

**CONFLICTS AND HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD AMONG SABAOT CLANS IN  
KOPSIRO DIVISION, BUNGOMA COUNTY, KENYA**

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Project Management Option) of Egerton University**



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## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for examination of any degree in any institution or university.

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## DEDICATION

I thank the almighty God for without Him I could not have come this far. This thesis is dedicated to my loving husband Mr. Kipkemoi Toromo, who encouraged me to work hard; and my children Elly, Meshack and Dan who gave me motivation in the completion of this thesis and ensuring it becomes a reality; and to all who supported me in developing it. God bless you all.

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## ABSTRACT

This study examined the extent to which inter-clan conflict among the Sabaot clans has affected households' socio-economic development in Kopsiro Division. Inter-clan conflict among the Sabaot is scantily documented. Yet, the effect of those conflicts on the people's livelihood seems to be enormous. However, the extent which inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot has affected households' livelihoods is not known. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the causes of inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division, to examine the effects of inter-clan conflicts on the households' socio-economic status in Kopsiro Division, and to analyze the role of stakeholders in mitigating the inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division. The study was guided by the collective action theory, which argues that when people are confronted with a common problem, they cooperate to pursue a collective action to achieve a solution especially when the solution cannot be gained individually. An exploratory design was used on a target population of 4260 households. A sample size of 351 household heads was selected. Purposive and simple random sampling was employed. An interview schedule, in-depth interview, focus group discussion, and observation were employed for data collection. The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data analysis. The study found that land-related issues like boundary disputes were the main cause of the recurrent conflicts in the study area. It was also found that although conflicts in the study area affect both the Soy and Mosop people with both positive and negative effects, they have compromised their sources of livelihood. The study further found that although various stakeholders including the government, NGOs, religious groups and community elders play a major role in mitigating conflicts and managing of post-conflict situations, the government has the ultimate role to provide the long term solution to the conflict situation. It is therefore, the recommendation of the study that there is need for the government to extend its political will and commitment in providing a lasting solution to the persistent conflicts in the area; while involving all the stakeholders in the process. The residents of Kopsiro Division should also be educated on the need for cease-fire because conflicts have largely affected their livelihood opportunities disregarding whether they are from Mosop or Soy clan.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>ACT</b>	Act Change Transform
<b>FASS</b>	Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>ICM</b>	International Christian Missionary
<b>KNHCR</b>	Kenya National Human Rights Commission
<b>SLDF</b>	Sabaot Land Defense Force

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Conflicts within and between groups and nations is one of the major global crises that threaten human survival today (Coser, 2007). After the World War II and with the creation of the League of Nations that was then upgraded to United Nations, the assumption by the nations of the world was that countries would not witness another face of conflicts among and within nations. However, conflicts have persisted in various manifestations.

Inter-clan conflict is an inevitable feature in plural societies. These conflicts may appear as a dispute on important social, political, economic cultural, religious, territorial, or lingual issues (Javaid and Hashmi, 2010). Conflicts are associated with violence, weakening of state institutions, a parallel economy, and periodic life-threatening situations for some population groups. A review of livelihoods approaches identified a need to better understand problems faced by populations in conflicts, and the constraints they face in maintaining their livelihoods, and finding ways to support livelihoods (Schafer, 2002).

Some inter conflicts are associated with a continuous risk to lives, for example, those in Demographic Republic Congo and Angola (Le Billon and Bakker, 2002). In Somalia, between the early and late 1990s, political violence, food insecurity and diseases gave way to a situation characterized by depleted household asset bases, lack of social services and poor terms of trade (Le Sage and Majid, 2002).

This study is based on the premise that conflict is not just a sociological problem, but also an unfavorable condition for community development in the society. Consequently, places that experience armed conflicts tend to be destabilized in terms of their level of development to an extent that they become poorer than when there was no conflict.

Similarly, analysis indicates that the magnitude and incidences of conflicts in the society is skewed and manifests in various parts of the world differently. Africa with about 11% of the world population represents the greatest burden of conflicts. The United Nations Security Council for instance observed that it spends not less than 75% of its time and money on conflicts and performing humanitarian duties in Africa than other parts of the world (Ashgate, 2008).

