary data was categorized and synthesized to

⁵¹ Kotler, P. & Keller, K.L (2006).*Marketing Management* (12th Edition). New Jersey, Pearson Prentice Hall.

come up with integrated thematic issues discussed in different chapters in relation to the study's research objectives.

1.10 Chapter Outline

The study is divided into five chapters.

Chapter one; covers the introduction to the project, the statement of the research problem and questions, hypothesis, objectives of the study and the justification of the study. The other sections of this chapter include the literature review, methodology adopted in gathering data for the study are discussed under this Chapter.

Chapter Two; provides an overview of ethnic conflicts and their impact on Eastern Africa.

Chapter Three; provides an overview of the causes and effects of ethnic conflicts on the economic, livelihood, health and education services on the people of the South Rift.

Chapter Four; provides an analysis of data collected and shows how it affects economic development in Kenya.

Chapter five; summarizes the study's findings, makes conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON EASTERN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the causes and effects of ethnic conflicts in Eastern Africa in general and Kenya's South Rift in particular. It's subdivided into the following topics: general overview of ethnic conflicts, main causes of ethnic conflicts, the effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities, health and education as well as the effects of the ethnic violence on livelihoods of South Rift people.

2.1 General overview of ethnic conflicts in Kenya

Despite that fact that the violence in different parts of the world have been referred to ethnic based there areca, lot of disagreement on the term for it refers to ranges of events like mobilization, protest, discontent, confrontation, sporadic, civil war, sustained violence and insurrection whereby ethnic plays a key role. The smith's definition of ethnic conflict is used whose concentration is on ethnic conflict violence is adapted by the study.

The group of KANU politician in 1991 who were said to be pushing the political multiparty pluralism re-introduction devised a counter strategy different so as to resist democratization; reminiscent of the pre-independence majimbo movements and majimbo debate. As it was in majimboism evocation around the independence time in1990s majimbo asked for need of a renewed shield in all groups of minorities from the majority dominating groups like the kikuyu.

The rift valley outsiders through majimbo for example Maasai, Turkana, non-Kalenjin and Samburu (KAMATUSA) tribes were evicted to make way for alleged ethnic communities' autochthonous religious autonomy. Some KANU politician advocated for majimboism in the year 1990 and in real sense never referred federalism but aimed at forcing the community to give back the provinces and district which belonged to their ancestors. According to Kalenjin community multiparty rule was just a dislodge effort for the second president of the country president Moi from office favoring the non-kalanin. The issue of majimbo was term as emerging factor to spark Kenya's ethnic conflicts violence.

Since the launching of multiparty democracy in Kenya in the year 1992 there have been seen to have periodic ethnic conflicts. First seen the molo division case in the county of Nakuru, which has three major violence waves in 1992,1997 and in 2007. The economic, social and political consequences extend of violence have been reported in several documents like report, the Kiliku Report,⁵² the Akiwumi report,⁵³ National Council of Churches in Kenya (1993) report and the most recent Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) popularly known as the Waki Report⁵⁴ and the Kenya National Human Rights Commission.⁵⁵ According to all this reports ethnic violence led to apathy, resultant killing, mistrust, destruction of poverty and the GDPs reduction. The victims of the violence happing between 1992- 2008 demanded measures to be taken to curb the conflict consequences. Efforts should be made to ensure no occurrences of such violence in future.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Waki, P. (2008). Report of the commission of inquiry into post-election violence. Nairobi, Government Printer.

⁵⁵ Kenya Human Rights Commission (2008). A tale of force, threats and lies: Operation rudinyumbani in perspective, Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission.

2.2 Causes of violence in south rift regions Kenya

In the south rift of Kenya, ethnic conflicts has emerged as a result of various issues among them the following.

2.2.1 Unresolved land grievances

Land is cited as the major cause of violence even though the outrights of 1990 showed that violence is triggered mostly by political and land matters. In rift valley land ownership is the most emotive issue. It pits Samburu, Turkana, Maasai and Kalenjin who claims that rift valley is their ancestral land against other communities who they see as migrated foreigners in the region. The bitter emotions are mostly on kikuyu. According to the Kalenjin's during the Kenyatta reign the kikuyus took with them state bureaucracy and big land companies and brought large tracks in the rift valley fertile parts.⁵⁶ The finding evidence can be found in root implication article of the post-election violence in 2007-2008⁵⁷ ÷

In 1978 a Kalenjin president came into power, the Kalenjin hoped they will get benefits like redistribution of land.⁵⁸ They got disappointed for he followed the Kenyatta slogan (Nyayo, a Swahili word for footsteps).⁵⁹ Only the top profile elites and loyalist in his government were give land said Boone Making indigenous people remain without land or being squatters in their own land.⁶⁰

⁵⁶IRF. (2009). The Root Causes and Implications of the 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence. Nairobi: IRF/KTT.

⁵⁷Ibid

⁵⁸Klopp, Jacqueline, M. (2002). Can Moral Ethnicity Trump Political Tribalism? The Struggle for Land and Nation in Kenya.*African Studies*, 61 (2), 269-294.

⁵⁹Boone, C. (2012). Land conflict and distributive politics in Kenya. *African Studies Review*, 55(1), 75-103.

⁶⁰Ibid

Extra bitterness is fueled by the country's uneven distribution of land. Few rich people own large idle lands while large number of people don't have a single piece of land. The main source of wealth, food and welfare for many Kenyans is land so the portends of landlessness incapacity to afford subsistence.⁶¹ Land as a source of heritage has a cultural value making the land issues to be charged emotionally apart from it being the source of livelihood. Land is seen to be the main cause of conflicts and its clashes occurs in the same areas.⁶²

2.2.2 Poverty and exclusion

Political exclusion, poverty, social and economics form a strong political manipulation gain. People are unsafe towards the sentiments and propaganda against their neighbor's making them the main cause of insecurity. In all discussed Kenyan ethnic conflicts, the marginalization and exclusion groups have been the manipulation targets. There is a capture by Human Rights Watch report⁶³ of strong correlation between political and poverty manipulation in Kenya who points out that the votes of the poor in election times are bought.

2.2.3 Fear of domination

Rift valley has voiced the immigrant fear of domination. The naming of Kalenjin land with kikuyu names angered them a lot.⁶⁴ Their biggest fear was the erosion of their culture and kikuyu domination. Kikuyu naming was considered by villagers as loss of identity for their region. In the process of taking away the domination the elders of Kalenjin people wanted the kikuyu names to be replaced with Kalenjin names as one of the conditions for settlement of region by the internally displaced; in order to safeguard their security, the kikuyus had to accept the

⁶¹Human Rights Watch. (December 2002). Kenya's Unfinished Democracy: A Human Rights Agenda for the New Government. Human Rights Watch.14 (10A).

⁶² Ibid

⁶³Human Rights Watch. (December 2002). Kenya's Unfinished Democracy: A Human Rights Agenda for the New Government. Human Rights Watch.14 (10A).

⁶⁴ Ibid

condition.⁶⁵ This shows the local language salience collective identity indicator and ethnonationalist sentiment prevailing in Kenya at large political region

3.2.4 Electoral competition and fraud

The most important step in democratization is competitive election holding seen as a dangerous aspect of end of cold war advocated African democracy.⁶⁶ Since 1990s Africa's competitive elections triggers ethnic conflicts. In Kenya the efforts of gaining political control triggers ethnic violence cycle. The 1990s ethnic clashes in rift valley, there was mobilization of ethnic groups set to go against the other while the major triggers of 2007 post-election violence among all ethnic line was flawed election.

