

**FACTORS INFLUENCING ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN KENYA: A  
CASE STUDY OF MANDERA COUNTY**

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## **DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has never been presented to any other University for the award of degree/diploma/certificate

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| <b>CC</b>   | County Commissioner                       |
| <b>CDC</b>  | Conservation Development Centre           |
| <b>FTS</b>  | Fuller Theological Seminary               |
| <b>KANU</b> | Kenya African National Union              |
| <b>KNA</b>  | Kenya News Agency                         |
| <b>SPSS</b> | Statistical Package for Social scientists |
| <b>UNDP</b> | United Nations Development Programme      |

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

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|-------------|---|
| <b>CDC</b>  | Conservation Development Centre           |
| <b>DC</b>   | District Commissioner                     |
| <b>FTS</b>  | Fuller Theological Seminary               |
| <b>KANU</b> | Kenya African National Union              |
| <b>KNA</b>  | Kenya News Agency                         |
| <b>SPSS</b> | Statistical Package for Social scientists |
| <b>UNDP</b> | United Nations Development Programme      |

## ABSTRACT

Over the last decade, the Garre and the Murulle have engaged in frequent fights that have affected more other groups in Mandera County. The inter-clan conflict has affected decisions in the County has had long-term implications. The two clans have their own specific rights of why they fight hence deserve attention in the scholarship observation, not only in terms of lacking development but also in terms of the frontier effect. The main purpose of this study was to determine the factors that influence the escalation of conflict in Northern Kenya in Mandera County with a special focus on the Murrule and Garre conflicts. The study was guided by the following specific objectives: establish the influence of political orientation; economic factors; cultural factors; social factors; the influence of the proliferation of small arms and environmental scarce resources on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study focused on the whole of Mandera County. The target population was 2000 community members, County leader and religious leader who were residents of Mandera County. The sample size of this research was two hundred (200) respondents out of the total population of 2000 community of Mandera County. The sample size was drawn from the target population based on the principle of 10% rule. Data that was collected was obtained from primary sources. Primary data was collected through questionnaires. Focused group discussions were held to elicit information from County leader and religious leader. The 3 groups of 10 participants per group were guided by a moderator who introduced the topics for discussion and help the groups to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst them. The study adopted a descriptive research design. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected from the field. Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS version 21.0. Qualitative data was categorized into themes basing on research objectives. The quantitative data were presented in percentages and frequencies in the form of charts and graphs for interpretation and clarity of meaning. Ethical issues were considered when conducting this research. The findings demonstrated that the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya using a case study of Mandera County were political orientation; economic factors; cultural factors; social factors; the proliferation of small arms and environmental scarce resources on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study recommended that the involvement of all actors be involved in the peace and reconciliation team. The actors should include local leaders who are the elders; County and National government interventions; youth and women in Mandera County. This inclusivity is important in underlying issues affecting the community members at their capacity and implementation of the recommendations made at *barazas*.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

From the beginning of world war I and II at the start of 1990 to the end of 1999, there were 118 armed conflicts worldwide, involving 80 states and two para-state regions and resulting in the death of approximately six million people (Adelman, Howard & Suhrke, 2011). Armed conflicts are defined as open, armed clashes between two or more centrally organised parties, with continuity between the clashes, in disputes about power over government and territory. Of the 118 armed conflicts which ensued from 1990 to 1999, ten can be strictly defined as inter-state conflicts (Rapoport & Anatol, 2009). Although it is often these conflicts that dominate the headlines and shape the popular view of how contemporary wars are fought, today they account for only a relatively small proportion of overall war. Five can be strictly defined as wars of independence, although the insurgents in many more wars would themselves define their conflicts in those terms (Rummel, 2015). One hundred wars were largely, primarily or even exclusively internal conflicts. The fact that such loose terminology must be used is an indication of the extent to which many wars defy neat categorization. For instance, two wars that are not included in 1999 and 2000 in that total of 100 were entirely internal Ethiopian affairs in every respect except that the site of most of the fighting took place in neighbouring Somalia. The war that went on in the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) from 1998 into 2000 is in a category by itself that is perhaps best regarded as trans-national. It was, in part, a civil war, fought to determine whether President Laurent Kabila should remain in power, and in part an international war for regional power and influence. Angola, Chad, Namibia, Sudan and

Zimbabwe were allied with President Kabila's forces, while Rwanda and Uganda fought against them and, in 2000, against each other as well (Wallenstein, Peter and Sollenberg, 2010).

Conflict has been defined as an active disagreement between people with opposing opinions or principles (Haji, 2014). According to Hersi (2007) there are different levels of conflicts. These are: discomfort level at this level, it is easiest to deal with and head the issues, by speaking directly with the other party to establish if there is a problem. Good will is established by being prepared to address the issue; incidents level is when incidents happen, and it appears there may be a developing issue causing irritation or frustration; it is still possible to intervene successfully by raising the issue with the other party. This is best done in an open and non-confrontational manner, with an opening statement that a solution is being sought; misunderstandings level is effective strategies at this level of conflict escalation include one or more of the parties involved clarifying what might be happening; tension level is by this level of escalation, the issues in dispute have become more severe in nature and it is hard for people to be objective enough to discuss the matter in an open and constructive manner; crisis level is the most effective intervention to call on the services of an external mediator who will work with the parties and assist them to find a workable solution and mediation is when the parties are unable to resolve a dispute it may be useful to call on the services of an external mediator who can objectively work with the parties to resolve the issues (Hersi, 2007).

In the late nineteenth century, the present North Eastern region, now subdivided in counties by the new Kenya constitution, was known as the Northern Frontier. At the turn of the century this region and the larger Horn of Africa was hit by human and livestock diseases and famine. These calamities caused depopulation by depleting vital natural resources necessary for human

survival. Areas affected by the calamities were the Northern Frontier region, including areas bordering Daua and Ganale Doria Rivers, Sagan River, Waso and the Tana rivers. Soon after the occurrence of these disasters and the subsequent depopulation, the Somali clans of Darood and the Hawiya from the Horn of Africa migrated to occupy these areas. The British and the Italian in their colonization quest fixed boundaries that divided up the Somali pastoral communities into different political jurisdictions (Oxfam, 2011).

Human conflict has always existed for a long period of time especially in the African continent. However some conflicts have received international recognition due to the nature and scale of conflict. This is particularly apparent in the horn of Africa where, conflict continues to occur among the marginalized and pastoral communities who mostly live in harsh environment. Northern Kenya is one of the areas where conflict happens among the pastoral community. Unfortunately this has had little acknowledgement in the international .Northern Kenya is one such story of neglect at the hand of successive authorities (Baqe, 2011).

Northern Kenya has been isolated greatly since independence. This region is not well integrated in the national economy and has got little political influence. Northern Kenya experiences conflict within and without the border between Kenya and Ethiopia. The proliferation of small arms is already a security concern in the larger northern Kenya and is slowly affecting communities neighboring the region Abdi (2011). Climate and the associated environmental disasters, such as droughts and floods, induce forced migrations and competition over natural resources among the pastoral communities with potential negative consequences for political stability and conflict resolution Tedesse, (2010). In the arid northern Kenya, the severe droughts that used to occur every ten years now occur every five years or less Oxfam (2011).



Resource-based conflict has been at the center of perpetuating conflict within the northern part of Kenya. Usually conflict centers on resources such as water and pasture. This causes cattle rustling, highway robberies and not infrequently politically based violence. Within northern Kenya there lies Mandera County.

Mandera County covers an area of 25,797.7 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 1,025,756. Mandera County is composed of 6 sub-counties which are Mandera east; Lafey; Mandera north; Banissa and Mandera south. The county's population has surged over the recent past Mandera county government (2015). The Mandera Somalis divide themselves traditionally into four 'clan' groupings, the Garre, Murulle, Degodia; and 'corner tribes.' There is a sedentary agrarian population along the Daua River, and pockets of agro-pastoralists in better-watered sites. Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited. Resources such as pasture and water sources are often at the center of conflict between the local clans (UNDP, 2010).

Violent conflicts such as cattle rustling between the Boran and Gabra, Rendile and Borana and Borana and Somali clans occur frequently. In Mandera inter clan conflict among the Somali has always shot up despite that the members of the community in conflict are of similar ethnic origin. This has further led to tribal clashes of the communities in the region. The conflict has at times had international dimension with bordering communities from Ethiopia taking sides in the conflict by supporting their own communities on the other side of the border either by giving them safe hiding place or by coming in and attacking the protagonists in the conflict. (2008).

The conflict in Northern Kenya affects as far as the border of Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda where the same ethnic group of larger Northern Kenya are found. Leadership tussle and bad

governance of past regime are some of the problems of the county. The most tremendous challenge that the communities in Mandera face is the need to have a new and pragmatic leadership equipped with new ideas to propel the region forward. In many cases the leadership tends to only have than have regional outlook. This study will seek to determine key factors that influence escalation of conflicts in northern with a particular focus on Mandera county.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Over the last decade, the Garre and the Murulle have engaged in frequent fights that have affected more other groups in Mandera County. The inter-clan conflict has affected decisions in the County has had long-term implications. The two clans have their own specific rights of why they fight hence deserve attention in the scholarship observation, not only in terms of lacking development but also in terms of the frontier effect, (Abdulqadir Lorot, 2001). Yet too often, the Garre and Murulle conflict has been ignored, and goes unheard in the scholarship arena. This can also be attributed to the fact the area is the northern frontier, which was affected by the state of emergency. During this period, it had little or no access to the media and limited access to the government justice infrastructure such as courts. Nor did they have powerful lobbying groups.

The Murulle and the Garre have engaged in frequent conflicts that has affected the entire Mandera triangle, (Azarya, 2006). In December 2004, the conflict between the two clans claimed at least 100 lives, (Baxter, Hultin, 2006). The two clans continue to be hostile to each other. The continued hostility has slowed social and economic progress among the two clans as no meaningful development can take place in a volatile environment. Factors underlying the hostility between the two clans are not well established. Therefore this study set out to analyze the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in northern Kenya: a case study of Mandera County.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The study sought to determine the factors that influence the escalation of conflict in Northern Kenya in Mandera County. In particular, the study focused mainly on the Murrule and Garre conflicts which have been in existence for a long time.

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

The study was guided by the following study objectives:

- i. To assess the influence of political orientation on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.
- ii. To establish the influence of economic factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.
- iii. To assess how cultural factors influence the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.
- iv. To establish the influence of social factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.
- v. To find out the influence of the proliferation of small arms on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County
- vi. To determine the influence of environmental scarce resources on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County

### **1.5 Justification for the Study**

The dynamics of conflict in Northern Kenya may generally be categorized into a number of issues. This study ventured into looking at contributing issues on conflict by particularly analyzing the major contributing factor of conflict within the community of Mandera County. It further, informs us why conflict happening at different intervals appears among the communities that live in Mandera County.

## **1.6 Significance of the Study**

This study will be significant in contributing towards building on the existing literature while at the same time realizing the gap literature and subsequently criticizing or adding to the existing literature in an effort to help in policy recommendations in ways of dealing with conflict transformation not only in Northern Kenya but also beyond. The finding form recommendations for policy makers as well as practitioners in Conflict management, Diplomacy, and Internal Law.

## **1.7 Assumptions of the Study**

The respondents were freely given the correct and accurate information. The sample population was a true representation of the whole population and the information given by the respondents was true. There were no abrupt major changes in the projects.

## **1.8 Scope and limitations of the Study**

The study will find out the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya. This study was confined in Mandera County. The respondent's attitude towards the study was a limitation since it would be a major barrier to right information in that, the respondent might lack trust for the researcher thus wrong information might be obtained. Shortage of time was likely to be there due to the fixed research period of three months that was not adequate for conducting an extensive research. Several people might not respond to the questionnaires.