In Kenya, there has been various incidences of inter and inter-clan conflicts especially along the North- Eastern, Rift valley and Coastal regions of the country, which also host majority of the pastoralist communities in Kenya (KNHCR, 2012). These are also regions that lie along the polarized international borders through which small arms and light weapons from the warring neighboring nations like Somali, Ethiopia and Sudan find themselves in the hands of the pastoralist residents (Kimenju, 2004). Because of the cattle raids, inter and inter-clan conflicts over the use and access to resources and cross-border attacks, the gun is one of the favorite weapon in these area. Tana Delta killings that left over 200 people dead in 2012 and several villages brought to ashes through inter-ethnic feuds is a typical case of violent conflicts in Kenya (KNHCR, 2012).

This study conceptualizes inter-clan conflicts as those conflicts that arise within and between members of the same ethnic group. It may include factions, feuds and/or sectarian conflicts. This is the type of conflict that has severally and for a long time, been witnessed in Kopsiro Division in Mt. Elgon District.

The conflict currently playing out in Mount Elgon District can be traced back to the colonial policy of alienating African land to create room for white settler farms. In the case of the Sabaot community, their ancestral grazing land on the extensive plains of what is now Trans-Nzoia District was taken away from them in the early 1930s without compensation (Simiyu, 2008).

Mount Elgon has a long history of conflict and inter-tribal warfare, manifested mainly as cattle rustling (involving the Sabaot and their Sebei cousins from Uganda, the Pokot, the Karamojong, etc.). Indeed, accounts indicate that warfare has historically been imbedded

in the landscape and cultural structure of the Sabaot community and that the territorial military organization was just as important an integrating factor of the community as were other sociological features like the tribal age-sets and the clans (Weatherby, 1962).

Before the recent conflict, the escalating violence accompanying the agitation for and re-introduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s had been a particularly ominous occurrence. Then the conflict was attributed to ethno-nationalism in the context of competition for the control of the state. The Mount Elgon clashes then conformed to a general pattern of ethnic cleansing, or ethnic clashes that occurred throughout the country, in areas such as Molo, Olenguruone, Burnt Forest and Likoni.

The Sabaot of Mt Elgon also wanted to reclaim their land from migrants by evicting them. Many non-Sabaot, in particular Bukusu, had moved into the area in search of fertile agricultural land, which they purchased from the Sabaot, while others came from the neighboring Trans-Nzoia District and purchased land there or settled illegally along forest fringes (Simiyu, 2008). The first clashes between the Bukusu and the Sabaot occurred in November 1991. By early 1993 Sabaot warriors, helped by their Sebei cousins they hired from across the border in Uganda, had carried out several attacks against Bukusu, including torching their houses, taking over their land, killing over 24 people and injuring many more, and displacing over 2 000 people (Human Rights Watch 1993). In areas where the Bukusu dominated they reciprocated with revenge attacks against the Sabaot. By mid-1995, 6 500 families comprising an estimated 40 000 members had been displaced (Kenya Human Rights Commission 1996).

The history of violence has contributed to militarization of the area as local residents buy weapons either for self-defense or for carrying out operations of their own. This has been facilitated by a proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) along the Kenya-Uganda border following many years of instability and war in Uganda. Such weapons were generally in circulation and because of the porous Kenya-Uganda border find their way into the Mount Elgon region. The implication of this was that any conflict situation in the area potentially escalated because both combatants and the tools of

combat were readily available. In a strict sense, the proliferation of SALWs is both a cause and effect of the conflict

Tensions between the two Sabaot clans have revolved around claims that one clan is favored by the government in land allocation, with both clans accusing the other of this. In the mid-1960s the government for the first time established the idea of a resettlement land for the Mosop. The reasons for this were multifold: first, to protect the Mosop from the recurrent attacks by groups living in Uganda, and secondly, to absorb the Mosop better into government services, and thirdly, the Mosop had earlier inhabited a water catchment that the government wanted to preserve and protect. In particular, the Mosop were not happy with government decision to include the Soy in Chepyuk settlement scheme, which the Mosop consider as compensation for their more expansive Chepkitale land and as such have exclusive rights to it. Yet the minority status of the Mosop and their general marginalization means that decisions related to land allocation were often made by Soy leaders (Western Kenya Human Rights Watch 2004). The government allocated land to both groups in the ration of 3:2 for the Mosop and Soy respectively in phase one and two. However, in phase three, the ratio was 2:1. The Soy being the majority in population demanded a bigger share that the government did not honor. This is how the animosity and aggression between the two groups began (Mwasserah, 2008).