2.2.5 Impunity

The leaders of opinion and politics mostly suffer from public members indictment as a genuine peace crusader. This is caused by synonymous inter-ethnic conflicts with inequality in socio-economic matters which elites and politicians swear to liberate community individuals. Outwitting all other people competing for similar socio economic resources make the dream achievable.⁶⁷ Justification is seen in the wants of transparency, effectiveness and accountability in demand handling of diversity contestable resource backdrop distribution and democratic wobbling ideals. The opinions leaders and politicians' cronies get large material benefits after marshaling the public in premeditated direction.

⁶⁵ I am a Refugee in My Own Country: Conflict Induced Displacement in Kenya. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).Norwegian Refugee Council. 19, December 2006. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/> (accessed, August 6, 2008).

⁶⁶ Makinda, Samuel M. (1996). Democracy and Multi-Party Politics in Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34 (4), 555-573.

⁶⁷ Ibid

2.2.6 The majimbo debate

The main cause of ethnic conflicts in Kenya is the re-emergence of majimbo ethnic based movement during the reintroduction of multiparty election. Majimbo also organized the rift valley ethnic violence which occurred around the same period.⁶⁸Nyukuri⁶⁹ states that taking of state unions or retention of internal affair religion, while ignoring national most likely problems such as defense and policies of foreign to the federalism (majimboism) central government may be necessarily not be harmful or undemocratic. Although ethnicity-based federalism in Kenya is a big problem to cohesion and stability of the nation⁷⁰ The Maasai, Turkana, Samburu and Kalenjin population ambitions to exclusively control their respective provinces economic resources and natural; property, jobs and land reclaims community immigrant expansion from provinces. Kenya's majimboism plays a big role in fueled ethnic violence areas.⁷¹

2.3 The effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities of South Rift people

The United Nations, in a conference, discussed the influence of ethnic violence in Kenya. In the conference meeting, they highlighted how violence related to ethnic has negative effect on person and different Kenya economic sector individuals and the Kenya's various economic sectors such as commerce, agriculture and the industry at large leading to the whole country economy damage. This can be seen in terms of individuals losing jobs; businesses ceasing to operate or operating at with reduced frequency because of fearing looting, sector of economy

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Nyukuri, BarasaKundu. (1997). The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenya's Stability and Development. Paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa June, 1997. <http://payson.tulane.edu/conflict/Cs%20St/BARASFIN1.html> (accessed, August 6, 2008).

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid

coming to a standstill, among others. The effects of ethnic conflicts on economic activities are discussed as follows⁷²:

2.3.1 Agriculture

Quantifying the monetary terms of the south rift region total economic impacts is not easy.⁷³ The consequences of the clashes have continuous impact on economic developments in Kenya. Kenya's clashes according to the observations of studies done shows that it goes beyond the statistics available. A lot of people worked for destructions to take advantage of violence perpetrators and the close aides. There was un allowed individuals who capitalized on insecurity to grab land or buy it in a very low prices and the affected had no other option.⁷⁴ Ndungu Land Commission, (2004) did a study on land allocation, the findings showed that there was registration and creation of over 200,000 irregular or illegal title deeds between the years 1963 and 2002.⁷⁵

Breakdown in transport, food insecurity, industry and the public sector institutions, labour disruption on farms, resource diversion, commercial disruption among others were other clashes related problems. The study viewed food shortage as the far-reaching economic consequence. There was a drop in production of food, supply of food and raw material agro-based industries like tea, pyrethrum, coffee, sugar cereal among others. Food shortage lead to famine, clashes necessitating appeal for relief and international food.

⁷²United Nations (2016). Peace Keepers against Ethnic Violence. ENCoRe meeting in Geneva, 20-23 Jan. 2016

⁷³Kiliku, K. (1992). *Report of the parliamentary select committee to investigate ethnic clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya*, Nairobi: Government Printer

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵Ndungu, P. N. (2006). Tackling land related corruption in Kenya. World Bank Washington.

World Development Report⁷⁶, states that drastic downfall experience in the maize and wheat output is caused by clash insecurities to the farmer. For example, the estimation of maize production in 1992 was at 2.34 million tons, increment of 6.1 percent from the previous year but below average with 390,000 tons. There was a drop-in wheat production from 195,000 to 125,000 tons from 1991 to 1992.⁷⁷ The reports of The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) showed that the rift valley province clashes victims alone needed 1,080 tons of pulses, 7,200 tons of cereals and other foods from emergency aid for that particular year⁷⁸(See Figure 3.3.2).

The rift valley clashes made milk production to drop, while it's the most milk producing zone in Kenya. The falling trend of milk production in south rift region confirms the drop. For example, there was a drop from 75,000 litres to 29,000 litres per day.⁷⁹ In the initial stages of violence of 2007-2008 post-election the approximated revenue losses were 2 billion Kenyan shilling.⁸⁰ The realization of farmers, displaced of farm workers and transport penalization cause big reduction in agricultural production. The supply of milk dropped from 3.7 million metric tons in 2006 to 3.2 million metric tons of milk in the year 2007-2008. The data below shows the annual milk production.⁸¹

⁷⁶ World Development Report (2011). Food Security and Conflict. Agricultural and Rural Development Department.

⁷⁷ Daily Nation, 14th May, and 23rd May, 1993

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Kanyinga, K., & Long, J. D. (2012). The political economy of reforms in Kenya: the post-2007 election violence and a new constitution. *African Studies Review*, 55(1), 31-51.

⁸¹ Kenya : milk production <https://www.statista.com/statistics/455173/kenyan-milk-production/>

Figure 2.3.1: The influence of the ethnic conflict on Milk Production

Year	Milk production volume (in million metric tons)
2001	2.51
2002	2.89
2003	2.9
2004	3.39
2005	3.75
2006	3.7
2007	3.2
2008	3.21
2009	3.57
2010	3.64
2011	3.71
2012	3.73
2013	3.75
2014	3.42
2015	3.44
2016	4.12

Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/455173/kenyan-milk-production/>

The following data relates to the agricultural production of cereals (maize, wheat, rice, etc.) for the various years as indicated.⁸² It also indicates a decrease in cereal production for the years that Kenya experienced ethnic conflicts within the various areas, for instance South Rift.

⁸² Kenya - Cereal production https://knoema.com/atlas/Kenya/Cereal-production?action=export&gadget=indicator-preview-host&utm_medium=watermark&utm_source=xlsx

Figure 2.3.2: The effects of the ethnic conflict on Agricultural Production

Year	Cereal production (metric tons)
1991	2,923,992
1992	2,997,899
1993	2,539,301
1994	3,624,079
1995	3,229,877
1996	2,669,157
1997	2,700,368
1998	2,927,285
1999	2,802,247
2000	2,591,351
2001	3,370,458
2002	3,045,518
2003	3,351,497
2004	3,199,022
2005	3,585,080
2006	3,937,106
2007	3,614,399
2008	2,866,388
2009	2,898,900
2010	4,347,437
2011	4,058,581
2012	4,711,585
2013	4,536,942

Source: <http://www.indexmundi.com/facts/kenya/indicator/AG.PRD.CREL.MT>

2.3.2 Industry

The costly imports of maize, sugar and wheat was due to the drop of food supply and raw material for agro based industries leading to price fluctuation and hiking in the affected areas. For example, the price of sugar, flour, bread and other basic good raised by 50 percent because of insecurity and shortage. In response firms paid employees who still came to work and increase working hours to keep up production. Some research showed that during the violence period the wage bill increase by 70 percent despite the temporally labour force reduction. The operational

cost increased by 16 percent during the violence period. This rate doesn't include other expenses like extra input, hiring etc. even accounting for depreciation of Kenyan shilling with 10 percent, according to the cost increase and lower revenue during violence period companies operated at a loss.