## **1.9 Definition of Significant Terms**

**Conflicts** - be incompatible or at variance; clash, (Haakonsen, 2004).

**Cultural factors**- are the established beliefs, values, traditions, laws and languages of a nation or society. These factors also include the artistic values, marriage customs and religious beliefs that are indigenous to a particular region, (Dixon, 1999).

**Diplomacy-** the art of dealing with people in a sensitive and effective way, (Azarya, 2006)

**Economic** – Economic resources are the goods or services available to individuals and businesses used to produce valuable consumer products. The classic economic resources include land, labor and capital, (Bates, 2003).

**Ethnicity-** the fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition (Bates, 2003).

**Historical injustice-** it is the violation of the rights of others; unjust or unfair action or treatment of past events (Azarya, 2006).

**Political Factors-** is an activity related to government policy and its administrative practices that can have an effect on something (Hussein, 2011).

**Proliferation-** is the growth or production (in this study is the case of small arms) or multiplication. It is a rapid and often excessive spread or increase (GoK, 2000).

**Small arms** - are weapons designed for personal use, including: light machine guns, sub-machine guns, including machine pistols, fully automatic rifles and assault rifles, and semi-automatic rifles (Gok, 2000).

**Social factors-** are things that affect lifestyle, such as religion, family or wealth. These can change over time. Food developers need to be aware of these changes to make foods that meet the needs of consumers, (Hanley, 2001).

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Literature review section will be divided into three sub sections to give views from array of scholars, academics and other contributors in the area of conflict and its dynamics. This part will encompass review on Conflict as a literature, Review of Conflict resolution and transformation, and finally Review on Northern Kenya. The section is divided into: theoretical review, empirical review, critique of literature, knowledge gap and summary.

#### **2.2 Political Orientation and Escalation of Conflicts**

Politics is largely cited as one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera County. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others. For instance in 1988 when Mandera Central constituency was curved out from the then larger Mandera East constituency the Garre felt that part of their territory was being moved to the Murulle side. Although the creation of the new constituency was meant to bring some sought of balance by creating room for at least one MP from the two clans, politicians rallied their people not to accept the new boundary at Alango, (Farer, 2009). The politicians fuelled the conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. The clan became central to the political environment in Mandera. This is because of the belief that political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women. The clan affiliation therefore became very instrumental fermenting clan violence in Mandera County during election years.

Study by Ayalneh and Korf (2007) on the causes of conflict between the Merrule and the Garre in Mandera County looked at specific factors in particular whether scarcity of resources was fuelling the conflict in Mandera County. He established that the scarcity of resources contributed significantly to the conflict in northern Kenya in particular Mandera County, (Farer, 2009).

Clan affiliation resulted into the politics of exclusiveness, excessive rivalry between clans as they struggled for their favorite's sons to ascend into the national assembly and glory, power, resources and belonging. The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics of violence in Mandera. However, in the face of clan chauvinism, harmonious relationships are destroyed. Chauvinists ally themselves with politicians who are seeking votes, and in an atmosphere of divide and rule and complete impunity, violence produces strange relationships. Every election in the County generally reflects the characteristics of the clans in the County. For instance, there are three Garre councilors; two are Murulle, one from the Degodia clan, and one from the Corner ethnic groups in Mandera town, (Hersi, 2007).

There is intense competition for power between clans in Mandera. Apart from the council politics, the Kenyan Member of Parliament has gained great power over the last decade. Their remunerations and allowances have increased tremendously to rival the best-paid parliamentarians in the world. MPs control quite a number of so-called decentralized funds at the constituency level, increasing their power of patronage. To gain or retain their popularity, politicians take some populist stances, which may be unacceptable. Many promise to push out of their constituencies opposing or rival clan. For instance, aspiring a candidate for the Mandera Central seat is reported to have promised to expel Murulle from the constituency if elected. The

Murulle people had a feeling that they would struggle to regain control of all their historical territories. Such utterances frequently led to the clashes of the two clans, (Haakonsen, 2004).

### **2.3 Economic Factors**

Due to such large numbers of livestock, the resources that support livestock, such as pasture and water are often at the centre of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited. During drought, there is overcrowding at the few permanent water facilities, such as boreholes, whose engines tend to be overworked or clogged due to siltation, leading to frequent breakdowns. Since running a borehole pump is very expensive due to high prices of fuel and spare parts, the cost of maintaining borehole engines are passed on to the poor livestock owners who have to pay Kshs. 5 when watering their animals. Keeping in mind that these people have large numbers of animals Kshs. 5 multiplied by the number of animals might run into thousands of money, which the locals find hard to raise, (Kratli, & Swift, 2009).

### **2.4 Cultural Factors**

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



and minor brawl could lead to a major confrontation, which render economic and trade transaction may stalemate for as long as many years, (Jessa 2011).

Garre and the Murulle are therefore, nothing else than expression of the society's culture and tradition, which are seen in the clan's hierarchical order. The Garre and the Murulle have a customary law through which the clan is the main political and legal instrument by which inter clan and intra-clan issues were discussed. Through the customary law, conflicts are resolved and resources managed to avoid further conflicts, (Jessa, 2011).

Moreover, fundamental cultural elements of the Garre and the Murulle are further influenced by the Islamic religion and lifestyle. The two clans have a strong following of Islam which has shaped their values and norms. The two clans have fused their culture with Islam their becoming a conservative Islamic society. But most important is that the Garre and Murulle have a traditional governance authority which consists of a chief and hierarchical clan heads operating under the chief's authority. The chief and the clan heads make decisions, which were executed and propagated to the lowest level of the community and at the household level. They formed a council which deliberate decision on issues that would include divorce, waging of wars against a rival clan, managing water access, pastureland and revenge to pay back the evil committed against the clan members, (Hanley, 2001).

## **2.5 Social Factors**

Furthermore the easy access to firearms accelerated the conflict in Mandera. The weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries. Access to arms coupled with poverty increased the scale of cattle rustling, the rate of fatalities in conflicts over pasture and water, and fosters highway banditry. Secondly, the general lack of security since the collapse

of the Siyyad Barre regime in 1991, forced herders to obtain arms to protect their livestock. The exact causes of conflict differed from area to area, depending on the conditions of the soil and the amount of water and rainfall. Furthermore, the arid lands are inhabited by various ethnic groups that adhere to different values and socio-political systems. Consequently, their patterns in natural resource usage may be at odds with one another hence leading to eruption of conflict due to environmental pressure, (Baxter, Hultin, 2006).

In a study carried out by (Cassanelli Lee, 2002) due to such large numbers of livestock, the resources that support livestock, such as pasture and water are often at the centre of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle. Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited. During drought, there is overcrowding at the few permanent water facilities, such as boreholes, whose engines tend to be overworked or clogged due to siltation, leading to frequent breakdowns. Since running a borehole pump is very expensive due to high prices of fuel and spare parts, the cost of maintaining borehole engines are passed on to the poor livestock owners who have to pay Ksh. 5/ when watering their animals. Keeping in mind that these people have large numbers of animals Ksh. 5 multiplied by the number of animals might run into thousands of money, which the locals find hard to raise.

## **2.6 Proliferations of Small Arms and the Escalation of Conflicts**

A proliferation of weapons in Mandera has also been blamed as a cause of conflict in the County. As the warlords continue to pursue their personal objectives, the state of affairs in Somalia there was high flow of weapons into Kenya due to the porous nature of the border. Hargesia and Burao in Somalia have become flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya. The abundance of weapons changed the face of criminal activities in the region as cattle rustlers,

bandits and rebel groups acquired weapons from Somalia. Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict making large areas of the Horn ungovernable, (Kamau, 2008).

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons poses serious challenges to both international and national security especially in most of the developing countries of the world to the extent that the states are losing their traditional monopoly over the control of the instrument of violence. Small arms trade has been difficult to estimate and much more difficult to control. Most governments do not publish statistics on transfer of small arms; worst still are private companies who are highly secretive about arms deals. Much of the trade is carried out through black markets and other illicit transfers.

Communities' marginal existence in underdeveloped parts of the country creates a demand for small arms as groups compete for scarce resources and protect their livelihoods. This, coupled with inter-ethnic rivalries that turn violent, for instance, through cattle-rustling raids, pushes communities to self-arm for security. Worse still, the government's failure to impose its presence through service provision and enhancing law and order in northern Kenya has cumulatively fed communities' essential need for firearms.

Weak governance structures influence insecurity and small arms proliferation. For instance, in listing the several factors contributing to the demand for small arms among pastoralist communities, Mkutu (2008) argues that the primary cause is poor governance, while among the secondary causes are weakening customary governance institutions, diminishing numbers of cattle, the need to pay bride price, and unemployment. However, there are other independent

triggers, like cattle rustling, which are treated as a cultural problem among most pastoralist communities in Kenya and the Eastern Africa region.

Small arms have inflamed low-intensity conflicts characterized by a high incidence of banditry, inter-ethnic clashes, and cattle rustling. This insecurity has implications for poverty and competition for resources as groups are displaced and/or flee to more secure places, increasing pressure on land and resources (Eavis, 2002). According to the Kenya Police, on average 1,400 persons were killed every year between 2004 and 2009 (Kenya Police, 2007). Although statistical sources do not provide information on how many murders were committed with firearms, between 1994 and 2004 research found that there were over 3,000 deaths as a direct consequence of small arms-related conflict in northern Kenya (Adan and Pkalya, 2005).

Law enforcement efforts to control the proliferation of small arms have also faced challenges. This is mainly in the area of the inadequate physical presence of law enforcement officers, poor infrastructure, corruption, the scarcity of resources, and difficult terrain in the small arms and conflict hotspot areas. Some police security initiatives have equally posed blowback challenges. For instance, Bevan (2008) observes that the Kenya Police supplies almost 50 per cent of the ammunition that circulates illegally in Turkana North in order to provide the Turkana with some defence against rival groups in Sudan and Uganda.

## **2.7 Steps Undertaken by Leadership to Address Underlying Issues**

In a study carried out by (Lewis, 2012) the local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spear heading numerous meetings where the two clans meet and discuss the issues that cause conflicts between them. During the mediation, they have always agreed that the mediation is to act on behalf of the whole community and that both members of the clans should be involved in thinking systematically together for long term solutions to the conflicts. A person is

given the mandate as the mediator to build trust by building bridges across the dividing lines, and be innovative by utilizing the available opportunity in order to transform conflicts into peace.

The rules that have been passed during such meetings are that during the mediation, the minority clans in Mandera are made to act as third party, because they don't have interest in the conflicts, these minority clans are Corner tribe, namely the Degodia, or the Ogaden, prominent religious leaders like Sheikha are appointed to be mediators and their ruling or decisions are accepted by both parties to the conflicts, that is why the Umal accord of 2005 was named after Sheikh Umal of Jamia Mosque imam because of his role in the mediation to end conflicts, (Kratli & Swift, 2009).

The perennial conflicts between the Garre and Murrule clans have raised a lot of concerns from the government and other stakeholders and peace actors so that proper and timely interventions have been undertaken to avoid possible escalation of these skirmishes and prevent ugly images from inter clan feud. In response to these conflicts the government has beefed up security in the region, (Wood, 2009). Further to that the government has appointed a ten-member team comprising of representatives from warring clans, various groups and government agencies in the area.<sup>161</sup> They formed ten (10) member team from Nairobi five selected from both parties to conflicts and mandated them to broker peace and return normalcy, law and order to the area, because the early peace initiative that was initiated by Members of Parliament from the area had failed to materialize, therefore there was urgent need to address the conflict before it escalated, (Lewis, 2005).

The Government also provides logistical, financial, and personnel to provide a conducive environment for elders to undertake peace building, conflict prevention and social reconciliation

among the warring pastoralists in Kenyan side of Mandera County. The objective is to have long term peaceful and cohesion and coexistence are realized between the parties in the dispute. Also the efforts were to find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma, (Lee, Cassanelli & Besteman, 2000).