The peak of the animosity was between 2005 and 2008 when violent conflict erupted between the Mosop and Soy groups over allegations of unfair land allocation, which had earlier resulted in the formation of the Soy, dominated Sabaot Land Defense Force (SLDF). The SLDF was accused of killing more than 600 people and committing a variety of atrocities including torture, rape, theft and destruction of property (Makori, 2008). The SLDF's behaviour drew attention from the government that led to the military operation called 'Okoo Maisha' that led to the vaporization of the SLDF in 2008.

Proponents of the positive conflicts theory including (Coser and Dahrendorf, 2003) postulated that conflicts can have both negative and positive effects on the society. They argued that although conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in human interaction, the negative elements of conflicts are not morally and socially approved because of their

implications on the parties concerned. As a social issue, conflicts in Kopsiro Division seem to have negatively affected development in the area. In terms of the settlement patterns, marriage patterns, occupation and the livelihoods of the residents. It is within this background, that this study sought to examine the extent to which a persistent inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot influence livelihoods opportunities of the residents in the Division.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Conflict among the Sabaot is scantily documented. Yet, the effect of those conflicts on the people's livelihood seems to be enormous. However, the extent which inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot has affected households' livelihoods is not known. Thus, the need and main concern for this study.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.3.1 Broad Objective**

The broad objective of the study was to investigate how inter-clan conflicts influence household livelihoods among residents of Kopsiro Division.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The study was guided by the following specific objectives

- i. To establish the causes of inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot in Kopsiro Division.
- ii. To examine the effects of inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot on the household's socio-economic status in Kopsiro Division.
- iii. To analyze the role of stakeholders in mitigating the inter-clan conflicts in the Kopsiro Division.



## **1.4 Research Questions**

The study was guided by the following research questions;

- i. What are the causes of inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot in the study area?
- ii. What are the effects of inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot on the household's socio-economic status in Kopsiro division?
- iii. What is the role of the stakeholders in mitigating the inter-clan conflicts in the Division?

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The study was carried in Kopsiro division because there have been persistence conflicts among clans of the tribe (Sabaot as sub tribe of Kalenjins). In addition, literature on the causes and effects of conflicts on household livelihood in the areas is limited. The inter-clan conflict is one of the major social challenges facing development in Mt Elgon District. The study was important in the sense that it came up with recommendations aimed at addressing the problem of insecurity affecting the study area, which has also been attributed to the low level of harnessing the area's social and economic potential for development.

Many people have been reported injured during the ferocious attacks. Destruction and loss of properties have also been reported in the area involving burning of houses, looting, stealing and killing of livestock, raping of women and children, chopping of people's ears and lips. This has led to feudal animosities between groups living in the study area and thus, a threat to the general security since people do not live in trust with each other. Therefore, the study provided information critical in understanding the effects of inter-clan conflicts on people's livelihoods and how these can best be addressed in the spirit of reconciliation and nationhood. The achievement of the Millennium Development Goal number two on the attainment of universal primary education by 2015 has also been made unrealistic; as a result of occasional, fears and tensions in the area due to insecurity.

All the above effects are likely to affect the socio-economic status of the communities in the area. Hence, given that the households are always forced to go back to the drawing board and start again to gather their livelihoods every time they experience inter-ethnic conflict, the findings of this research are expected to contribute knowledge on the latent causes of collective action and behavior that triggers inter-clan conflicts.

These may be used to harness manifest factors, which promote projects and programs that seek to resolve conflicts in the study area and beyond. Thus, beneficial to various community leaders, policy makers and organizations working in conflict management and sustainable peaceful co-existence of the communities in Kopsiro Division.

The study is important from a theoretical perspective because it helped fill a knowledge gap. The study also provided empirical data-base for future studies on inter-clan conflicts in Kenya.

#### **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

This study was conducted in the year 2014. It was conducted on inter-clan conflicts and household livelihoods in Kopsiro Division and targeted the Sabaot ethnic group only. The focus was on households who had been affected by the incidences of inter-clan conflicts. In terms of the knowledge coverage, the study focused on the causes of the inter-clan conflicts, their social and economic effects and the role of stakeholders in mitigation of conflicts.

The researcher relied on the use of interview schedule, in-depth interview, and focus group discussion methods of data collection. Thus, these methods had some limitations. For instance, the interview method was prone to distortion, fabrications, exaggerations, and deceptions just like any other form of conversation between persons. The researcher had to triangulate various methods in order to verify the responses recorded during data collection.