2.3.3 Commerce

There was a big drop in the value of cattle in affected areas.⁸³ For example in west Pokot areas and Mt. Elgon, a mature bull before clashes costed sh.10,000 and was sold sh.3000 or less for fear of cattle rustlers who aggravated the insecurity situation⁸⁴.

Areas like Nandi, burnt forest, molo, Thessalian among others during the clashes were faced with a lot of transport issues.⁸⁵ Although the transport related problems had reduced the owners where in fear of cases of renewed clashes. Manufacturer put a stop on supplying commodities to the areas affected for most of their business closed, goods in risk of being stolen and destroyed. This led to considerable hardship in terms of accessing consigner goods.

2.4 Effects of the ethnic conflicts on livelihoods of south rift people

The emergence of conflicts was contributed by weakening of community social fabric making people to choose violence as a means of getting resources and increasing individual insecurity for those interested in bringing conflicts to an end for economic gain.⁸⁶ The major threat of livelihood is conflict. The access to all assests is blocked by conflicts. Incase this happens people tries other ways of getting back the lost resources. The following shows the consequences of ethnic conflicts;

⁸³Kiliku, K. (1992). Report of the parliamentary select committee to investigate ethnic clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya. *Nairobi: Government Printer.*

⁸⁴Haugerund, Angelique. (1995). *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶Levy, J. S. (2002). War and peace. *Handbook of international relations*, 350-368.

2.4.1 Internal Displacement

The main intra-state conflict consequence is internal displacement. In African the major challenge marring conflicts of intra-state conflicts was leading to a lot of displacements of people within the country. The most sensitive and acute issue in Kenya is forced internal displacement. Most internal displacement is induced by conflict even though some cases are caused by natural disaster. According to data from the Internal Displacement Monitoring System (IDMS),⁸⁷ in Africa Kenya is number seven in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), many of them caused by ethnic conflict related to politic.⁸⁸ Levy⁸⁹ argues that for the masses to move into some form of violence there has to be some form of trigger. This trigger is in most cases economic injustice which ends up being some huge ethnic conflict.

Figure 2.4.1: Data on internally displaced persons in Kenya

Year	Number of displaced persons in Kenya as a result of ethnic conflict and disasters
2009	250,000
2010	250,000
2011	250,000
2012	300,000
2013	412,000
2014	309,000
2015	309,000
2016	138,000
2017	159,000

Source: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/kenya>

2.4.2 Ethnic tensions and fears of future attacks

Prompted target group members in the violence made them enact security force and others means to protect themselves from attacks in future. Ethnic violence eruption was linked to

⁸⁷<http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/kenya>

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Levy, J. S. (2002). War and peace. *Handbook of international relations*, 350-368.

election, since eruption of ethnic violence in two general election following the re-introduction of multipart which brought fears that the 2002 general election would instigate violence.⁹⁰ With the fear of previous clashes the ethnic groups started arming and organizing local group self defense.⁹¹ This fear confirmed psychological deep anxieties left by previous ethnic clashes even though the Kenyan election was relatively peaceful. The only previous elections are the 1992 and 1997 which had fair competition because of the multiparty-democracy re-introduction after the constitution aforementioned repeal of section 2(A). Before the elections in 1997 a new Section one (a) of the Constitution was introduced, stipulating that Kenya is a multiparty democracy. The president Mr. Daniel Arap Moi won the election of 1992 and the 1997 elections there was majority gaining of parliament's seats. EU, EOM states that no one was arrested or convicted for these practices⁹².

2.5 The effects of the ethnic violence on health and education of south rift region

2.5.1 Health

Death is the most direct immediate ethnic conflict impact on health⁹³ for property loss can be recovered with favorable condition and time, the impact of loss of life cannot be recovered. Death leaves children parentless or parents childless. Levy⁹⁴ outlines other civil violent related consequences like psychological trauma and disabilities, managing of society social fabric to an extend of disrupting all life activities, destroying of society's infrastructure and damaging of environment leads to financial drainage away from productive activities. This disability leads to long-term health needs. Because of deterioration of health sector, this needs can't be take care

⁹⁰ Brown, Stephen. (2004). Theorizing Kenya's Protracted Transition to Democracy. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22, (3), 325-342.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² <http://www2.econ.iastate.edu/classes/econ355/choi/mul.htm>

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Levy, J. S. (2002). War and peace. *Handbook of international relations*, 350-368.

of.⁹⁵ There is an increment of communicable diseases like HIV and cholera, depression cause by ethnic conflict psychological stress and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).⁹⁶ There are also possibility of negative productive health, leading to a rise of low birth weight, stillbirths and prematurity.

2.5.2 Education

Due to insecurity issues several schools never reopened for the new term. The pupil who were almost sitting for their KCPE and KCSE left their homes in 1993 due to insecurity resulting to violence. Thousands of schools going children were displaced as a result of ethnic conflicts while others drop because of socio economic and financial factors. For example, by 1994 NCKK estimated that in trans-nzoia district over 10,000 were displaced because of ethnic clashes.⁹⁷ In Narok and Bungoma district similar number were displaced. In south rift region education was disrupted due to burning or looting of schools especially in Nyanza province which borders rift valley province. Kaptama in Western province, Sabaoti Division in Trans-Nzoia District, Kamneru and Kibuk witnessed the same.⁹⁸ Ethnic groups of both teachers and students were transferred to others schools while others drops teaching and schooling. During 1994 clashes some schools like holo school and bishop okoth were closed completely.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Collier, P. (2006), "On Economic Causes of Civil War", Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford. 26

⁹⁸ Linke, A. M. (2013). The aftermath of an election crisis: Kenyan attitudes and the influence of individual-level and locality violence. *Political Geography*, 37, 5-17.

⁹⁹ Ibid

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Introduction

Different researchers have investigated into the area of conflict and its impacts. This is because issues of conflict have far-reaching long-term consequences and it is preferable to prevent them from happening. The greatest impact of conflicts to a nation in most cases happens to be in the economic growth and development. In the previous chapter, a general discussion of ethnic conflict and the effects it has on economic development has been looked into. There has also been a linkage of the theories to what has been happening across the globe.

In this chapter, the researcher seeks to understand the peace building and reconciliation strategies to ensure inter-ethnic harmony by using a case study. Information was collected from journals, broadcast media, newspapers, books and interviews with people who had firsthand experience.

3.1 Peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony

In order to promote inter-ethnic harmony and economic development in Kenya, there are various reconciliation strategies that ought to be adopted to ensure this is achieved. These reconciliation strategies may include but not limited to the following:

3.1.1 Reconciliation

The act of getting two parties together after disagreement or argument is referred to as reconciliation.¹⁰⁰ Inter- ethnic harmony was also brought by reconciliation. Some of the most important aspects of reconciliation are giving out the truth of identities and the part of both victims and perpetrators. In order to build reconciliation institutions and individuals needs to be aware of their role in the conflict of the learning, accepting and past constructively so as to

¹⁰⁰ Boyce, J. (ed) (2006), *Economic Policy for Building Peace: the Lessons of El Salvador*, Boulder, CO and Lynne Rienner Publishers, London.

ensure no repetition.¹⁰¹ Reconciliation processes can use religious leaders as their main agents. Religious centers are effective in emphasizing on new conscience discovering in society and individual through repentance, rebirth, moral reflection and confession. For a successful reconciliation the south rift region member initiate the process. The chief mediator koffi Annan is good example of a major role in initiating peace process showing that people ought to have advocating upper hand for such at the grassroots peaceful coexistence.¹⁰² Reconciliation drive is needed for a meaningful initiative.