The ten member committees of elders are also joined by other local leaders and elders from the area with the local knowledge and wield much influence from both communities' together with Mandera mediation council and religious fraternity to face task ahead of them, (Korir, 2009). The elders meet at arid land conference hall in Mandera before they depart to the hot spot areas of tension and conflicts in order to brain storm and develop common working strategy for peace building and social reconciliation for the assignment that is given to them by the government authorities, (Serna, 2011).

The delegation team with about 40 elders starts going round each villages in the hot spot areas of Mandera County. They meet different County Commissioners from different constituencies within the County. They engage in a fact-finding mission as a means of obtaining a clue of the conflicts. For instance, the team meets with County Commissioner of Mandera Central and East together with his security team members and County peace committees together with local elders from the constituencies to discuss on the interventions to conflict in the area, (Homer-Dixon, 1999). During the once of the meetings, it was made clear that the tension and build up was originated from border areas of Mandera central and East over drilling of Water borehole in Alungo trading center which both clans disputed over its ownership and the spillover effects of the conflicts affected other peaceful communities in Mandera that are not party to the conflicts, the spillover effects had tremendous repercussion on clans living in Mandera, (Hanley, 2001).

## **2.8 Summary of Literature**

The chapter also posits besides ethnicity, politicization of ethnicity, scarcity of resources and historical injustices, the main factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya include: political orientation; economic factors; cultural factors; social factors and the proliferation of small arms in Mandera County.

## **2.9 Research Gaps**

Critical review of past literature showed that several conceptual and contextual research gaps existed in the study of the conflicts in Mandera County; whereas most studies were focused on the whole conflict ridden northern Kenya. Scholars who focused on violence in Mandera include Lewis studied on Somali irredentism and closeness to the porous Kenya-Somalia border as the main cause of inter-clan conflict.

Mandera County looked at specific factors in particular whether scarcity of resources was fuelling the conflict in Mandera County. There has been no known recent study that has focused on other factors besides scarcity of resources that are likely to be escalating conflict in northern Kenya with particular focus on Mandera County hence presenting a research gap.

## **2.10 Theoretical Framework**

This study is built on the underpinning theories, including interpersonal harmony theory, socialization theory and interpersonal communication theory.

### **2.10.1 Interpersonal Harmony Theory**

This theory was generated by Galtung (1967). Galtung argues that interpersonal harmony is the most important micro-level principles of peace are taught and learnt and then practiced. Thus,

this would even imply the possibility of teaching interpersonal harmony in a family or in a school that are characterized by interpersonal disharmony of social relations that an individual society engages in to promote peace. Interpersonal relations permit conflict management because it is a precise structure that manages conflict. The emphasis in this theory is placed on an important pillar of conflict management. The most important method according to Galtung is the use of education.

The study assumes that creation of awareness through educational systems can bring conflicts to an end in conflict escalating areas.

### **2.10.2 The Socialization Theory**

The theory states that, it is by means of socialization, which must essentially be understood to mean that a certain pattern of behavior is inculcated in human beings in one or a few of the first systems they encounter in the family and in school, and then transferred to other systems of society, that simply by imitation, peace is promoted This promotes strong connected interaction structures whereby everybody interacts with everybody else so that information and decision making does not become the monopoly of one or a few members' therefore building trust. Through multilateral interaction structures, members will meet together, not only in pairs and triples (not only the parents in one room and the children in another; the teachers in one room and the pupils in the yard),but all members of the society facing each other especially when important decisions are to be taken. This promotes democratic structures that are less prone to conflict by using positive sanctions more than negative sanctions.

The theory is relevant to the study because, it advocates for interpersonal harmony and that at these levels of human organization lead to societal harmony and peace. For this study to evaluate



the Success and failures of peace efforts between the Gurreh and the Murulle, it may be necessary to carry out an analysis of the interpersonal relationships between the two communities. This theory was developed by Berger (1977).

This theory assumes that escalating conflict in Mandera County have created a certain pattern of behaviour from the clans at conflict. For a democratic structures to be complete in the county, there has to be a positive change of behaviour by the community members towards each other and this influences the choice of attitude they have to embrace peace and have tolerance towards each other.

### **2.10.3 Interpersonal Communication Theory**

This theory was made to define interpersonal communication, it should be stressed that this definitional problem remains unresolved. As relationship harmony is more able to tap into the totality of dyadic relationships, it is also more appropriate to examine the complementarities effect on relationship harmony in the context of family interaction. Contrary to Johan Galtung, Berger indicates that harmony is not a mishmash of psychological knowledge taken from different fields. If that is the case, harmony would only be an attempt to produce a different pattern out of the same jigsaw pieces. It is worth stressing that here the very pieces of the jigsaw are profoundly different from the outset. The approach by Johan centered on the interventions for the most part individual or concerned with restricted situations within relational dimensions. The lack of consistency and consensus in definitions of interpersonal communication has been noted regularly by reviewers in this field.

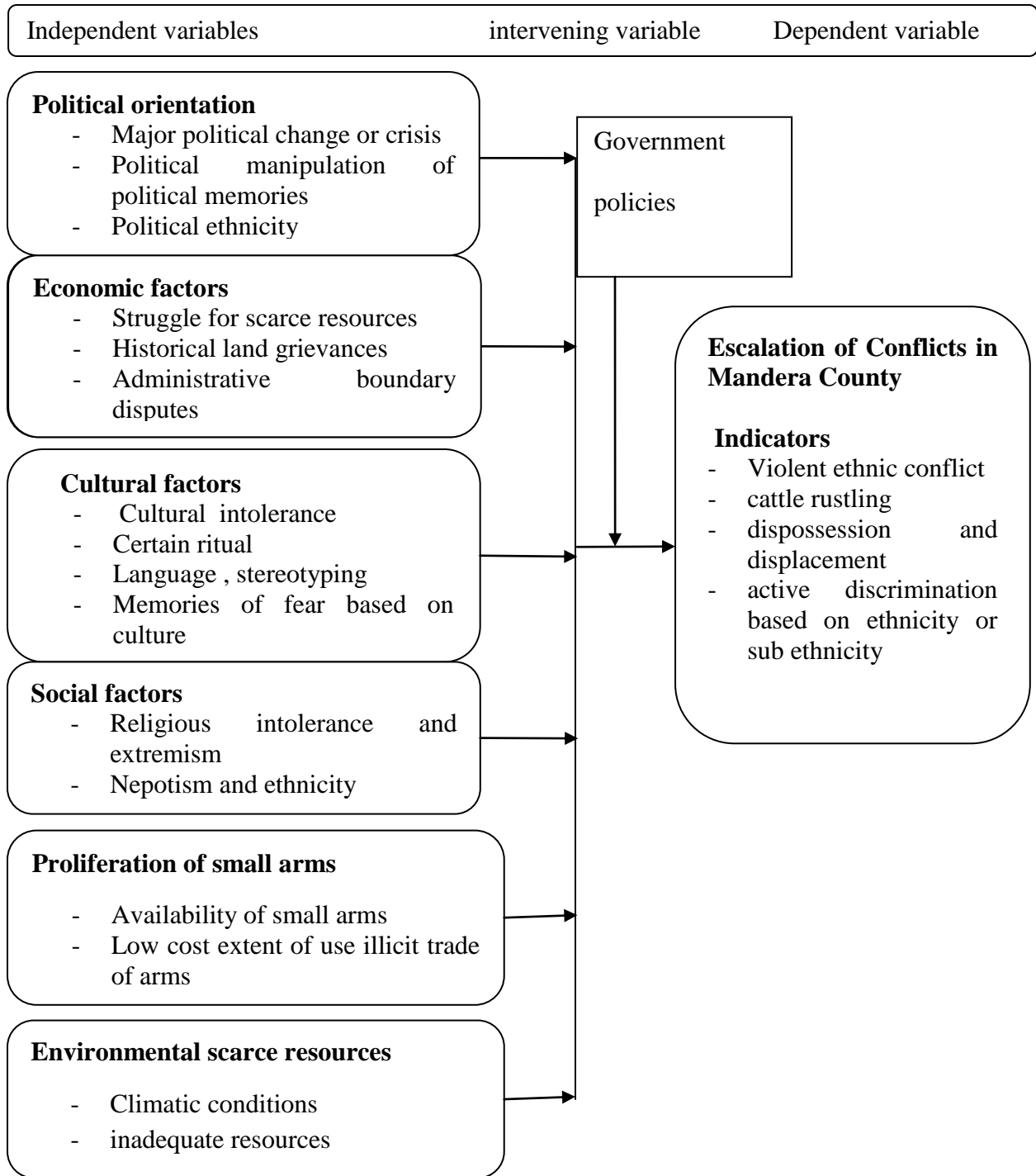
According to Hoffman (1987) dilemmas in the interpersonal harmony theory were designed to address conflicts outside the reality of everyday life in order to assess “moral competence.” In

the care-tradition dilemmas were designed to address concerns of everyday life and to establish a stronger identification of the persons with the protagonist in a dilemma. As a consequence of this approach, moral reasoning relative to issues of empathy and care has been conceptualized as more dependent on the context of the particular situation than research concerning the principle of justice. Justice issues are not merely the object of purely cognitive reasoning processes, but may arouse specific feelings as in the case of justice feelings or motives or a feeling of moral outrage when justice is failed. Empathy, on the other hand, requires more than affect when moral choices about conflicting claims are made.

This theory assumes that conflicts that have been established for generations and passed on to generations to come and the philosophy of taking revenge on the afflicted clans cannot be resolved without harmonious communication and negotiations.

### **2.11 Conceptual Framework**

A conceptual framework graphically represents the independent and dependent variables and how they are related. It specifies the working definition of a variable and enables a simple explanation of the flow of theoretical framework used by the study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2008). In this study, the independent variables will be political factors; economic factors; cultural factors; social factors, environmental scarce resources and proliferation of small arms. The dependent variable is the conflict in Mandera County.



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research methodology that was used, in an attempt to achieve the objectives of the study. Attention was focused on research design, study population or target population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, data collection procedure and data analysis procedures.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

Maina (2004) describes research design as the basic plan that indicates an overview of the activities that are necessary to execute the research. This study used a descriptive research design that sought to describe the study variables and also the relationship between the variables. Descriptive survey research designs can be used in preliminary and exploratory studies to allow researchers to gather information and summarize, present and interpret data for the purpose of clarification (Orodho, 2003).

Descriptive design is the most appropriate because the study is concerned with finding out what relationship exists between the independent and dependent variables by collecting quantifiable data (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2008). The data was collected from the target population in order to determine the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya using the case of Mandera County.

#### **3.3 Target Population**

Kombo and Tromp (2006) defines population as a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement or it is an entire group of persons, or elements that

have at least one thing in common. The target population was 2000 community members, County leader and religious leader who were residents of Mandera County.

### **3.4 Sample Design**

The basic idea of sampling is that by selecting some of the elements in a population, we may draw conclusions about the entire population. A population element is the subject on which the measurement is being taken; it is the unit of study (Cooper & Schindler, 2003).

Kothari (1990) defines sampling as the selection of part of an aggregate or totality on the basis of which a judgment of inference about the aggregate or totality is made. It is the process of drawing samples that would be a representative of the population of the study. Its objective is to secure a sample which subject to limitations of size was produced the characteristics of the population as closely as possible.

Stratified random sampling procedure was used to select a sample that represents the entire population because the sample population is heterogeneous. The stratification was made with utmost care so that observations in each group consisted of homogenous elements. This procedure ensured that the various strata have an equal chance of being selected. Stratified random sampling method ensures inclusion of all strata in the sample population, (Cooper and Schindler, 2001).