Insecurity coupled with poor road networks limited the study during data collection. The researcher had to spend more days and money in the process. However, the researcher

organized and got local administrators to provide her with the necessary security advice during data collection. Rainfall was also an issue. It used to rain from as early as noon. I had to schedule all the interviews in the mornings to avoid weather interruptions.

## 1.6 Definition of Terms

**Community:** Community is a group of people living together with a similar culture and values, with same aspirations and fears. These could be at the local, national, regional, or international level.

**Conflict:** Refers to a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, interests, beliefs, values or goals. This may lead to violent or non-violent reactions with either positive and or negative results to the parties involved.

**Economic livelihood:** Refers to the sustained, concerted actions of policy makers and communities that promote the standard of living, livelihood opportunities, and investments of a specific area, leading to quantitative and qualitative improvement in human capital, critical infrastructure, regional competitiveness, and environmental sustainability. Economically, development occurs when productivity rises, enabling people to produce more, earn more and consume more.

**Household livelihood:** It is the combined social and economic measure of a person's work experience and of an individual's or household's economic and social position in relation to others based on income, education, and occupation (Popper, 2001). This study shall apply this terminology to mean the measure of households' economic and social position based on income, education and occupation.

**Household:** Is a group of people affiliated by co-residence, who interact and participate in many activities together like eating together, having one authority and their work is done communally.

**Inter-clan conflicts:** Refers to the struggle or contest between people of the same ethnic or similar cultural background, but with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. It

involves the use of sentiments with negative connotations or prejudice for others, violent, destruction of property and even deaths among members of parties involved.

**Social livelihood:** Refers to the people, community and factors that influence quality of life in a specific place. It include security or safety, respect of human rights, freedom of speech, movement and ownership of property, access to basic needs like food, health and shelter, positive self-esteem, gender equity and access to education.

**Violence:** A force which is injurious to life or to the quality of life.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the concept of conflicts; causes of conflict; inter-clan conflicts and household livelihoods. The chapter culminates with the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided the study.

#### 2.2 The Concept of Conflict

Conflict is a product of people competing for scarce material and non-material products (Preston, 2010). Conflict is therefore, an inevitable human experience especially during social interaction. According to Mwangi (2000) conflict is a form of communication and can even be a creative - necessary element in creating change between individuals and groups, which is not always negative. However, its intensity may vary enormously from confusion to violence among members of a community or between communities (CJPC, 2000).

According to Gesiye (2003) conflicts refer to disputes, disagreements, quarrels, struggles, fights, and wars between individuals, groups and countries. All over the world, there is no complete agreement as to how wealth, among other issues like power and status among individuals and groups should be shared and how to use it to effect the necessary changes and reforms. Conflicts occur when the deprived group, nation or individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology (Gesiye, 2003). Conflict is a clash between two opposing groups, external or internal to the country. An example of external clash is state-to-state conflict, which is on the decline. Internal conflicts have resulted in three times as many deaths as wars between states since World War II (Fearon and Laitin, 2003). Further, internal conflicts are of two types. The first is conflict against the state or civil war. Examples of this are terrorism, which is an extreme manifestation of conflict and reflects a certain degree of

organization of conflict. It is carried out by a relatively organized group of non-state actors, and directed against the state. The second category includes people-to-people conflict, or ethnic conflict. Examples of this include localized land conflicts, religious and ethnic riots, homicides, inter-clan conflicts or other crimes (Stewart, 2008; Varshney, 2002) this study will focus on the second type of internal conflict.

## **2.3 Causes of Ethnic Conflicts (Inter and Inter-Ethnic)**

There is no single cause for ethnic conflict. It is rather the result of interplay of a number of factors. Alemayehu (2009), Asebe (2007), Varshney (2002) and Wolff (2006) found that inter-clan conflicts are multidimensional and thus, caused by political, economic cultural and historical factors.

### **2.3.1 Political Dimension to Conflicts**

It is believed by many that political power can be considered as a vital factor for generating ethnic conflict. According to Wolff (2006), though one of the major causes of ethnic conflict in the Horn of Africa is competition over resources or the motive to secure access to resources, the struggle for power is the most important cause of ethnic conflicts when government policies and institutions, which distribute resources, are based on ethnicity.