3.1.2 Memorialization

The act of creating memorial for perpetuation of event, era, person or group of persons memory is referred to as memorization. Memory can be a source of conflict as it can be linked to history, Identity and lineage and can also be contested. Although perpetuated memories seen in memorial celebrations, monuments can help human survivors of violation of rights through reparations of symbols to start the healing process and lead to reconciliation of divided society.

Some of the aspects of memorilization are telling the truth, justice seeking, democracy culture building, marginalized history commemoration, human rights violation victims' and survivors recognition.¹⁰³ Various forms can be linked to memorialization like public facility renaming, exhibitions, monuments, plaque and museums. This can be said to be areas of reparation subcomponent justice transitional discourcement.

For easy achievement of memorialization initiative goals as a mechanism of building peace, there should be some level consultation project sponsors and initiators that they aim to give

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Oyugi Walter Ouma, et al. (2003). Politics of transition in Kenya: From KANU to NARC. Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation.

power. Thus, there should be avoidance of the approach of top-down in memorization. For peace building to succeed ethnic groups should own the initiative.¹⁰⁴ Government resident other people interested in peace should copy what kalejin, kikuyu, luhya, luo and turkana groups of ethnics did to in reconstructing the Kenya assemblies of God (KAG) in kiambaa that was burnt during the 2008 election violence.¹⁰⁵ The church has been named kiambaa church of unity and reconciliation to show the importance of harmony and interethnic cooperation in period of post conflicts. The church is important in greater Usain Gishu county peace keeping.¹⁰⁶

3.1.3 Restitution and restoration of land rights

Many of peoples documents were burnt or misplaced and many particulars especially for land were lost .¹⁰⁷ the government needs to fasten the replacement facilities so that all victims can get back their lost land rights. The state should compensate those people who can't go back to their land according to the current market rates of land, this will make it easy for them to reconstruct their lives back.

Kapsita and Mukinyai violence victims were bitter for they could not get back their properties such as bicycles, television, stolen cattle among other things beside land rights and loss.¹⁰⁸ Restoring personal relationship and raptured ethnic can be started by surrendering the lost poverty voluntary. Effeteness of reconciliation can determine the restitution success. Knowing well that sustainable peace can only be build by restorative justice.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴Oyugi, W. O. (2000). Politicised Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: A Periodic Phenomenon. Addis Ababa. <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/CAFRAD/UNPAN010963.pdf>.(Accessed, August 6, 2008).

¹⁰⁵Klopp, Jacqueline M. (2006). Kenya's internally displaced: Managing Civil Conflict in Democratic Transition. In DorinaBekoe A. (ed.), East Africa and the Horn: Confronting Challenges to Good Governance (pp. 59-80). London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹Coakley John (1992). The resolution of ethnic conflict: Towards a typology. International 13. pp. 343-358.

3.1.4 Significant cultural and attitudinal change

For it to be easy to overcome bad ethnicity, individuals need to change their relation and altitude toward one another. The fear, violence and mistrust culture needs a breakdown and opening of space and opportunities where people can listen and be listen to. Because of the appreciation of this), Gender Equity Network and Genesis Art Creation, National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK) came up with a joint ceremony involving Abagusii, Kikuyu and Kalenjin in 2012 December. A training of peace building for initiates was done.¹¹⁰

To confront violence, circumcision ceremonies can be very important, someone confined that during circumcision youths undergo trainings such as being a warrior and ways of exterminating their enemies. It is in this rite from childhood to adulthood where they are taught that killing won't bring any emotional nor spiritual impact for such thing can be cleaned after killing.¹¹¹ Young men initiation can be linked with military training. Young men enhance their respective communitie's military capital upon initiation.¹¹² For peace building plan to have a long run impact there should be addressing of cultural dimension of conflicts.¹¹³

3.1.5 Creation of job opportunities for the youth

The challenge faced by south rift region of unemployment is caused by the two decades ethnic conflict experienced in the area. Many youths are unable to compete with people in other country part for lack of high level of education. Kariuki¹¹⁴ states that most of those young migrate to town. Politician use them to bring violence during election. They can also be

¹¹⁰ <http://m.news24.com/kenya>, March 3 2012.

¹¹¹ Monty, G. M. &Gurr, T. (2003).Peace and conflict 2003: A global survey of armed conflict, self-determination movements and democracy. University of Maryland: Centre for International Development and Conflict Management, 15-40.

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Kreuzer, P. (2002).Applying Theories of Ethno-Cultural Conflict and Conflict Resolution to Collective Violence in Indonesia. Frankfurt: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

¹¹⁴Kariuki, S. (2010).“National Response, Initiative, Peace Building, Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation among Mathare Post-Election Violence Victims”. Unpublished M.A Thesis, African Nazarene University

recruited easily by vigilante and militia groups.¹¹⁵ Government should come up with ways to empower the youths in programs like tree planting to bring back destructed forest during clashes and roads building so that they gets funds through Uwezo fund.¹¹⁶ Having a source of income will discourage the youths from involving themselves in violent matters.

Conclusion

Inter-ethnic relations can be expressed by manifestation of ethnicity as a social phenomenon. There has been development in colonial blending, cultural, historically, racial, dimension classes, under different circumstances of these relations. The inter-ethnic relations in return consists of social condition wide range whose degree of oppression vary.

However, various strategies have been put forth with an aim or creating harmony within conflicting communities. Among these strategies is reconciliation, which is mainly bringing people together after a disagreement. The main initiators of reconciliation may be community elders as well as church leaders who focus mainly on checking their understanding through confession and rebirth..

Although there are different strategies for making harmony in communities faced with such conflicts. Reconciliation is one of the strategies created which brings people with disagreement together. Church leaders and elder are the main initiators who are mainly focused on knowing society and individuals new conscience through rebirth, repentance, moral reflection and confession.

Another way of creating harmony is memorialization, it focuses on creating memories so as to perpetuate memory for occurrence, event and person. The goal of memorialization is telling the

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Ibid

truth, justice seeking, democracy culture building historical marginalization commemorating and human right violation victims and survivors recognition.

Restitution and restoration of land rights for those who lost such deeds through fire will also help in efforts made towards restoring peace among the people of the South Rift.¹¹⁷ Other strategies adopted include change of attitude, perspective and cultural setup of the people as well as creation of job opportunities for the youths. For it to be easy to overcome bad ethnicity, individual need to change their relation and altitude toward one another. The fear, violence and mistrust culture needs a breakdown and opening of space and opportunities where people can listen and be listen to.