**Table 3.1: Target Population**

| <b>Category</b>             | <b>Target population</b> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Community members           | 1000                     |
| Survivors                   | 500                      |
| County Government Officials | 100                      |
| Religious leaders           | 250                      |
| Political leaders           | 150                      |
| <b>Total</b>                | <b>2000</b>              |

**3.5 Sample Size**

The sample size of this research was two hundred (200) respondents out of the total population of 2000 community of Mandera County. The sample size was drawn from the target population based on the principle of 10% rule according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). Out of the 200 respondents taken, 50 were survivors of ethnic and sub-ethnic violence and were issued with the questionnaires while 50 were county leaders both religious and political leaders while 100 were ordinary members of the community. Random sampling was used to select members provided they were community members residing in Mandera County.

**Table 2: Sample Size**

| <b>Category</b>       | <b>Target population</b> | <b>10% principle</b> | <b>Sample size</b> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Community members     | 1000                     | $10/100 \times 1000$ | 100                |
| Survivors             | 500                      | $10/100 \times 500$  | 50                 |
| County govt officials | 100                      | $10/100 \times 100$  | 10                 |
| Religious leaders     | 250                      | $10/100 \times 250$  | 25                 |
| Political leaders     | 150                      | $10/100 \times 150$  | 15                 |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>2000</b>              | $10/100 \times 2000$ | <b>200</b>         |

### **3.6 Data Sources**

Primary data was collected through questionnaires and focus group discussions. The data that was collected was obtained from the given primary sources.

#### **3.6.1 Primary Data**

Data was collected through actual field research using questionnaires in order for the study to capture specific and detailed information from the respondents' narrations, suggestions, opinions, views and comments on the factor escalating conflict in northern Kenya with particular focus on Mandera County. The interviews were structured in a way that a list of issues that is investigated was prior to the interview. This data constituted the main source of information for the study. 50 leaders of the County both religious and political were interviewed.

#### **3.6.2 Focused Group Discussion**

Focused group discussions were held to elicit information from County leader and religious leader. The 3 groups of 10 participants per group were guided by a moderator (research assistant) who introduced the topics for discussion and help the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst them. The members of the three groups were allowed to participate fairly and give their contributions especially on questions relating to the factors contributing to the escalation of conflict in Mandera County. The Focus group discussion was used so as to get diverse information relating to the study topic (Krueger, 1988).

#### **3.6.3 The Questionnaires**

100 questionnaires were administered to some members of the community residing in Mandera County. Closed-ended questions were used to give a choice of answers, some questions required, for example, a 'yes' or 'no' response. Structured questions were used in order to allow for an

easy comparison and quantification of the results. On the other hand, open-ended questions were used in order to leave respondents free to express their answers as they wish. This method was used because there was need for more specific and detailed information in order to facilitate comparison of the reactions of different participants.

### **3.7 Validity of Research Instrument**

Validity is the extent to which research results can be accurately interpreted and generalized to other populations. It is the extent to which research instruments measure what they were intended to measure (Oso and Onen, 2008) on the other hand reliability is the measure of how consistent the results from a test are. A pilot test was conducted in order to test for reliability and validity of the data collection instruments. Pre-testing was considered important in this study because comments and suggestions by respondents during pre-testing helped to improve the quality of the research instruments (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Pre-testing was meant to reveal deficiencies in the instruments. For example, unclear instructions, insufficient writing space, vague questions and wrong numbering might be revealed and corrected, thus improving the instrument.

A pilot study was carried out to pretest and validate the questionnaire. A pilot study sample size at 10-20% of the target sample is adequate (Saunders, Bonamy, and Charlier, 2005). Therefore, the pilot study for this study comprised of 30 respondents (15% of the sample size) who participated in the pilot test but were not included in the final data and analysis.

The research instruments were pilot tested using 30 respondents who were not part of the study. The pilot study was aimed at establishing construct validity of the instruments and identifying any problems which the respondents may encounter in the process of answering the questions put



across to them. Thereafter, the piloted questionnaires were revised and any ambiguous items modified (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2008).

### **3.8 Reliability of Research Instruments**

Reliability is the consistency of a measurement, or the degree to which an instrument measures the same way each time it is used under the same conditions with the same subjects. In short, it is the repeatability of measurement (Golafshani, 2003). Kerlinger (1964, pp.430,) as cited by Glyn (2000) defines reliability as 'Accuracy or precision of a measuring instrument'. The questionnaires were administered twice at two different times in time during pre-test. This was used to assess the consistency of a test across time. For reliability analysis Cronbach's alpha was calculated by application of SPSS. The value of the alpha coefficient ranges from 0 to 1 and might be used to describe the reliability of factors extracted from dichotomous (that is, questions with two possible answers) and/or multi-point formatted questionnaires or scales (i.e., rating scale: 1 = poor, 4 = excellent). A higher value shows a more reliable generated scale. Cooper & Schindler (2008) indicated 0.7 to be an acceptable reliability coefficient. The study obtained a reliability coefficient of 0.7 that was acceptable for this study.

To test the reliability of the instruments, the split-half technique was employed. The instrument was split into two subsets (the sets which have odd numbers and even numbers). All even numbered items and odd numbered responses in the pilot study were computed separately. In using this method, the researcher aimed at determining the co-efficient of internal consistency and the reliability co-efficient whose value vary between 0.00 (indicating no reliability) and +1.00 (indicating perfect reliability). The odd numbered scores for all items was correlated with even numbered scores using Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient of the entire test.

Spearman Brown Prophecy formula:  $Re = \frac{2 \times \text{Corr between the halves}}{1 + \text{Corr between the halves}}$  or  $Re = \frac{2r}{1+r}$  was used,

Where  $Re$  = reliability of the original test and  $r$  = reliability of the coefficient resulting from correlating the scores of the odd items with the scores of the even items.

### **3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation**

In this study, quantitative and qualitative data was collected from the field. Data obtained from the interviews, observations, FDGs and questionnaires was organized, edited and coded according to the research objectives and research questions of the study. Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS version 21.0. Qualitative data was categorized into themes basing on research objectives. The quantitative data were presented in percentages and frequencies in the form of charts and graphs for interpretation and clarity of meaning. Through description, comparison and interpretation, conclusions from data were presented in form of chapters as per the specific objectives. From these conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research was made.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical issues were considered when conducting this research. DeVos (1998) defines ethics as a set of widely accepted moral principles that offer rules for, and behavior expectations of the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and learners. As Babbie (1990) suggests, participants were informed about the potential impact of the investigation. As such, the standard ethical procedure for conducting research was strictly adhered to. Furthermore, permission to conduct the study was sought. Following that, written letters of informed consent were given to all participants.

Afterwards, participants were thoroughly informed about the nature and motivation of the study and what was expected of them. This was done in order to allow participants to voluntarily make the choice to participate. Confidentiality and anonymity were thoroughly assured to all participants. All participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the participating at any given time should some form of discomfort emerge. Lastly, participants were notified that if at any point there was a need for professional intervention of any sort that it would be arranged at no cost.

### 3.11 Operational Definition of Variables

**Table 3.3: Operationalization Table of variables**

| Objective   | Variables                      | Indicators  | Data collection method | Type of Analysis       |
|---|--------------------------------|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| To assess the influence of political orientation on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.        | Political orientation          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Major political change or crisis</li> <li>• Political manipulation of political memories</li> <li>• Political ethnicity</li> </ul>   | Questionnaire          | Descriptive statistics |
| To establish the influence of economic factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.              | Economic factors               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Struggle for scarce resources</li> <li>• Historical land grievances</li> <li>• Administrative boundary disputes</li> </ul>   | Questionnaire          | Descriptive statistics |
| To assess how cultural factors influence the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.                   | Cultural factors               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural intolerance</li> <li>• Certain ritual</li> <li>• Language , stereotyping</li> <li>• Memories of fear based on culture</li> </ul>                                    | Questionnaire          | Descriptive statistics |
| To establish the influence of social factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.                | Proliferation of small arms    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of small arms</li> <li>• Low cost extent of use illicit trade of arms</li> </ul>  | Questionnaire          | Descriptive statistics |
| To determine the influence of environmental scarce resources on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County | environmental scarce resources | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Climatic conditions</li> <li>• inadequate resources</li> </ul>   |                        |                        |
| To determine the factors that influence escalation of conflict in Mandera County                          | escalation of conflicts        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Violent ethnic conflict</li> <li>• cattle rustling</li> <li>• dispossession and displacement</li> <li>• active discrimination based on ethnicity or sub ethnicity</li> </ul> | Questionnaire          | Descriptive statistics |

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the interpretation and presentation of the research findings drawn from the research instrument by way of data analysis. This chapter presents the analysis and findings of the study as set out in the research methodology. The research data was gathered exclusively through secondary data and questionnaires as the primary research instrument. The questionnaire was designed in line with the research objectives of the study. The research sought to determine the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya using a case study of Mandera County.

#### **4.2 Response Rate**

From the data collected, out of the 200 questionnaires administered for each member of community in Mandera County, 186 were filled and returned. This represented a 93% response rate, which is considered satisfactory to make conclusions for the study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) a 50% response rate is adequate, 60% good and above 70% rated very good. This also collaborates Bailey (2000) assertion that a response rate of 50% is adequate, while a response rate greater than 70% is very good. This implies that based on this assertion; the response rate in this case of 93% is very good.

**Table 4.4: Response Rate**

|                           | Frequency  | Percentage  |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------|
| Returned questionnaires   | 186        | 93%         |
| Unreturned questionnaires | 14         | 7%          |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>100</b> | <b>100%</b> |

### 4.3 Profile of the Community Members

The study looked at the profile of the community members of Mandera County. This included the age of the respondents, gender and their highest education qualification.

#### 4.3.1 Age of Respondents

The study sought to investigate the age of the respondents in Mandera County. The findings were presented in the table below.

**Table 4.5: Age of Respondents**

| Age bracket        | Frequency  | Percentage  |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| Less than 30 years | 20         | 11%         |
| 31-40 years        | 28         | 15%         |
| 41-50 years        | 86         | 46%         |
| More than 50 years | 52         | 28%         |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>186</b> | <b>100%</b> |

Table 4.3 presents the findings on the age bracket of the respondents. The figure illustrates that the majority 46% with a frequency of 86 respondents were between the ages brackets of 41-50 years. 28% with a frequency of 52 respondents were more than 50 years; 15% with a frequency of 28 respondents were between the age bracket of 31-40 years and 11% with a

frequency of 20 respondents were less than 30 years. The researcher observed that the majority of the respondents were well above the age of 31 years indicating that the respondents were mature and had lived long enough in the area to be in a position to respond to the focus group and questionnaires efficiently. In Mandera County, it was observed that the elders of the village are the ones who make decisions and are the final word in the community.

### 4.3.2 Gender Distribution of Respondents

The study sought to establish the gender distribution of the respondents in Mandera County.

The findings were presented in the table below.

**Table 4.6: Gender Distribution of Respondents**

| Gender | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|-----------|------------|
| Male   | 150       | 79%        |
| Female | 36        | 21%        |
| Total  | 186       | 100%       |

Table 4.4 present findings on gender distribution of respondents. The figure illustrates that 79% of the respondents were males while 21% of the respondents were females. In Mandera County, there is gender disparity were the males form the largest percentage in the community. The reason for the males being the majority was that the elders of communities comprising of males only participated in the study. The women in Mandera County face stereotyping being in a society that regards them as children and they are not allowed to address elders or men in the community. For this reason, women tend to be back-benchers in

matters concerning politics, education and leadership and in these sectors the men/elders seem to have the upper hand in decision making and participating in matters concerning the communities.

### 4.3.3 Education Qualification

The study sought to establish the highest education qualification of the respondents in Mandera County. The findings were presented in the table below.