Similarly, Medhine (2003) argues that government policies play a significant role in aggravating ethnic conflicts. There is a close interconnection between the politics of exclusion and violent ethnic conflicts. The direct reason for this is the exclusion from political power and rights. It is likely for ethnic conflict to arise whenever there is conducive condition for it. In connection with this, Vanhanen (1999) stresses that ethnic nepotism, measured by ethnic division, is a common causal factor behind ethnic conflict. Such a policy on ethnic nepotism leads to the development of the feelings of being excluded, ignored, and discriminated against by the effected group. African experience in the post-independence period is a case in point (Hussien, 2004).

Befikadu (2005) in his study was of the opinion that nation-states normally have an ultimate goal to be achieved explicitly or implicitly to form and preserve a single nation under one political structure or a country. Basically, they aim at bringing all the members of a state into a single national or ethnic origin or into one political structure. To this effect, they aim at merging those who are different but live in the area by assimilation into one nation (Befikadu and Diribssa, 2005). However, it is extremely difficult to assimilate everyone who is different from the dominant ethnic group.

Atware (2012) on his paper addresses the root causes of the Rwandan ethnic conflict from a historical point of view. This study was significant because it contributed to the understanding of the real causes of conflicts in order to effectively find a durable solution where he insinuates that there can be no durable solution unless the root causes of the conflicts are addressed. The conclusion brought out in the study was that the underlying factors of the ethnic conflict in Rwanda are basically related to inequality of access to natural resources that was inherent in a skewed control of power. Ethnicity in this case was a symptom of unresolved problems, inequitable access to natural resources, and appalling rural poverty. This was the same situation in the 2007/08, post-election violence in Kenya (Kriegler and Waki Reports, 2009), where historical injustices to communities manifested in inter-ethnic conflicts that almost brought down the country.

Earlier in 1997, Barasa in his study on the impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenyan's stability and development attributed that recent and potential ethnic conflict in Kenya to leadership recognition that fueled inter-ethnic clashes. A recent study by Pkalya *et al*, (2010) on conflict in Northern Kenya identified competition over the use, access to and control of water points and pastures as the main cause of conflict in the north eastern region. Nevertheless his study did not address issues of inter-clan conflicts.

### **2.3.2 Economical Dimension to Conflicts**

Conflicts in various societies have been described and explained in economic parameters. Tafesse (2011), in the same way, underlines the role of economic resources in producing ethnic conflict in the Horn of Africa. As to him, regardless of the form it may take, the

real cause of ethnic clash in this part of Africa is the desire to secure access to resources in the country concerned. This is similar to the argument of Dereje (2010) that portrays economic insecurity leads to ethnic conflict where political power holders discriminate against some ethnic groups in resource distribution.

However, scarcity of resources may contribute to, but cannot be a decisive factor for, the emergence of ethnic conflict since various groups live together without falling into a violent clash even where there are no adequate resources. For instance, Flintan and Tamrat (2002) argued that many areas of Ethiopia are highly vulnerable to extreme ecological stress brought about by scarcity of resources. A study by Marie Besançon (2005) showed that economic equality and not inequality actually precedes the escalation of ethnic violence. This suggests that it is not necessarily resources or economic inequality that causes ethnic conflict. These mixed results are consistent with Nagel (2004), who finds that the inequality-discontent relation applied cross-nationally is inconclusive. Furthermore, the natural resources ethnic conflict connection is undermined as many nation-states both resource-poor and resource-rich have experienced ethnic conflict. However, this mixed result does provide enough evidence on economical dimension that cause conflicts.

### **2.3.3 Cultural and Historical Dimension to Conflicts**

Cultural domination, together with political suppression, is considered as another source of conflicts. Weyessa (2011) observed that the development of ethnicity and ethnic conflict could not be examined narrowly from the economic or materialistic perspective alone. One should also consider the fact that differences in traditions, values, and the possible fear of suppression can lead to ethnic strife. In most cases, the objectives of the neighboring states, as Jeong (2000) argue, are more fanatic than just protecting the rights and interests of the minority. Its objective is rather to redeem or to liberate that minority group and the territory in which it lives possibly to annex it into its own territory. Such a goal and the setting of politics to achieve this invariably have an aggravating effect on minority-majority conflicts. By enhancing mutual suspicion and enmity, such an event often results in violence and sometimes even war (Jeong, 2000).