¹¹⁷Human Rights Commissions (2011).Turning Pebbles: evading accountability for post-election violence in Kenya. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2011/12/09/turning-pebbles/evading-accountability-post-election-violence-kenya>

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ON THE SOUTH RIFT

4.1 Introduction

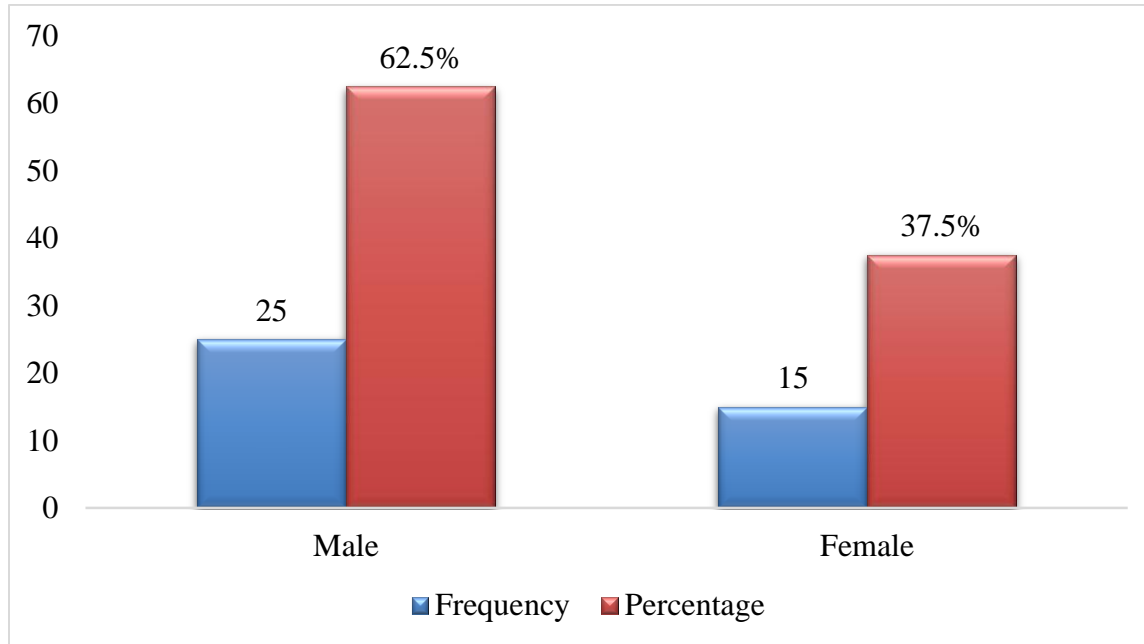
This brings out the results and analysis of the research as explained in methodology section. The results of the study are given on the effects of ethnic conflict on economic development of Kenya: case study of South Rift. The data was collected using interview guides. The instruments were guided and designed in line with the objectives of the study.

4.2 Demographic Information

The aim of the study is to get demographic information through establishment of response in terms of age, level of education, gender distribution and the period they stayed in the region.

4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

Table 4.0.1: Gender of the Respondents



On respondent's gender, the 62.5% of the respondents were male whereas 37.5% of the were female.

4.2.2 Age Group of the Respondents

Table 4.0.2: Age Group of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
21-30	4	10
31-40	9	22.5
41-50	14	35
50 & above	13	32.5
Total	40	100

On respondent's age category, the majority i.e 35% of the respondents were aged between 41-50 years, 32.5% were 50 years and above, 22.5% were aged between 31-40 years whereas 10% of the respondents were aged between 21-30 years.

4.2.3 Level of Education

Table 4.0.3: Level of Education of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Certificate	10	25
Diploma	11	27.5
Degree	14	35
Masters & above	5	12.5
Total	40	100

Majority of the respondents i.e 35% were first degree holders, 27.5% were diploma holders, 25% were certificate holders whereas 12.5% held master's degree and above.

4.2.4 Period of Stay of the Respondents

Table 4.4: Period of Stay of the Respondents

Period	Frequency	Percentage
1-5 years	4	10
6-10 years	8	20
11-15 years	13	32.5
Since birth	15	37.5
Total	40	100

In terms of respondent's period of stay in South Rift region, the majority of the respondents at 37.5% , were born grew and still live in Rift Valley, 32.5% of the respondents had lived in South Rift for a period of between 11-15 years, 20% had stayed for a period between 6-10 years,

whereas 10% of the respondents had only been in South Rift for a period of between 1-5 years. The respondents were well equipped with the information required by the researcher and thus the answers provided were reliable.

4.3 Effectiveness of peace building strategies

4.3.1 Rating of the effectiveness of Peace Building Strategies

Table 4.5: Rating of the effectiveness of Peace Building Strategies

Rating	Frequency	Total
Excellent	4	7.5
Very Good	10	27.5
Good	14	32.5
Fair	9	25
Poor	3	7.5
Total	40	100

The respondents were asked to give their view on the effectiveness of peace building strategies in ensuring inter-ethnic harmony in South Rift. A large number of the respondents as shown by 32.5% indicated that the strategies adopted were good, 27.5% indicated that they were very good, 25% indicated that they were fair, 7.5% indicated that they were excellent while 7.5% indicated that they were poor. This shows that most of the respondents were relying on the peace building strategies that were being adopted to ensure that there was continued harmony among the South Rift people¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

4.3.2 Whether the introduction of other peace building strategies would bring long term peace in South Rift region

Table 4.6: Should there be other peace building strategies to bring long term peace in South Rift region

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	24	60
No	16	40
Total	40	100

The respondents were asked whether the introduction of other peace building strategies would help create harmony in the South Rift region. Majority of the respondents as shown by 60% indicated other peace building strategies would help in ensuring that inter-ethnic conflicts were minimized in order to create harmony such as peace building measures include measures specified by respondents included those measures aimed at reconciliation, memorialization, restitution and restoration of land rights, significant cultural and attitudinal change and youths job opportunities creation of job opportunities, while 40% of the respondents were of the contrary opinion¹¹⁹.

4.4 Causes of violence in South Rift regions Kenya

The study sought to establish the causes of ethnic conflicts in the South Rift region. In this section interviewees were asked to give an account of the various conflict cause in the region. They outlined the following factors as the major causes of conflicts.

¹¹⁹ Ibid

4.4.1 Land Issues

From the interviewees land was the highly ranked reason for ethnic conflicts in the study area. They pointed out that land in Rift Valley was highly associated with heritage, apart from it being a source of livelihood. The interviewees stated that the large sizes of land held by Kikuyus were taken from them and sold to the Kikuyus leaving most of the ancestral owners of such lands landless. According to some of those interviewed, the government was doing very little if not nothing at all in readressing the issue of land. This aspect has rendered most of them squatters with others being internally displaced in what was once their own land. They angrily stated that some of this land is even lying idle now that it is owned by the rich or even government people.

Some of those interviewees also stated that ethnic conflicts also emerged as a result of land conflicts especially over boundaries, land sales or inheritances. They stated that about half of the land conflicts related to boundary disputes that occur mainly with neighbors or relatives who live close by or as a result of inheritance among relatives. Some even stated that over the past years, many conflicts linked to land sales. This happened due to the fact increase of land resulting from the pressure of population, agricultural commercial agriculture and urban settlement, with expectation of development of land sales market. However, with unclear and undefined property rights in South Rift region, presence of more land conflicts related cases to land sales are often witnessed.

4.4.2 Poverty

As stated by most of the interviewees, poverty in South Rift region has had an influence in fueling ethnic conflicts in the region. This was mainly because most of the regions affected by poverty were viewed as campaigning grounds for politicians as the poor were easily bought through mere promises.

The incidents of poverty according to the surveys have increased. In 1994 the number of people living with poverty increased from 11.5 million to 13.3 million in 1997 and the estimation is that by the end of 2000 the number will shot to 15 million.¹²⁰ 47.0 % of poor lived in rural area and in urban area 29.0% arid and semi arid districts having the highest number of poverty having 70.0% poor people in the 1997 total district population.