**Table 4.7: Highest Education Qualification**

| Education Qualification | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Untrained               | 97        | 52%        |
| Diploma                 | 33        | 18%        |
| Graduate                | 50        | 27%        |
| Post graduate           | 6         | 3%         |
| Total                   | 186       | 100%       |

Table 4.5 illustrates the highest education qualification of the respondents where 52% with a frequency of 97 respondents were untrained; 27% with a frequency of 50 respondents were graduates; 18% with a frequency of 33 respondents were diploma holders while 3% with a frequency of 6 respondents were post graduates. This study noted that the people of Mandera County are generally educated people who are embracing education and striving to educate and better themselves. However, it was noted that within the population of Mandera County remains a significant percentage that is uneducated and untrained. Education in Mandera County has been faced with many challenges that include insecurity, inaccessibility due to poor road networks,



closure of schools, harsh environmental conditions, lack of food among others have implicated education in Mandera County negatively.

#### **4.4 Political Orientation and Escalation of Conflicts**

The study sought to assess the influence of political orientation on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study set out to determine the extent to which political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict; whether people want political positions to rally their clans against others and the extent to which the respondents agree with the given statements in regards to political orientation escalation of conflicts.

##### **4.4.1 Political Affiliation influence the Escalation of Conflict**

The study sought to determine the extent to which political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict. The findings were presented in the table below.

**Table 4.8: Political Affiliation Influence the Escalation of Conflict**

| Extent of Political Affiliation | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Very large extent               | 84        | 45%        |
| Large extent                    | 58        | 31%        |
| Moderate extent                 | 35        | 19%        |
| Little extent                   | 9         | 5%         |
| Total                           | 186       | 100%       |

Table 4.6 illustrates that the majority 45% with a frequency of 84 respondents indicated that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County to a very large extent. 31% with a frequency of 58 respondents indicated that political affiliation influences the escalation of conflict in Mandera County to a large extent. 19% with a frequency of 35

respondents indicated that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County was to a moderate extent while 5% with a frequency of 9 respondents indicated that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County had little effect.

The findings show that the majority responses from the respondents agree that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County. These findings are affirmed by Hassan (2014) in his study an analysis of the Garre and Murulle inter-clan conflicts in Mandera County in Kenya- since the Post-Colonial Era and established that politics is largely one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera County. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others.

#### **4.4.2 Political Positions Rally clans against others**

The study sought to determine whether people who want political positions rally their clans against others. The findings were presented in the table below.

**Table 4.9: Political Positions Rally Their Clans against Others**

| Political Positions | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| Yes                 | 153       | 82%        |
| No                  | 33        | 18%        |
| Total               | 186       | 100%       |

The findings in table 4.7 illustrate that 82% of the respondents agree that people who want political positions rally their clans against others while 18% of the respondents were in disagreement. These findings were asserted by Hassan (2014) indicating that politicians in their

capacity rally their clans against others to benefit their own political interest. An example given of the Alango boundary illustrated that the new constitution (2010) was meant to bring some sought of balance by creating room for at least one MP from the two major clans in conflict but the politicians rallied their people not to accept the new boundary at Alango. This goes to show that politicians fuel conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. The clan became central to the political environment in Mandera. This is because of the belief that political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women. The political clan affiliation therefore became very instrumental in fermenting clan violence in Mandera County during election years.

#### **4.4.3 Political Orientation Escalation of Conflicts**

The study sought to determine the extent to which the respondents agree with the given statements in regards to political orientation escalation of conflicts.

According to the Likert scale, one point was assigned to the variable “very great extent”, 2 points to “great extent”, 3 points to “minimal extent”, 4 points to “very minimal extent” and 5 points to “no extent at all”. Using these point allocation as the variable values and absolute frequencies, weighted mean and standard deviation (to determine the response dispersion from the mean) were computed. Given that there were five variables and a range of 4 points from the lowest to the highest possible mean translating to a variable by variable range of 0.8, the following key was established:

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Very great extent (always exhibit)    | - (1.0 – 1.8)  |
| 2. Great extent (frequently exhibit)     | - (1.81 – 2.6) |
| 3. Minimal extent (occasionally exhibit) | - (2.61 – 3.4) |
| 4. Very minimal extent (rarely exhibit)  | - (3.41 – 4.2) |
| 5. Not extent at all (never exhibit)     | - (4.21 – 5.0) |

**Table 4.10: Political Orientation and Escalation of Conflicts**

| Indicators   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|--|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------|
| Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations  | 132               | 54           | -              | -                   | -                | 1.84 | 0.612     |
| The politicians fuelled the conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. | 14                | 134          | 18             | 17                  | 3                | 2.05 | 0.664     |
| Political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women   | 13                | 102          | 41             | 12                  | 18               | 2.24 | 0.648     |
| The clan affiliation is very instrumental fermenting clan violence   | 50                | 121          | 15             | -                   | -                | 1.61 | 0.629     |
| Clan affiliation results into the politics of excessive rivalry between clans  | 44                | 110          | 18             | 14                  | -                | 1.42 | 0.641     |
| The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics of violence in Mandera   | 24                | 118          | 14             | 16                  | 14               | 1.88 | 0.625     |

The findings on table 4.8 reveal the indicators of political orientation that lead to escalation of conflict in Mandera County involve clan supremacy and chauvinism; clan affiliation and rivalry. The results show that clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County to a very great extent with a mean of 1.84 and standard deviation of 0.612. The study established that politicians fuel the conflicts for their own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others to a great extent with a mean of 2.05 and standard deviation of 0.664. It was noted that the political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women to a great extent with a mean of 2.24 and standard deviation of 0.648. The study found out that clan affiliation is very instrumental fermenting clan violence to a very great extent with a mean of 1.61 and standard deviation of 0.629. It was also established that clan affiliation results into the politics of excessive rivalry between clans to a very great extent with a mean of 1.42 and standard deviation of 0.641. Lastly, political clan

affiliations were noted to explain the characteristics of violence in Mandera County to a very great extent with a mean of 1.88 and standard deviation of 0.625.

#### **4.5 Economic Factors on Escalation of Conflicts**

The study sought to establish the influence of economic factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study sought to examine the economic factors that results to inter-ethnic conflicts and availability of resources.

##### **4.5.1 Economic Factors Results to Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

According to the Likert scale, one point was assigned to the variable “very great extent”, 2 points to “great extent”, 3 points to “minimal extent”, 4 points to “very minimal extent” and 5 points to “no extent at all”. Using these point allocation as the variable values and absolute frequencies, weighted mean and standard deviation (to determine the response dispersion from the mean) were computed. Given that there were five variables and a range of 4 points from the lowest to the highest possible mean translating to a variable by variable range of 0.8, the following key was established:

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Very great extent (always exhibit)    | - (1.0 – 1.8)  |
| 2. Great extent (frequently exhibit)     | - (1.81 – 2.6) |
| 3. Minimal extent (occasionally exhibit) | - (2.61 – 3.4) |
| 4. Very minimal extent (rarely exhibit)  | - (3.41 – 4.2) |
| 5. Not extent at all (never exhibit)     | - (4.21 – 5.0) |

**Table 4.11: Economic Factors Results To Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

| Indicators  | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------|
| Resources that support livestock are often at the center of conflict                    | 154               | 24           | 8              | -                   | -                | 1.54 | 0.621     |
| Permanent water sources are rare thus resulting to scramble of the existing ones        | 146               | 22           | 18             | -                   | -                | 2.09 | 0.648     |
| Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict | 128               | 36           | 17             | -                   | 5                | 2.52 | 0.689     |
| Flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya enhance conflict       | 159               | 24           | 3              | -                   | -                | 1.24 | 0.611     |
| There is no systematic division of resources  | 141               | 24           | 5              | 8                   | 8                | 1.89 | 0.636     |
| Disagreement in boundaries has led to fighting over limited resources                   | 147               | 28           | 11             | -                   | -                | 1.59 | 0.628     |

The results from table 4.9 show that the resources that support livestock are often at the center of conflicts to a very great extent with a mean of 1.54 and standard deviation of 0.621. The study revealed that permanent water sources are rare thus resulting to scramble of the existing ones to a great extent with a mean of 2.09 and standard deviation of 0.648. The study established that the cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict to a great extent with a mean of 2.52 and standard deviation of 0.689. The study found out that the flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya enhance conflict to a very great extent with a mean of 1.24 and standard deviation of 0.611. The respondents agreed to a very great extent that there is no systematic division of resources with a mean of 1.89 and standard deviation of 0.636 and lastly, they agreed to a very great extent that disagreements in boundaries has led to fighting over limited resources with a mean of 1.59 and standard deviation of 0.628.

#### 4.5.2 Availability of Natural Resources

The study sought to determine the extent to which the community members of Mandera County agree that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts. The findings were presented in the table below, illustrating the response from the respondents.

**Table 4.12: Availability of Natural Resources**

| Availability of Natural Resources | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Very large extent                 | 80        | 43.2%      |
| Large extent                      | 53        | 28.4%      |
| Moderate extent                   | 38        | 20.3%      |
| Little extent                     | 15        | 8.1%       |
| Total                             | 186       | 100%       |

From table 4.10 the results illustrated show that 43.2% with a frequency of 80 respondents agree to a very great extent that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts. 28.4% with a frequency of 53 respondents agree to a great extent that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts. 20.3% with a frequency of 38 respondents agreed to a moderate extent that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts and 8.1% with a frequency of 15 respondents indicated that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts only has little effect. The findings concur with Mburu (2005) who indicated that Mandera County has been continuously affected by recurring drought that has seriously undermined the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists who live in the County. The intense dry spells have in turn led to intense competition for scarce resources that have resulted in clashes of the two clans. The area has also been affected by growth in population and encroachment on

other community's lands. The conflict over grazing and water sources has in turn resulted in large scale loss of human as well as livestock lives. According to the livestock census done in February 2008, the number of livestock kept in the larger Mandera County was about 230,000 cattle, 180,000 camels, 330,000 sheep, 300,000 goats and 31,000 donkeys.

Due to such large numbers of livestock, the resources that support livestock, such as pasture and water are often at the centre of conflict among communities in Mandera County. Permanent water sources are rare and the amount of water available from boreholes and springs is limited. During drought, there is overcrowding at the few permanent water facilities, such as boreholes, whose engines tend to be overworked or clogged due to siltation, leading to frequent breakdowns.

Pasture availability, like availability of water, also fluctuates with seasons and differs between areas. The pastoralists know and prefer to graze their animals in specific areas where the grasses are 'sweetest' and where water is salty. As pasture becomes scarce over the dry season, the pastoralists have traditionally employed migration with their herds as a coping strategy. However, conflict between groups restricts options for movement by limiting the number of suitable areas to move to or move through. For instance, the Murulle cannot access water in the El Wak complex, while the Garre cannot access the pastures and boreholes in Fino and Lafey.

#### **4.6 Cultural Factors and escalation of conflicts**

The study sought to assess how cultural factors influence the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County.



#### 4.6.1 Cultural Source of Conflict

The study sought to establish the main cultural source of conflict between Garre and the Murulle communities in Mandera County. The findings were presented in the figure below, illustrating some of the main cultural source of conflict between the Garre and the Murulle communities.

**Table 4.13: Cultural Source of Conflict**

| Cultural Source of conflict          | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Differences in cultural norms values | 15        | 7.8%       |
| Ethno language differences           | 0         | 0%         |
| Stereotyping                         | 45        | 24.3%      |
| Religious and Lifestyle              | 0         | 0%         |
| Lack of meaningful cooperation       | 21        | 11.2%      |
| Territorial disagreements            | 105       | 56.7%      |
| Total                                | 186       | 100%       |

Table 4.11 illustrates the results on the sources of cultural conflict in Mandera County. The majority 56.7% with a frequency of 105 respondents indicated that the main source of cultural conflict is territorial disagreements. This was followed by 24.3% with a frequency of 45 respondents indicated that another source of cultural conflict is stereotyping; 11.2% of the respondents indicated lack of meaningful cooperation and 7.8% of the respondents indicated that differences in cultural norms values was a source of cultural conflict.