According to Befikadu and Diribssa (2005) Conflicts can breed more conflict. Particularly if groups have history of conflict or that they have experienced conflict among each other, it has an impact upon the current relations. In this regard Megeera (2011) argues that conflicts can be instigated by the past history of conflicts between particular groups. Such history of the past may make it difficult to integrate different ethnic and religious groups successfully because of their past experiences.

Mazraï (2004) further asserts that most African conflicts are partly caused by borders, these conflicts are not themselves about borders, but political boundaries created by colonial powers enclosed groups with no traditions of shared authority or shared systems of settling conflicts. In utilizing the Minorities at Risk and State Failure datasets, Fox (2004), found that religion can be an important influence on conflict, has had an increasingly consequential impact on ethnic violence since the early 1980's, and religion based conflict tends to be more violent than other conflicts. Other studies by Fox (2004) show that religious grievances, religious institutions, religious legitimacy, and religious discrimination, among other factors contribute a great influence in ethnic conflict.

Smith (2005) argues that as society becomes divided into socially and politically significant corporate units, such as religion, and the distribution of power depends on the unit to which one belongs, the likelihood of collective violence increases. Furthermore, Rummel (2007) notes that when political power is centralized and highly dependent upon one's social group membership, such as religion, then collective violence is also highly likely in terms of guerilla or revolutionary warfare

## **2.4 Effects of Inter-clan conflicts on the Household's Social and Economic Status**

In this section the study focused on social-economic parameters that were commonly affected by conflicts as discussed below

### **2.4.1 Inter-clan conflicts and the Household's Economic Status**

Civil conflicts remain a common occurrence in many developing countries and have become an integral part of the study of economic development (Blattman and Miguel,

2010). Djankov and Reynal-Querol (2010) stated that conflict may lead to poor economic performance and countries can be trapped in a low level equilibrium where conflict and poor performance coexist (Sachs, 2005). Barro and Sala-i-Martin (2004) predict that the speed of recovery depends on the type of capital that is destroyed, with a slower recovery if human capital, rather than physical capital, is destroyed, because it has a higher adjustment cost. Further, Martin (2006) argues that household boundaries activities and inter-household relations and gender roles are likely to be strongly affected by mass violent conflict. Widows may be particularly affected and are likely to be constrained in their choice of coping strategies because conflict destroys various production inputs and assets, and interrupts markets. As a result, a household's income generating activities are strained and at a higher risk with a reduced profit margin

Kinsey (2006) argues that for majority of the lives in poor countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, under circumstances of extreme destitution, poverty and misery, conflict helps to perpetuate poverty, low growth rates and the underdeveloped status of low income countries as evident in violence kills, injures, displaces people, increases poverty, hunger and deprivation. However, Clark (2006) argues that conflict also brought new opportunities for Congolese youngsters in refugee settlements, which increased their influence on decision-making at the household and community level. However, given their reliance on qualitative research methods, findings from livelihood studies are often only representative for their particular research area. As a result, it is difficult to derive general conclusions from this field of research (Young, 2006). Therefore, the current study is anticipated to provide data that can be used to compare the inter-clan conflicts in Sabaot and other part of the world that have experienced similar conflicts.

Food insecurity is a situation in which people are at risk of not having adequate physical, social or economic access to sufficient food that is both safe and meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2003; Barrett, 2002). Food insecurity has clearly been a factor behind outbreaks of social unrest or worse, yet conflict also has induced notable instances of food insecurity. Conflict often involves competition over control of the factors of food production, primarily land and water. Having more people to feed, more pressure on land and water, more variable climates,

and greater price volatility tends to increase stress; it also raises the risk of civil unrest or worse conflict (Messer, 2008). Combatants frequently use hunger as a weapon: they use siege to cut off food supplies and productive capacities, starve opposing populations into submission, and hijack food aid intended for civilians. The largest number of people in need of assistance (over 18.5 million) lives in Sub-Saharan Africa (Anderson, 2006).

According to FAO (2002) civil wars and conflicts have been associated with food insecurity in the developing world, for example he notes that war and civil strife were the major causes in 15 countries that suffered exceptional food emergencies in 2001 and early 2002. The current study area has been classified as food insecure thus the need to assess if this has been as a results of the conflicts expensed.