The study states that the total expenditure of household consumption, the survey of ministry of finance and planning has drawn three poverty lines.¹²¹ Household members are considered to be poor if they are unable to afford the food minimum expenditure and allowance of minimum non food items. In 1997 the poverty absolute line for areas in rural places identified at 1,239 per month capita and in urban area 2,648 per month capita. The poverty of food line was Kshs 927 for rural area per month and in urban areas Kshs 1,254.¹²²

According to the interviewees, political militancy in the region meant that the affected were ready to execute the demands of politicians even when it included incitement against their counterparts. According to them, politics is a key factor that leads to conflicts in the region. They pointed out that people seeking political positions rally their clans against others. Some of the conflict victims stated that politicians fuel the conflicts with a personal benefit thus making members detach themselves from the rest. This is based on the belief that advantages politically, socially or economically are best distributed by specific clansmen/women. Thus, during election period in South Rift, clan relationships became quite influential in inciting ethnic conflicts. Harmonious relationships are destroyed in the face of clan chauvinism that later leads to conflicts.

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2000. The Second Report on Poverty in Kenya, Vol. II: Poverty and Social Indicators. Government Printer, Nairobi.

¹²² Ibid

4.4.3 Fear of domination

According to the interview results, one cause of ethnic conflicts could be the kikuyu who dominated large number of lands in the region. They view this domination as political patronage and ethnic favors in acquisitions of lands and corruption. The powerful kikuyu leader Kenyatta only kikuyus were favored with political connections at the expense of other ethnic groups like Maasai, luo and kalejin. The settlement schemes of rift valley, coast province and other places in the country were given to kikuyus. Illegally Kenyatta also acquired large tracks of land for himself. The incomers in rift valley population by 1989 were around 35 percent.

4.4.4 Competitive Elections

The 30 % of interviewees pointed out that during competitive elections, ethnicity has always been an influential force. This has been associated with power and resources loss fear among irresponsible leaders and their followers since people associate state power with resources. Some of the interviewees stated that, most of the people believed that with their ethnic group person in a power position of power is a resource embezzlement way. As indicated by some of those interviewed, this lead to them joining forces to ensure their ethnic members were in power. Thus, ethnic conflicts were more pronounced before or immediately after general elections, in Kenya electoral competition ethnicity is the key force.

4.4.5 Illegal arms

The 35% interviewees attributed the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in South Rift region to the presence of illegally owned arms. The interviewees stated that residents of South Rift region acquired arms through cartels created by Kenya Police Reservists (KPR) who rent guns to perpetuate crime and ethnic conflicts. They legitimize use of both legal and illegal arms by colluding with ethnic vigilante police to heighten ethnic conflicts. Some of those interviewed revealed that the use of sophisticated automatic weapons by the conflicting groups has over

powered the rudimentary ones used by the government security agents. These findings support a research by the Kenya Police, which states that between 2004 and 2009 an average of 1,400 people were murdered.¹²³ There is no statistical data showing how many killings were done by firearms, according to research there were around 3000 deaths in northern Kenya caused by conflicts related with small arms between 1994 and 2004.¹²⁴

These findings concur with Agade¹²⁵ who asserts that the government's compromised monopoly of the instruments of power and force has opened opportunities to perpetuate illegalities. More often than not, the political elite within government have used a legal process such as mopping out guns from the region in order to politically empower certain communities. The discriminated community automatically loses confidence in the state apparatus to ease tension and takes the law in their hands.

4.5 The effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities of South Rift people

The interviewees indicated that ethnic conflicts have had a negative effect on the economic activities of the region especially on food production, closure of businesses and industries. Those interviewed pointed out a state of reduced agricultural activities during times of ethnic violence. According to them, one of the long-term consequences on economy was the permanent altering of the pattern of land ownership, leading to economic production decline for many farmers run away because of insecurity. For quite a long period of time, the agricultural land had remained dormant for fear of attacks from clashing communities by the farm workers.

¹²³Kenya Police. 2007a. Comparative Crime Figures for the Years 2005, 2006, and 2007. Nairobi: Kenya Police. —. 2007b. Crime Statistics. Nairobi: Kenya Police. —. 2008. Crime Statistics. Nairobi: Kenya Police. —. 2010. Annual Crime Report. Nairobi: Kenya Police.

¹²⁴Adan, Mohamud and RutoPkalya. 2005. Closed to Progress: An Assessment of the Socio-economic Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral and Semi-pastoral Economies in Kenya and Uganda. Nairobi: ITDG.

¹²⁵Agade, K. M. (2015). Changes and challenges of the Kenya Police Reserve: the case of Turkana County. *African Studies Review*, 58(1), 199-222.

52% of those interviewed also pointed out that as a result of ethnic conflicts, businesses were closed down leading to decreased production. This was mainly as a result of fear of attacks while in business areas. This was further worsened by the state of insecurity on the roads, as vehicles could be easily stolen or destroyed in the affected areas. According to the interviewees, these reduced the amount of commodities at the market areas available for consumer use.

4.6 Effects of the ethnic violence on livelihoods of south rift people

The interviewees indicated that ethnic conflict in the area had impacted the lives of the dwellers negatively. In support of this, they pointed out that most of the affected had suffered poverty especially where deaths were present. This was because more often than not ethnic conflicts resulted to violence which led to deaths severe injuries. Where a member of the household was incapacitated health wise, the way of living of that household was completely altered. This led to increase in the levels of household poverty in the area.

Similarly, a number of those interviewed also indicated that ethnic conflicts among the people of South Rift raised the rate of unemployment. To explain this they outlined that during times of prevalent ethnic conflicts, business and industries closed down leading to many being laid off. As these conflicts took time to stabilize and the industries to operate, the lost income meant that households lacked the purchasing power for the already limited consumer goods in the market.

According to the interviewees, accessibility to health services was incapacitated due to insecurity in the roads as result of ethnic conflicts. These clashes also force the health personnel to vacate the affected areas in search for security at their home areas and thus these facilities ended up being closed. According to those interviewed, this worsened the case of violent ethnic conflicts as a number of those injured during such conflicts ended up lacking health care. A similar case of lack of teaching staff was also witnessed in schools in the affected areas as depicted by the

interviewees. This was as a result of the teachers leaving work places in search of safety elsewhere. This meant that school going children also could not access learning institutions, due to insecurity on the way to such institutions.

According to Sibanda, it becomes difficult for individuals to associate themselves with income generating activities in the market places as a result of fights and thefts.¹²⁶ Due to resulting insecurity, most people in conflict prone areas are normally restricted to low-income-generating activities, since they are unable to move to market places to participate in substantial business transactions.

4.7 The effects of the ethnic violence on health and education of south rift region

4.7.1 Education

According to the interview results a large number of non-kalejin teachers were afraid of teaching in areas of clashes. Since that time most schools lack experienced services thus making the education performance of the school very low. Majority of interviewees pointed out that the conflicts prevented many secondary and primary graduates to continue with their studies due to lack of money. Children suffered from sickness caused by poor living condition and insecurity of lack of foods and loss of the text and exercise books. Teachers and student around the affected area never attended due to insecurity caused by conflicts and schools were closed. They say that teachers outside their areas returned to their homes during conflicts.

¹²⁶Sibanda, Harvey. "The city as a growth machine: Toward a political economy of place." *American journal of sociology* 82, no. 2 (2011): 309-332.

Figure 4.7.1: The influence of ethnic conflict on primary school enrollment

Year	Primary school enrolment
2000	94.88
2001	96.12
2002	89.9
2003	103.79
2004	102.47
2005	101.45
2006	98.47
2007	104.69
2008	104.66
2009	106.34
2010	106.34
2011	106.34
2012	111.96
2013	111.96
2014	108.11
2015	105.92
2016	105.31
2017	105.31

Source: https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Kenya/Primary_school_completion_rate/

This concurs with Omolo¹²⁷ who stated that physical accessibility to schools and education centers become a challenge due to conflicts. The interference in education causes low education levels forcing many to result to other sources of livelihoods such as agriculture, pastoralism or even farming. The youngsters become insecure and hence they result to staying at home.