According to GoK (2009), the Ministry of Livestock noted that the conflicts between the Garre and Murrule clans reflect the common nature of conflict that exists between many pastoral communities in North Eastern Kenya and Africa in General. The Murulle and the Garre recorded

high levels of death and casualties from the conflict that has persisted for decades, making their regions of residence one of the most affected in the entire North Eastern region. There has been a marked increase in the number of attacks and their intensity on civilians is alarming. Mburu (2005) added that the two clans' battle with one another, their neighbours have been plagued into the conflict through traditional alliances that exist between many of the pastoral clans. The conflict comes along with devastating effects on human life, stability and development.

#### **4.6.2 Conflicts Issues Discussed in Conflict Resolution Meetings**

The study through the focus group discussions examined some of the conflict issues discussed in the conflict resolution meetings held with the participation of County leaders and Political leaders. From the discussions, the study established some of the sources of conflict in Mandera County as follows.

Conflict over resources particularly pasture and water: Mandera County has been continuously affected by recurring drought that has seriously undermined the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists who live in the County. The intense dry spells have in turn led to intense competition for scarce resources that have resulted in clashes of the two clans. The area has also been affected by growth in population and encroachment on other community's lands (Mburu, 2005).

Politically Related Conflicts: Politics is largely cited as one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera County. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others. For instance in 1988 when Mandera Central constituency was curved out from the then larger Mandera East constituency the Garre felt that part of their territory was being moved to the Murulle side (UNDP and GoK, 2009).

**Administrative Boundary Issues:** The conflict that erupted in 1988 in Mandera was caused by issues related to administrative boundaries. The Government of Kenya not only created a new constituency but also decided to create many locations without considering the location of resources and how the residents of the new entities would share them with their neighbors. These locations and sub-locations led to conflicts over who owns these resources. Part of the problem was that the splitting and subdivision of the larger administrative units created new winners and losers, and facilitated the emergence of rivalries at lower levels (Mburu, 2005).

**Proliferation of Weapons in Mandera County and Insecurity:** A proliferation of weapons in Mandera has also been blamed as a cause of conflict in the county. As the warlords continue to pursue their personal objectives, the state of affairs in Somalia there was high flow of weapons into Kenya due to the porous nature of the border. Hargesia and Burao in Somalia have become flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya. The abundance of weapons changed the face of criminal activities in the region as cattle rustlers, bandits and rebel groups acquired weapons from Somalia. Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict making large areas of the Horn ungovernable (Wood, 2009).

**Terrain Challenges:** The terrain on the Mandera side, inhabited by Somali communities of Garre and Murulle, is subject to less rainfall and has, therefore, less pasture. In times of drought, these communities are forced to migrate across the county boundaries to seek water and pasture for their herds on territory that is mostly inhabited by their opponents. In Mandera the land is still held on customary trust. No individual land titles exist and the land is held in trust, administered by the County council. According to the official law, nothing prevents the Garre and Murulle from ignoring customary claims and moving to the grazing areas owned by other clans unless the

County council prevents them. Similarly the terrain is so rugged that it becomes very hard for the security forces to maneuver and stop any conflict before it escalates out of hand (USAID, 2010).

**Acts of Crime and Banditry:** Most cases of armed conflict in Mandera County involved acts of crime and banditry on many occasions. The crimes can easily take a clan angle depending on the prevailing environment. For instance, the murder of members of the opposite clan or clan chiefs may sometimes trigger reprisals and counter-reprisal killings that spiral into a cycle of inter-clan violence. The relationships are so fragile that a simple rumor of a clan member having been attacked or a normal crime having been committed easily takes a clan-based dimension. In such circumstances, crime is defined on ethnic lines but not as a crime. This contributes to straining of clan relations and rising tension serving to build up large armed communal clashes (Mburu, 2005).

**Weak Government Presence:** Weak government presence is another cause of conflict in Mandera County. The government of Kenya has been unable to fully penetrate and control all parts of Mandera. Some areas of the constituencies are so remote with barely any government institution hence leaving the people to their own governance. This makes them make decisions that lead to violence. Violence and lawlessness are particularly acute in remote border areas where the Kenyan state has never exerted much authority or presence. When they have, state authorities have sometimes been the catalysts of insecurity rather than promoters of peace.

**Presence of Ethnic Militias:** Both Garre and Murulle in Mandera County have armed militia, which act as a standing army and are used during the times of conflicts. This is because the government sponsored disarmament initiative did not achieve the objective of ridding the region illegally owned weapons. The local people kept their guns. Those that the elders handed over to

the security forces were from Somalia to avoid further communal punishment. The army operation never netted local militia because they had already fled by the time the operation was starting. Each clan fully supports its militia. The militias receive material support from successful business people and politicians to enable them arm. Often the support comes in the form of money, guns, ammunition, uniforms and food. According to Lewis (2011) his findings concur that clansmen in the Diaspora are also another source of donations during the conflict.

Propaganda: The prevailing culture of violence and the condoning of clan hatred is justified and propelled by stories of victimization and rights denied by the other side. The similarity of propaganda like statements, similar narratives, same justifications, and repeated recital of one sided incidents in far flung and distant villages was striking is a common phenomenon. Women, youth or elders randomly use their skills of same impassioned deliveries and repeated the same deep-felt stories. This widespread feeling means it would be a mistake to treat the conflict as propelled by disgruntled elements. There are stories and counter-stories told and retold in the pastoral villages, which contradict one another (UNDP, 2010).

#### **4.6.3 Cultural Factors Results to Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

The study sought to determine the extent to which the respondents agree with the given statements in regard to the idea that cultural factors results to inter-ethnic conflict. The results were presented in the table below illustrating mean and standard deviation.

According to the Likert scale, one point was assigned to the variable “very great extent”, 2 points to “great extent”, 3 points to “minimal extent”, 4 points to “very minimal extent” and 5 points to “no extent at all”. Using these point allocation as the variable values and absolute frequencies, weighted mean and standard deviation (to determine the response dispersion from the mean)

were computed. Given that there were five variables and a range of 4 points from the lowest to the highest possible mean translating to a variable by variable range of 0.8, the following key was established:

1. Very great extent (always exhibit) - (1.0 – 1.8)
2. Great extent (frequently exhibit) - (1.81 – 2.6)
3. Minimal extent (occasionally exhibit) - (2.61 – 3.4)
4. Very minimal extent (rarely exhibit) - (3.41 – 4.2)
5. Not extent at all (never exhibit) - (4.21 – 5.0)

**Table 4.14: Cultural factors results to inter-ethnic conflict**

| Indicators  | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------|
| Social barriers between the clans and chronic mutual animosity makes them mistrust others | 145               | 57           | 12             | -                   | -                | 1.75 | 0.621     |
| Mistrust and insecurity has always marred inter-clan economic and trade transaction       | 132               | 21           | 19             | 7                   | 7                | 1.81 | 0.632     |
| Trivial accidents and minor brawl leads to major confrontations                           | 20                | 138          | 18             | 4                   | 6                | 2.54 | 0.646     |
| Different perception and way of life has been resulting to conflict                       | 12                | 26           | 134            | 12                  | 2                | 3.41 | 0.696     |
| Lack of cultural leaders forums foster misunderstandings                                  | 8                 | 135          | 30             | 13                  | -                | 2.65 | 0.658     |

The results from table 4.12 show that the social barriers between the clans and chronic mutual animosity make them mistrust others to a great extent with a mean of 1.75 and standard deviation of 0.621. The study established that mistrust and insecurity has always marred inter-clan economic and trade transaction to a great extent with a mean of 1.81 and standard deviation of 0.632. The study determined that trivial accidents and minor brawl leads to major confrontations to a great extent with a mean of 2.54 and standard deviation of 0.646. The study also established that different perception and way of life has been resulting to conflict to a moderate extent with a mean of 3.41 and standard deviation of 0.696. Lastly, the respondents agreed to a great extent

that the lack of cultural leaders' forums foster misunderstandings with a mean of 2.65 and standard deviation of 0.658.

#### **4.7 Social Factors and escalation of conflicts**

The study sought to establish the influence of social factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study sought to determine the extent to which the respondents agree with the given statements on social factors resulting to inter-ethnic conflict.

According to the Likert scale, one point was assigned to the variable "very great extent", 2 points to "great extent", 3 points to "minimal extent", 4 points to "very minimal extent" and 5 points to "no extent at all". Using these point allocation as the variable values and absolute frequencies, weighted mean and standard deviation (to determine the response dispersion from the mean) were computed. Given that there were five variables and a range of 4 points from the lowest to the highest possible mean translating to a variable by variable range of 0.8, the following key was established:

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Very great extent (always exhibit)    | - (1.0 – 1.8)  |
| 2. Great extent (frequently exhibit)     | - (1.81 – 2.6) |
| 3. Minimal extent (occasionally exhibit) | - (2.61 – 3.4) |
| 4. Very minimal extent (rarely exhibit)  | - (3.41 – 4.2) |
| 5. Not extent at all (never exhibit)     | - (4.21 – 5.0) |

**Table 4.15: Social Factors Results to Inter-Ethnic Conflict**

| Indicators   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|--|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------|
| Discrimination against each other  | 54                | 132          | -              | -                   | -                | 2.51 | 0.637     |
| High level of suspicion to non-ethnic members  | 23                | 146          | 14             | 3                   | -                | 2.46 | 0.646     |
| Poor judicial mechanism in place to determine offenses   | 137               | 18           | 7              | 11                  | 13               | 2.38 | 0.641     |
| Protection of individual and ethnic interest results to conflict   | 146               | 21           | 12             | 3                   | 4                | 1.89 | 0.632     |
| Unfair distribution of natural resources   | 149               | 18           | 13             | 6                   | -                | 1.81 | 0.628     |
| Lack of security   | 145               | 24           | 6              | 8                   | 3                | 2.24 | 0.649     |
| The weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries.   | 136               | 38           | 12             | -                   | -                | 2.49 | 0.648     |
| Small arms and light weapons are readily available at a cheaper price  | 148               | 22           | 16             | 4                   | -                | 1.64 | 0.621     |
| The communities creates a demand for small arms as groups compete for scarce resources and protect their livelihoods                       | 125               | 31           | 7              | 10                  | 13               | 2.59 | 0.651     |
| Weak governance structures influence insecurity and small arms proliferation   | 30                | 145          | 11             | -                   | -                | 1.96 | 0.624     |
| Small arms have inflamed low-intensity conflicts characterized by a high incidence of banditry, inter-ethnic clashes, and cattle rustling. | 27                | 145          | 12             | 2                   | -                | 2.21 | 0.641     |

The results on table 4.13 reveal that discrimination against each other was to a very great extent a social factor that results to inter-ethnic conflict with a mean of 2.51 and standard deviation of 0.637. The respondents agreed that high level of suspicion to non-ethnic members was to a great extent a social factor that results to inter-ethnic conflict with a mean of 2.46 and standard deviation of 0.646. The respondents agreed that poor judicial mechanism in place to determine offenses was to a great extent a social factor that results to inter-ethnic conflict with a mean of



2.38 and standard deviation of 0.641. The study also revealed that the protection of individual and ethnic interest results to conflict to very great extent with a mean of 1.89 and standard deviation of 0.632. The findings of the study also revealed that unfair distribution of natural resources; lack of security; the weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries; small arms and light weapons are readily available at a cheaper price and the communities creates a demand for small arms as groups compete for scarce resources and protect their livelihoods were to a very great extent social factor a resulting to inter-ethnic conflicts. The respondents agreed that weak governance structures influence insecurity and small arms proliferation and small arms have inflamed low-intensity conflicts characterized by a high incidence of banditry, inter-ethnic clashes, and cattle rustling were to a great extent social factors resulting to inter-ethnic conflict.