Conflicts tend to affect food security by creating food shortages, which disrupt both upstream input markets and downstream output markets, thus deterring food production, commercialization and stock management (Smith, 2007). Any food that the militias and armies cannot use immediately in the contested areas will be destroyed to prevent their adversaries from accessing it also recruitment of young male men into militias and thousands of battle-related deaths not only will reduce family income but also take away labor from agriculture (Smith, 2007). Food insecurity studies documents an unsurprising overlap between conflict and food insecurity (Messer, Cohen and Marchione, 2001). However, most such studies do not deal with food insecurity or agricultural trade as a direct causative or correlative factor in conflict. Therefore, the study will seek to establish whether it is a cause or has influence on the inter-clan conflict.

#### **2.4.2 Relationship between Incidences of Conflicts and Levels of Social Amenities**

More than 27 million children are estimated to be out of education as a result of emergency situations (Mooney, 2005). In UNHCR report (2004) violent conflict and resulting displacement can last for decades leaving whole generations without access to education and the social structures provided by schools and teachers. This idea was echoed by Hill (2007) who observed that children are especially adversely affected by the destruction of physical capital and the deterioration of economic conditions given the

age-specific aspects of many human capital investments. Civil wars and associated physical destruction can interrupt the education of children through the damage to schools, absence of teachers, fears of insecurity and changes in family structures and household income.

According to Justino (2010) violent conflict results in deaths, injuries, disability and psychological trauma to men, women and children. These outcomes of violence may often be enough to push previously vulnerable households below critical thresholds. These may become impossible to overcome if the household is unable to replace labour or capital, and may last across generations if the impact on children's education and health is significant. Children in armies are used as fighters, porters, messengers, cooks and are often forced to provide sexual services. Research indicates that armies find that children are easy to use in battles, easy to manipulate, adventurous, anxious to impress, quick to learn fighting skills, may present moral challenges for their enemies, and are less costly to maintain (USAID, 2007). The current study would seek to establish if there were children recruited during the inter-clan conflict and what measures have the community undertaken to address this issue for the children in order to continue and complete their education.

Grossman (2002) argued that the recruitment of children into armed groups and armies has considerable impacts on their educational attainment, with consequences on the level of human capital and consequent economic growth of countries affected by armed conflict. Violent conflict may affect considerably the level and distribution of returns to education across social groups and gender. Returns to education in turn play a large role in households' decisions. Due to destruction of industries and infrastructure, job opportunities for skilled labour in conflict-affected countries generally become scarce. Households may respond to job scarcity by redistributing their lands away from investments with lower returns. In wartime contexts, this may mean investing more in the education of boys than girls as boys may have a higher probability of finding better paid jobs, thus gender discrimination for girls. Evidence on how this important mechanism operates in different conflicts and across different population groups is however still scarce (Annan, 2007).

Swice (2009) provides evidence on the effects of the civil war in Bosnia on schooling attainment of the cohorts who were in the process of completing their primary and secondary schooling during the war. He uses a unique data set which contains information on war casualties at the interstate level, which alongside the cohort differences, allow him to identify the effects of the civil war in Bosnia on schooling attainment. His main empirical findings suggest that war intensity significantly reduces the schooling attainment of affected cohorts: individuals in cohorts affected by the civil war are less likely to complete secondary schooling if they resided in municipalities which experienced higher levels of war intensity.

Shemyakina (2006) examines the effects of the armed conflict (1992-1998) in Tajikistan. The results indicate that exposure to the conflict, as measured by physical damage to households' dwellings, had a large, significant and negative effect on the enrolment of girls. She observes little or no effect on the enrolment of boys. Girls who were of school age and during the conflict, and lived in conflict-affected regions, were 12.3% less likely to complete mandatory schooling as compared to girls who completed their schooling before the conflict started. They are also 7% less likely to complete school than girls of the same age who lived in regions relatively unaffected by the civil war. Furthermore, Shemyakina (2006) found that the probability of completing the mandatory nine grades was 4% and 7% lower for boys and girls, respectively. The probability decreases by another 5% for girls born between 1978 and 1986 that lived in regions affected by the conflict during their schooling years.

## **2.5 Role of Stakeholders in Mitigating Inter-clan Conflicts**

Ruto, Mohamud and Isabella (2004) argue that Conflict is a highly complex concept, dynamic and yet, highly contextualized. Interventions to address conflict necessarily reflect similar complexities and dynamism. The overview of existing conflict management practices in Kenya sheds light on the nation's ability or inability to generally manage instability. Much of the literature highlight the fact that existing policies, strategies and the institutions supposed to manage are inadequate to prevent, mitigate and manage conflict and build sustainable peace.