4.7.2 Health

According to the interviewees, ethnic conflicts in South Rift region have interfered with accessibility of health-care services and facilities. The interviewees from the government and NGOs stated that health care providers such as doctors and nurses from NGOs, religious

¹²⁷Omolo, Nancy A. "Gender and climate change-induced conflict in pastoral communities: Case study of Turkana in northwestern Kenya." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 10, no. 2 (2010).

organizations as well as the private sector are deterred by lack of security. Similarly, inaccessibility to activities that can generate income incapacitates individuals towards payment of health services. Majority of the interviewees pointed out that lack of security and water mainly plays part in health facility closures.

As a result of insecurity, NGOs providing health care services face challenges in delivering medicines in spite of the people's inability to access such facilities. These findings concur with Njeru, who asserts that patients' health conditions are made worse by lack of medication.¹²⁸ Due to the lack of medication, patients are left to the risk of death and most young children risk suffering from a life time disease if untreated within the given time such as polio. Waki report on inquiry of commission on the violence experienced in post-election, the results showed that by official estimates, over 1,200 people were killed, and over 300,000 people were displaced from their homes.¹²⁹

¹²⁸Njeru, Arthur PJ. "Ecological Modernisation and institutional reflexivity: environmental reform in the late modern age." *Environmental politics* 5, no. 2 (2008): 302-323.

¹²⁹Waki, P. (2008). Waki Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations there-to on the causes and effects of ethnic conflicts in South Rift region in Kenya. The chapter also presents recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The factors that cause ethnic conflicts in South Rift region are land issues, poverty levels, competitive elections, fear of domination and presence of illegal arms. Among the people living in South Rift, ethnic conflicts have impacted negatively as seen in poor ways of life, poor health and education services and facilities as well as closure of industries, business and loss of employment of opportunities.

However, various strategies have been put forth to bring about harmony in the area as seen by the presence of reconciliation processes, negotiations and peace talks initiated by both the government and other Non-Governmental Organizations. Mediation and arbitration also plays a major role in uniting the Kalenjin communities with their counterparts in South Rift by ensuring peaceful coexistence.

5.3 Discussion of the Findings

5.3.1 Causes of violence in south rift regions Kenya

The study found that the presence of ethnic conflicts in south rift region is caused by land issues ranging from inheritance, boundaries or land sales mainly between neighbours or relatives. The

level of poverty in the area has also contributed to the presence of ethnic conflicts in the region mainly because the political leaders used the state of the poor to buy votes during the general elections. The study found that during election period in South Rift, clan relationships became quite influential in inciting ethnic conflicts, whereas harmonious relationships are destroyed in the face of clan chauvinism that later leads to conflicts.

The study findings further indicate that, the Kalenjin communities feared domination by the Kikuyus and in return they could initiate conflicts in order to have the Kikuyus give in to their demands. The study also found that ethnic conflicts were more pronounced during competitive elections. This was mainly because most of the people believed that with their ethnic group member power position is an easy way to acquire resources and thus they joined forces to ensure their ethnic members were in power. The study also found that the people of the South Rift owned illegal arms as a result of the prevalent ethnic conflicts with their counter parts. These arms were mostly used during ethnic conflicts that would at times result to violence.

The study also found that there were social influences which included victims of the conflict left homeless, injured, destitute, dead, abused, and even lacked trust of each other. Traumatization was felt more among victims. For instance in the post-election violence 2007/08; Insecurity was a rampant word used everywhere. Loss of life among the Luhya, Luo, Iteso, Kisii e.t.c were rampant. Loss of lives has always been the main effect to families and the society at large in violent ethnic conflicts due to negative ethnicity

5.3.2 The effects of the ethnic conflict on economic activities of South Rift people.

The study found that ethnic conflicts resulted into reduced food production in the South Rift region. It also established that closure of some businesses and industries as a result of conflicts was a common phenomenon in the area. The study also found that as a result of ethnic violence,

agricultural activities decreased over conflict periods as farm workers found it insecure to access their farms.

Figure 4.7.2: the influence of ethnic conflict on agricultural productivity.

Year	Agricultural Productivity in constant US dollars
2000	704.2
2001	767.76
2002	723.76
2003	724.52
2004	720.94
2005	754.36
2006	751.87
2007	776.82
2008	725.13
2009	695.69
2010	751.25
2011	753.71
2012	760.85
2013	785.32
2014	801.76
2015	827.13
2016	841.13

Source: https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Kenya/Agriculture_productivity/

Those who worked in industries, as depicted by this study, could no longer find their ways to such industries due to insecurities along the roads. These industries more often ended up being closed down and even some of the workers would be laid off, a state that meant decreased household incomes. This also reduce the demand for commodities in the market places, despite them being inaccessible during times of conflicts.

As indicated by the findings of this study, manufactured goods availability was also inadequate during periods of conflicts due to closure of the various industries. Transport of consumer goods

was also incapacitated as the owners of such vehicles feared attacks, burning of their vehicles or even them being stolen on the way.

5.3.3 Effects of the ethnic conflict on livelihoods of south rift people

From the findings of this study, ethnic conflicts resulted into increased poverty levels among people especially where deaths and health incapacitation were concerned. This was mainly because most of the ethnic conflicts resulted into violence. These study findings also indicated an increased level of unemployment among the people of south rift especially during conflict periods. This was mainly as a result of closure of major industries and businesses as a great number of people were laid off. Income levels per household decrease reducing the purchasing power for consumer goods which were already unavailable.

Figure 5.3.3: The influence of ethnic conflict on poverty levels

Year	Poverty Gap
2006	0.382
2007	0.367
2008	0.393
2009	0.382
2010	0.353
2011	0.33
2012	0.31
2013	0.27
2014	0.253
2015	0.251

Source:<https://tradingeconomics.com/kenya/poverty-gap-at-national-poverty-line-percent-wb-data.html>

The study found that ethnic conflicts made health services and facilities inaccessible as a result of insecurity on the roads. As a result of these conflicts, health personnel vacated the affected areas in search of safety at their home areas, a scenario which left a good number of those

injured with no health care. A similar occurrence was also witnessed in the education sector in the area as many trained teaching staff left the area due to insecurity. School going children were not able to access such institutions due to insecurity associated with ethnic conflicts.

5.3.4 The effects of the ethnic violence on health and education of south rift region

The result shows that education sector was the most affected by conflicts caused by ethnicity. This was told by the large number of non-kalejin teachers to were afraid of teaching in areas of clashes. For a long time period this schools lacked experienced services and has very serious effected on examination performance. The study finding showed that secondary and primary students were prevented from continuing with training and higher education because of shortage of mney caused by the menace. Pupils not only lost their exercise and test books but also lacked food and most of the time fell sick because of poor living conditions and food insecurity in the make shift schools and camps.

The study findings also pointed out that the activities of health-care services and facilities were incapacitated during conflict times. From the findings of this study, health care providers such as doctors and nurses from NGOs, religious organizations as well as the private and public sector are normally deterred by lack of security. Likewise, inaccessibility to income generating activities incapacitates individuals towards payment of health services. The study also found that due to insecurities in the area of study, NGOs providing health care services were faced with challenges in delivering medicines in spite of the people's inability to access such facilities. Due to the lack of medication, patients were left to the risk of death and most young children suffered from life time diseases if untreated within the right time.