#### **4.8 Steps Taken To Address Conflict**

The study sought to determine the extent to which the respondents agree with the given statements in regards to steps taken to address conflict. The findings were presented in the table below illustrating the mean and standard deviation on the extent to which the respondents agree.

According to the Likert scale, one point was assigned to the variable “very great extent”, 2 points to “great extent”, 3 points to “minimal extent”, 4 points to “very minimal extent” and 5 points to “no extent at all”. Using these point allocation as the variable values and absolute frequencies, weighted mean and standard deviation (to determine the response dispersion from the mean) were computed. Given that there were five variables and a range of 4 points from the lowest to the highest possible mean translating to a variable by variable range of 0.8, the following key was established:

1. Very great extent (always exhibit) - (1.0 – 1.8)
2. Great extent (frequently exhibit) - (1.81 – 2.6)
3. Minimal extent (occasionally exhibit) - (2.61 – 3.4)
4. Very minimal extent (rarely exhibit) - (3.41 – 4.2)
5. Not extent at all (never exhibit) - (4.21 – 5.0)

**Table 4.16: Steps Taken to Address Conflict**

| Indicators  | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all | Mean | Std. Dev. |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------|
| local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spear heading peace forums                | 146               | 30           | 8              | 2                   | -                | 1.98 | 0.628     |
| Using mediators to build bridges across the dividing lines  | 132               | 33           | 15             | 6                   | -                | 2.12 | 0.646     |
| Government intervention   | 156               | 26           | 4              | -                   | -                | 2.09 | 0.632     |
| Find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma | 136               | 35           | 11             | 4                   | -                | 2.58 | 0.656     |
| Tackling the underlying issues head on  | 142               | 28           | 9              | 7                   | -                | 2.15 | 0.634     |
| Resolving boarder issues once and for all   | 159               | 22           | 5              | -                   | -                | 1.54 | 0.621     |
| Encouraging trade partnerships between the conflicting communities                                  | 147               | 38           | 1              | -                   | -                | 1.96 | 0.632     |
| Enhance intermarriages  | 136               | 40           | 10             | -                   | -                | 2.24 | 0.634     |

The results from table 4.16 illustrates that the respondents agreed to a very great extent that the local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spear heading peace forums with a mean of 1.98 and standard deviation of 0.628. The study established that using mediators to build bridges across the dividing lines was to a great extent a good step taken to address conflict with a mean 2.12 and standard deviation 0.646. The study found out that government intervention was to a very great extent a good step taken to address conflict in Mandera County with a mean of 2.09 and standard deviation of 0.632. The respondents to a great extent indicated that finding out

causes and grievances of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma with a mean of 2.58 and standard deviation of 0.656. The respondents indicated that tackling the underlying issues head on was to a very great extent a good step taken to address conflict in Mandera County with a mean of 2.15 and standard deviation of 0.634. The study revealed that resolving boarder issues once and for all; encouraging trade partnerships between the conflicting communities and enhance intermarriages were all to a very great extent good steps adopted to address conflict with means of 1.54 and standard deviation of 0.621; mean of 1.96 and standard deviation of 0.632 and a mean of 2.24 and a mean of 2.24 and standard deviation of 0.634 respectively.

#### **4.9 Focus Group Discussion**

The study sought to establish strategies in conflict resolution, who participate in conflict resolution committees, their role in conflict resolution and the issues addressed in conflict resolution committees in Mandera County.

The response from the County leaders revealed in the focus group discussion held by the researcher, showed that Mandera County which comprises of two major clans: *Garre and Murrule have a long history of conflicts*; that have led to the *displacement of people, burning of houses, closing of schools, disruption of livelihoods for both communities and loss of lives.*

One of the County leaders pointed out that, *“Various interventions have been undertaken to reduce the escalation of the tension into a bigger problem among the warring clans.”*

The Peace committee Mandera East, Central, West and North, mobilized both warring clans together with prominent business people, religious leaders, and representatives from the County

government as well as other peace actors in the County with the view of ending the perennial inter-clan conflicts between the two clans.

One of the County leaders in the discussion rose a point indicating, *“The effort of intervention has broadened to involve the clans extending from Somalia and Ethiopia which cross over to support their kin in Mandera County.”*

Another County leader quoted, *“One of the strategies that have been used extensively in trying to find a solution to the conflicts has been through mediation.”*

The local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spear heading numerous meetings where the two major clans meet and discuss the issues that cause conflicts between them. One Local leader present in the focus group discussion mention that, *“during the mediation process, they have always agreed that the mediation is to act on behalf of the whole community and that both members of the clans should be involved in thinking systematically together for long term solutions to the conflicts.”*

One Religious leader emphasized that, *“A person is given the mandate as the mediator to build trust by building bridges across the dividing lines, and be innovative by utilizing the available opportunity in order to transform conflicts into peace.”*

The rules that have been passed during such meetings that the minority clans in Mandera are made to act as third party, because they do not have interest in the conflicts, these minority clans are Corner tribe, namely the Degodia, or the Ogaden, prominent religious leaders like Sheikha are appointed to be mediators and their ruling or decisions are accepted by both parties to the

conflicts. According to USAID (2005), noted that the Umal accord of 2005 was named after Sheikh Umal of Jamia Mosque imam because of his role in the mediation to end conflicts.

Government representatives and NGOs are made to observe the mediation process and produce reports to both warring clans on how to end the conflicts. Aggrieved parties are always paid some blood money or compensation for the losses incurred by perpetrators clans. Impartiality regarding the issues in the disputes is addressed and respect and acceptability of all protagonist and the outcome of the peace meeting is accepted by all and their clans.

During the process the *knowledge and the skills* to deal with the issues at hand is crucial. Possession of required physical resources to implement the outcomes of the meeting, internal support for both warring community members is priority for sustained peace and there are no parties or groups allowed to put pressure on the other groups to accept their own demand or proposal of one side.

The perennial conflicts in Mandera County have raised a lot of concerns from the government and other stakeholders and peace actors so that proper and timely interventions have been undertaken to avoid possible escalation of these skirmishes and prevent ugly images from inter clan feud. In response to these conflicts the government has beefed up security in the region. Further to that the government has appointed a ten member team comprising of representatives from warring clans, various groups and government agencies in the area. They formed ten (10) member team from Nairobi five selected from both parties to conflicts and mandated them to broker peace and return normalcy, law and order to the area, because the early peace initiative that was initiated by Members of Parliament from the area had failed to materialize, therefore there was urgent need to address the conflict before it escalated. The Government also provides

logistical, financial, and personnel to provide a conducive environment for elders to undertake peace building, conflict prevention and social reconciliation among the warring pastoralists in Kenyan side of Mandera County. Kratli and Swift (2009) noted that the objective was to have long term peaceful and cohesion and coexistence are realized between the parties in the dispute. Also the efforts were to find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma.

The ten member committees of elders are also joined by other local leaders and elders from the area with the local knowledge and wield much influence from both communities' together with Mandera mediation council and religious fraternity to face task ahead of them. The elders meet at arid land conference hall in Mandera before they depart to the hot spot areas of tension and conflicts in order to brain storm and develop common working strategy for peace building and social reconciliation for the assignment that is given to them by the government authorities.

The delegation team with about 40 elders starts going round each villages in the hot spot areas of Mandera County. They meet different Commissioners from different constituencies within the County. They engage in a fact-finding mission as a means of obtaining a clue of the conflicts. For instance, the team meets with the County Commissioner of Mandera Central and East together with his security team members and district peace committees together with local elders from the district to discuss on the interventions to conflict in the area. During the once of the meetings, it was made clear that the *tension and build up was originated from border areas of Mandera central and East over drilling of Water borehole* in Alungo trading center which both clans disputed over its ownership and the spillover effects of the conflicts affected other peaceful

communities in Mandera County that are not party to the conflicts, the spillover effects had tremendous repercussion on clans living in Mandera.

The Chairman of Mandera East peace committee informed the elders present that, all the tension, mistrust, animosity and displacement occurred over water resources, and those IDPs from the affected areas may want to rise conflict and peace temperatures and leads to hostility among the communities living in the region. The conflicts were also found to have started over *resource sharing and land boundary by pastoralist groups* and spread by the rumors that fear of attack from the armed groups which created *displacement of people* from various centers.

According to the religious leaders, they also *preach prayer of peace dua* so that the Almighty Allah can lead them to right direction and path and make those who hide in turmoil and mayhem to change their mind and heart for sake of peace and harmony of the communities. Also during the peace *baraza* the women populations come to listen at the peace *baraza* are told to encourage their sons and husband to work for peace and harmony whenever they are.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

#### **5.2 Summary of Finding**

The study established the profile of the community members in Mandera County and revealed that the age of the respondents was well above 31 years old and beyond. The males were the majority respondents in the study and according to their highest level of education, the majority respondents were diploma holders.

The main purpose of the study was to determine the factors that influence the escalation of conflict in northern Kenya in Mandera County. The study established five factors that influenced the escalation of conflict in Mandera County as follows:

The study sought to assess the influence of political orientation on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The findings show that the respondents agree that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County. These findings are affirmed by Hassan (2014) in his study on an analysis of the Garre and Murulle inter-clan conflicts in Mandera County in Kenya- since the Post-Colonial Era and established that politics is largely one of the major cause of conflict in Mandera County. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others.



The study established that people who want political positions rally their clans against others. These findings were asserted by Hassan (2014) indicating that politicians in their capacity rally their clans against others to benefit their own political interest.

The study sought to establish the influence of economic factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study established those economic factors such as availability of natural resources; permanent water sources; solution to cattle rustling and banditry; arms markets; systematic division of resources and region boundaries. The study sought to determine the extent to which the community members of Mandera County agree that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts. The respondents agreed to a very large extent that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts. The findings concur with Mburu (2005) who indicated that Mandera County has been continuously affected by recurring drought that has seriously undermined the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists who live in the County. The intense dry spells have in turn led to intense competition for scarce resources that have resulted in clashes of the two clans.

The study sought to assess how cultural factors influence the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study established the main cultural source of conflict between Garre and the Murulle communities in Mandera County. These cultural sources of conflict were identified as territorial disagreements; lack of meaningful cooperation; stereotyping; differences in cultural norms values; ethno language differences and religion and lifestyle. According to GoK (2009), the Ministry of Livestock noted that the conflicts between the Garre and Murrule clans reflect the common nature of conflict that exists between many pastoral communities in North Eastern Kenya and Africa in General. The Murulle and the Garre recorded high levels of death and

casualties from the conflict that has persisted for decades, making their regions of residence one of the most affected in the entire North Eastern region. There has been a marked increase in the number of attacks and their intensity on civilians is alarming.

The study sought to establish the influence of social factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The social factors pointed out were discrimination; suspicion to non-ethnic members; poor judicial mechanism; protection of individual and ethnic interest; inequality in distribution of natural resources; lack of security; easy accessibility of weapons across border and weak governance structure.

The study also established the steps taken to address conflict in Mandera County. These steps taken to address conflict involve local leaders from both conflicting communities to spear head peace forums; the use of mediators to build bridges across the dividing lines; government intervention; find out cause and grievances of each party and recommend possible solutions; tackling underlying issues head on and resolving boarder issues. Also the findings established encouraging trade partnerships between the conflicting communities and enhancing intermarriages.

The perpetual conflicts in Mandera County have raised a lot of concerns from the local to national government and other stakeholders and peace actors all over the country. There is need for proper and timely interventions to be taken to avoid possible escalation of the skirmishes and prevent obnoxious pictures from inter clan disputes. In response to the conflicts, all stakeholders and government officials need to beef up security in the region, create awareness of the post conflict disarray that affects the development of the region and encourage the youths to obtain an education that will alienate poverty in the region.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The results have demonstrated that the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya using a case study of Mandera County were political orientation; economic factors; cultural factors; social factors; the proliferation of small arms and environmental scarce resources on the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. From the findings, it is clear that political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict in Mandera County. Politics is largely one of the major causes of conflict in Mandera County. Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations in Mandera County. People who want political positions rallied their clans against others. The study established that people who want political positions rally their clans against others. Politicians in their capacity rally their clans against others to benefit their own political interest.

It was also clear that the economic factors that influence escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. These factors are availability of natural resources; permanent water sources; solution to cattle rustling and banditry; arms markets; systematic division of resources and region boundaries. The availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflicts to a very large extent.

Cultural factors were also identified to influence the escalation of conflicts in Mandera County to a very large extent. These cultural sources of conflict were identified as territorial disagreements; lack of meaningful cooperation; stereotyping; differences in cultural norms values; ethno language differences and religion and lifestyle.

The study established the influence of social factors on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County to a very large extent. The social factors pointed out were discrimination; suspicion to

non-ethnic members; poor judicial mechanism; protection of individual and ethnic interest; inequality in distribution of natural resources; lack of security; easy accessibility of weapons across border and weak governance structure.

The study also identified the participants to address conflict in Mandera County. The four major participants to address conflict in Mandera County involved local leaders who are the community elders, mediators, government intervention in combating the escalation of conflict in the area and the residents of Mandera County.

Lastly, the study sought to determine the influence of environmental scarce resources on escalation of conflicts in Mandera County. The study findings revealed that strategies access to and control of environmental scarce resources was found to be the main cause of the conflict as well as politics of self-interest, border disputes, land adjudication and government policy.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Based on the results of the study, it could be recommended that the involvement of all actors be involved in the peace and reconciliation team. The actors should include local leaders who are the elders; County and National government interventions; youths and women in Mandera County. This inclusivity is important in underlying issues affecting the community members at their capacity and implementation of the recommendations made at *barazas*.

The study recommends that the fighting groups should observe immediate cease fire by reconciling with each other and come to the common goal of Peace Building Conflict preventions and social reconciliation with each other for sustainable peace to be achieved between two warring clans.

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

### **5.5 Recommendation for further study**

This study examined the factors influencing escalation of conflicts in Northern Kenya using a case study of Mandera County. The study therefore recommends that future researchers can establish the factors that influence the escalation of peace and reconciliation in the Northern Kenya Region.

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## **APPENDIX I: LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL**

**Dear respondent,**

I am a student of University of Nairobi pursuing degree of Master of Arts in peace education. I am conducting a research study on; factors influencing escalation of conflicts in northern Kenya: a case study of Mandera County.

The feedback will be available to the principals and other groups at request. Your answers to the questionnaires will be completely confidential.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours Sincerely,

---

**ABDIKADIR SHEIKH ABDI**

Student University of Nairobi

## APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Good morning/afternoon Sir/ Madam;

This is an academic research investigating factors influencing escalation of conflicts in northern Kenya: a case study of Mandera County.

Use a tick (√) to indicate your response where appropriate.

### PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.What is your age?

Less than 30 years ( ) 31 – 40 years ( )

41– 50 years ( ) More than 50 years ( )

2.What is your gender?

Male ( ) Female ( )

3.What is your highest Education qualification?

Untrained ( ) Diploma ( )

Graduate ( ) Post Graduate ( )

### PART B: POLITICAL ORIENTATION ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS

4. To what extent does political affiliation influence the escalation of conflict?

Little extent ( ) moderate extent ( ) Large extent ( ) To a very large extent ( )

5. Do people who want political positions rally their clans against others?

Yes ( ) No ( )

6. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in regard to political orientation escalation of conflicts?

| Statement   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| The politicians fuelled the conflicts for their                           |                   |              |                |                     |                  |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| own benefits by making members of their clans to distinguish themselves from others. |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political, social and economic benefits are best dispensed by own clansmen/women     |  |  |  |  |  |
| The clan affiliation t is very instrumental fermenting clan violence                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Clan affiliation results into the politics of excessive rivalry between clans        |  |  |  |  |  |
| The political clan affiliations explain the characteristics of violence in Mandera   |  |  |  |  |  |

### SECTION C: ECONOMIC FACTORS ON ESCALATION OF CONFLICTS

7. To what extent do you agree that availability of natural resources such as water and pasture fuel inter-ethnic conflict?

Little extent ( ) moderate extent ( ) Large extent ( ) to a very large extent ( )

8. On a scale of 1-5 rate the following statements in regard to the idea that economic factors results to inter-ethnic conflict.

| Statement   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Resources that support livestock are often at the center of conflict                    |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Permanent water sources are rare thus resulting to scramble of the existing ones        |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Cattle rustling and banditry have changed from low intensity to high intensity conflict |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Flourishing arms markets from where arms find their way to Kenya enhance conflict       |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| There is no systematic division of resources  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Disagreement in boundaries has led to fighting over limited resources                   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |

### SECTION D: CULTURAL FACTORS

9. What is the main cultural source of conflict between Garre and the Murulle communities?

Territorial disagreements ( )

Lack of meaningful cooperation ( )

Religion and lifestyle ( )

Stereotyping ( )

Ethno language differences ( )

Differences in cultural norms, values ( )

10. On a scale of 1-5 rate the following statements in regard to the idea that cultural factors results to inter-ethnic conflict.

| Statement   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Social barriers between the clans and chronic mutual animosity makes them mistrust others |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Mistrust and insecurity has always marred inter-clan economic and trade transaction       |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Trivial accidents and minor brawl leads to major confrontations                           |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Different perception and way of life has been resulting to conflict                       |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Lack of cultural leaders forums foster misunderstandings                                  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |

### SECTION E: SOCIAL FACTORS

11. To what extent do you agree with the following social factors results to inter-ethnic conflict?

| Statement  | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all |
|--|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Discrimination against each other  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| High level of suspicion to non-ethnic members  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Poor judicial mechanism in place to determine offenses                                   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Protection of individual and ethnic interest results to conflict                         |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Unfair distribution of natural resources   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Lack of security   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| The weapons are easily traded across adjacent borders of neighboring war-torn countries. |                   |              |                |                     |                  |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Small arms and light weapons are readily available at a cheaper price  |  |  |  |  |  |
| The communities creates a demand for small arms as groups compete for scarce resources and protect their livelihoods                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| Weak governance structures influence insecurity and small arms proliferation   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Small arms have inflamed low-intensity conflicts characterized by a high incidence of banditry, inter-ethnic clashes, and cattle rustling. |  |  |  |  |  |

## SECTION F: STEPS TAKEN TO ADDRESS CONFLICT

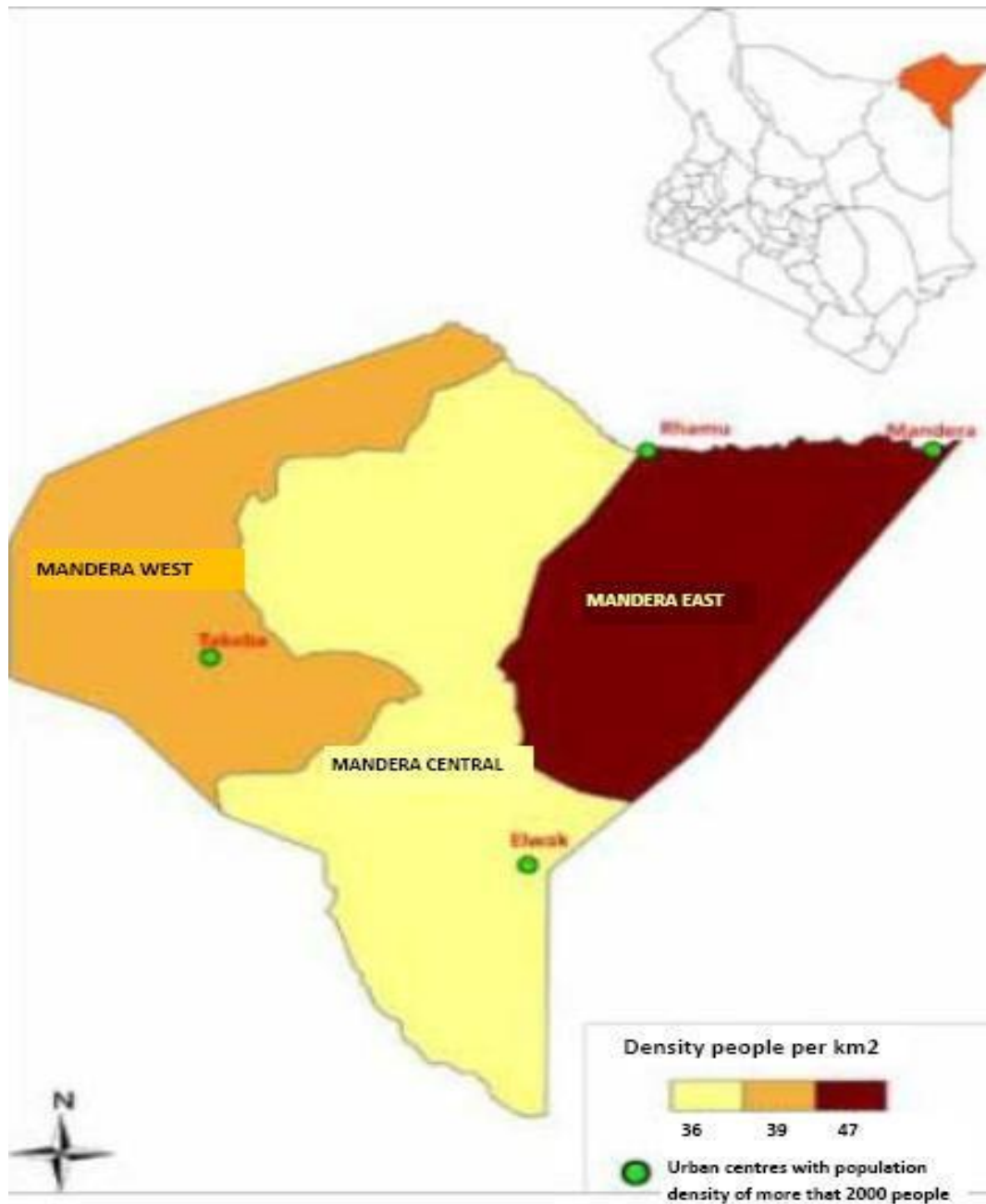
11. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in regard to steps taken to address conflict?

| Statement   | Very great extent | Great extent | Minimal extent | Very Minimal extent | No extent at all |
|---|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| local leaders especially elders from both sides have been spear heading peace forums                |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Using mediators to build bridges across the dividing lines  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Government intervention   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Find out the causes and grievance of each party and recommend possible solution out of this dilemma |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Tackling the underlying issues head on  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Resolving boarder issues once and for all   |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Encouraging trade partnerships between the conflicting communities                                  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |
| Enhance intermarriages  |                   |              |                |                     |                  |

### **APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE**

1. Do local leaders participate in conflict resolution committees?
2. Are the members of the community willing to surrender their firearms to the authority?
3. What are some of the conflict issues discussed in the conflict resolution meetings?
4. Do you involve religious leaders in the peace resolution meetings?
5. How do you solve the issue of boundaries?
6. Is there any sign of agreement on sharing of the available natural resources?
7. Do members of the community encourage intermarriage?
8. What is the best possible method of ending the conflict?
9. Does clan supremacy and chauvinism plays a big role in any political relations?
10. What is the role political leadership in conflict resolution?

## APPENDIX IV: A MAP OF MANDERA COUNTY



A map of Mandera County courtesy of Google map