5.3.5 Peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony

The study found that in south rift region, peace building strategies had been adopted to create harmony in the region. This was achievable through reconciliation where a mediator was of essence in leading the concerned groups through reconciliation process. However, programs initiated towards educating the people on reconciliation should be initiated in the area, especially now that with this knowledge it will be easier for the mediators to initiate peace among the conflicting communities.

The findings of this study also noted the importance of memorialization in commemorating certain events in the area. This is mainly because national monuments and commemorative celebrations play a role of healing to the victims as well as creating a conducive environment for reconciliations to take place. The study noted the use of education by the government as a tool for creating peace and understanding among the conflicting communities. This has created friendship contacts between children of these communities which could help calm the hostility between the conflicting communities.

The study also found that mediation and arbitration was effective in peace building. This was achievable through workshops, psycho-social counseling, stock branding and stock embargo approaches to peace as an effective way of bringing about peaceful coexistence between the inter-ethnic communities in south rift region. Voluntary and confidential methods of mediation and arbitration usually involved neutral parties deflecting incidents of inter-ethnic conflicts in south rift region. The study findings pointed out that the neutral mediators or arbiters involved in dealing with inter-ethnic conflicts have been the state officers, community leaders and religious organization leaders who bring about peaceful coexistence among conflicting communities.

5.3.6 Conflict Prevention

The study found that efforts relating to prevention and mitigation of ethnic conflicts in south rift region ought to address each of the factors that contribute to conflicts. However, it was found that it is challenging to establish efficient ways of handling each of the causes of conflicts especially due to the fact that they are deeply rooted in the cultures of the people. Nevertheless, conflict resolution can be achieved by attempting to address the prevailing problems only if the communities involved are willing.

To start with, measures linked with prevention of conflicts such as mediation, establishment of projects that create awareness among people of the area, trainings as well as processes channeled towards peace building ought to be administered. The already displaced individuals ought to be rehabilitated in order to aid them in attaining substitute ways of living. The responsibility of Kenyan government, local, national and international stakeholders should be anchored towards ensuring programs and measures to do with prevention of conflicts.

5.4 Conclusion

The occurrence of ethnic conflicts in South Rift region is caused by the presence of land issues ranging from inheritance, boundaries or land sales mainly between neighbors or relatives, fear of domination, competitive elections and the presence of illegal arms in the region. Ethnic conflicts in south rift region make health and education facilities inaccessible for the people. They cause insecurity, inadequate food, death and injuries.

There have been peace building strategies geared towards harmony promotion in south rift region. This has been successfully done through reconciliation, memorialization, mediation and arbitration and the efforts of the government through education programs. There have been

education programs aimed toward educating the people on the importance and process of reconciliation. Memorialization is mainly to initiate the healing process of the victims of ethnic conflicts. In mediation, the neutral mediators or arbiters involved in dealing with inter-ethnic conflicts have been the state officers, community leaders and religious organization leaders who bring about peaceful coexistence among conflicting communities.

Violent conflict prevention and mitigation efforts in south rift region ought to address the various factors that contribute to conflicts. However, the development of effective ways of tackling the causes of the given conflicts is challenged by the fact that these problems are deeply-rooted in people's culture. To start with, measures linked with prevention of conflicts such as mediation, establishment of projects that create awareness among conflicting communities, trainings as well as processes channeled towards peace building ought to be administered.

5.5 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations;

5.5.1 Recommendation for Further Studies

The scope of the study limited the research to some specific issues. The following suggestion are made from the view; The study suggests research to be undertaken on the role of education in conflicts resolutions. Another one should be done on the how ethnic conflicts are influenced by Non-governmental organizations. A similar study should also be carried out in other violent conflicts prone regions of the Rift Valley and it neighbors. A study can be done on the prospects of the county government in bringing about robust strategies of governance that increase economic empowerment for the different communities living in South Rift region.

5.5.2 Policy Recommendations

Some of the suggested recommendations to bring about a reduction to inter-ethnic conflicts in South Rift region include the following:

There should be formulation policies favoring Kalenjin community formal education by the government. This will help in changing their perception of the world which in return helps change their cultural beliefs which leads to ethnic conflicts.

In concern with ethnicity and political parties' relationship, the study recommendations are to make efforts in order to enhance the right attitude among different ethnic groups. Leaders should enhance leadership structure credibility. Inter-community leadership and authority systems should roll out campaigns aimed at influencing the reduction of hostility against neighbors. There is need to strengthen local vigilante groups through legal infrastructure and civil education regulations for conflict resolution both within and between communities.

The Kenyan Government, through NGOs, CBOs, Religious Organizations and other Civil Society Groups provide civic education to different ethnic communities living in Kenya on Article 61 of the Kenyan Constitution which specifically states that all land in Kenya belongs to the people of Kenya collectively as a nation, as communities and as individuals. Therefore, a Kenyan citizen can legally own land anywhere in Kenya. That knowledge can help prevent recurrent historical land disputes which have led to armed ethnic conflicts. The study recommended that the government through the judiciary prosecute and bring to justice politicians, tribal leaders or other persons found to be inciting different ethnic community members over others for leadership and political gains. That is in line with the Bill of Rights which says that the right to freedom of expression does not give anyone the right to use hate

speech. Community policing initiative and the recently established *nyumbakumi*, a community-based security initiative organized on basis of ten households, could be integrated into the county peace force structure. Different economic activities should be adopted to facilitate economic growth and development among the people especially with regard to available natural resources, physical and human capital in the region.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions

(Please read the instructions given and answer the questions as appropriately as possible). It is advisable that you answer or fill in each section as provided. Make an attempt to answer every question fully and honestly.

Section A; Background Information

1. What is your gender?

Male Female

2. Indicate your age group(years)

21-30 31-40 41-50 above 50

3. Indicate your level of education

Certificate Diploma

Degree Masters and above

4. How long have you stayed in the region

1-5 6-10 11-15 since birth

Section II: Effects and Peace Building Strategies

5. How do you rate the effectiveness of peace building strategies in conflict resolution among the people of South Rift region? (Tick where appropriate)

Excellent

Very good

Good

Bad

Fair

Poor

6. Would the introduction of other peace building strategies bring peace in the long term?

Yes []

No []

7. Indicate your level of agreement on the extent to which the following fuel ethnic conflicts in South Rift region. Indicate by placing a tick in the appropriate place. (Key 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree 3 = moderately agree, 4 Agree and 5 = strongly Agree)

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Unresolved land grievances					
Poverty and exclusion					
Fear of domination					
Competitive Elections					
Illegal arms					
Impunity					
The majimbo rhetoric					

8. Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements relating to the effects of ethnic conflicts in South Rift region. Indicate by placing a tick in the appropriate place. (Key 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree 3 = moderately agree, 4 Agree and 5 = strongly Agree)

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic conflicts reduces the agricultural production					
Leads to closure of factories/industries					
Curtails commerce activities					
Inability to access health services and facilities					
Inaccessibility/closure of schools					
Displacement of individuals					
Armament in fear of future attacks					
Kenya's security					

Thanks for participation

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What factors are most likely to cause ethnic conflicts in South Rift region?
2. In your own opinion, what is the impact of ethnic conflicts on economic activities of South Rift?
3. What are the effects of ethnic conflicts the livelihood of South Rift people?
4. What are the effects of ethnic conflicts on social activities of South Rift people?
5. What peace building and reconciliation strategies have been adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony in South Rift region?
6. In what ways does the government and NGOs make adequate interventions to assists the victims of conflicts in South Rift?
7. Have these mechanisms been successful in peace building among the people of the South Rift?
8. Explain In your own opinion, how can the occurrence of ethnic conflicts be prevented in South Rift region in future?