According to Georgia and Wahu (2003), there is increasing reliance on informal conflict management mechanisms in Kenya due to, in part, to lack of faith in the judiciary and the sheer expense of court procedures not to mention the general inability to pay advocates' fees due to poverty. Although the formal system of conflict management has its own weaknesses, it still provides redress in most of the incidences of conflict, (Mohamud and Ruto, 2005).

The local administration through the offices of Chiefs, District Officers and Commissioners frequently intervene in disputes as third party neutrals. They have played a pivotal role in addressing disputes that involve land, family matters and in some cases communities. Their advantage lies in the fact that they are situated at the community level unlike formal justice institutions. In some instances, they are only available state agents at the community level.

The processes are low cost, can be constituted within a short time and the dispute addressed expeditiously (Kamenju, Mwachofi and Wairagu, 2003). The local administration has also set up security teams from village to county levels. These security teams bring together government agents such as the police and intelligence to address security issues in the area including conflict and crime. However, the role of local administration on conflict resolution has not been adequately studied (Kamenju et al., 2003).

Studies by Berkeley (2001) found that both international organizations such as the UN, NATO, the Council of Europe, and the OSCE and various sectors of the local NGO community have come up with several policy approaches to prevent, mitigate, or peacefully settle ethnic conflicts which have been formulated during the past fifteen years. These include, first, several options to prevent escalation in the pre-conflict phase (Chiozza 2002) and second, new techniques for negotiating peace between warring ethno-national factions have been developed and have been combined or alternated with military interventions and peace-enforcing operations (Chua, 2004). Third, a new branch of mostly NGO activities has come to flourish, nourished by the hope that conflicts between ethnic communities can be mediated through peaceful dialogue. Some involve

the leadership level; others target civil society organizations or the grassroots. The aim is to overcome entrenched stereotypes and intolerance that are considered to be at the root of the conflicts. Techniques include interactive conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and psycho-political trauma healing (Jentleson, 2001). Nevertheless, limited studies have discussed NGOs roles in Inter-clan conflicts in the divisions

From the foregoing discussion and literature review it emerges that most studies on causes of inter-ethnics conflicts have been addressed mostly outside Kenya (Alemayehu, 2009; Asebe, 2007; Varshney, 2002; Wolff, 2006; Medhine, 2003; Befikadu, 2005). Secondly those studies have mainly addressed inter-ethnic conflicts (Justino, 2010; Auvinen, 2000; Zhao et al, 2001). Thirdly, secondary data were most used in previous studies that addressed causes and outcomes of inter-ethnic conflicts (Teferi, 2012; Bujra, 2002). This study will therefore, use both quantitative and qualitative data to determine the effect of inter-clan conflicts on households' livelihoods.

## 2.6 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the collective action theory. The collective action theory was propounded by various scholars but spearheaded by Federico *et al* (1983). According to the theory, historical information and present day society reveal occasional, intermitted or incessant, spontaneous and fluid actions by different groups, for example, there have been riots, mass demonstrations and pressure for social change. It has been observed that all these happen with some level of solidarity (Federico *et al*, 1983). Federico further observed that people often participate in rallies, crowds, demonstrations and conflicts. In this context scholars have set out to explain these collective efforts that punctuate social life (Turner, 1981).

The Marxist was the proponent of conflict theory focusing on class struggle. However, in this study Marx asserts that the deferential propensity of class members to behave pro-socially towards each other when common interests are at stake. Workers, for example, feel solidarity with other workers and this causes them to be more likely to cooperate in face of the incentive to free-ride. As such the proposition of the theory in this study is that

collective action originates from mal-distribution of resources. Hence, collective actions is relatively fluid, unstructured, unpredictable and sometimes violent (Turner, 1981). Collective actions commonly occur as a result of perceived or real threat or crisis. Collective action has been defined as a collective effort directed towards the achievement of a common goal or common interest that cannot be obtained by acting alone (Mwangi, 2002).

The perceived or real threat is used to mobilize and sustain collective action. Evidence suggests that collective action is likely when members of the community (in this case an ethnic group) are mutually vulnerable and mutual dependent. People seek to overcome this vulnerability by engaging in various kinds of actions collectively (Mearns, 1995 cited in Mwangi, 2002). Similarly, Olson (1965, cited in Patkanski 1994) asserts that if members of a group have a common interest or objective and that if that objective would make them better off, they will act collectively to achieve that objective.

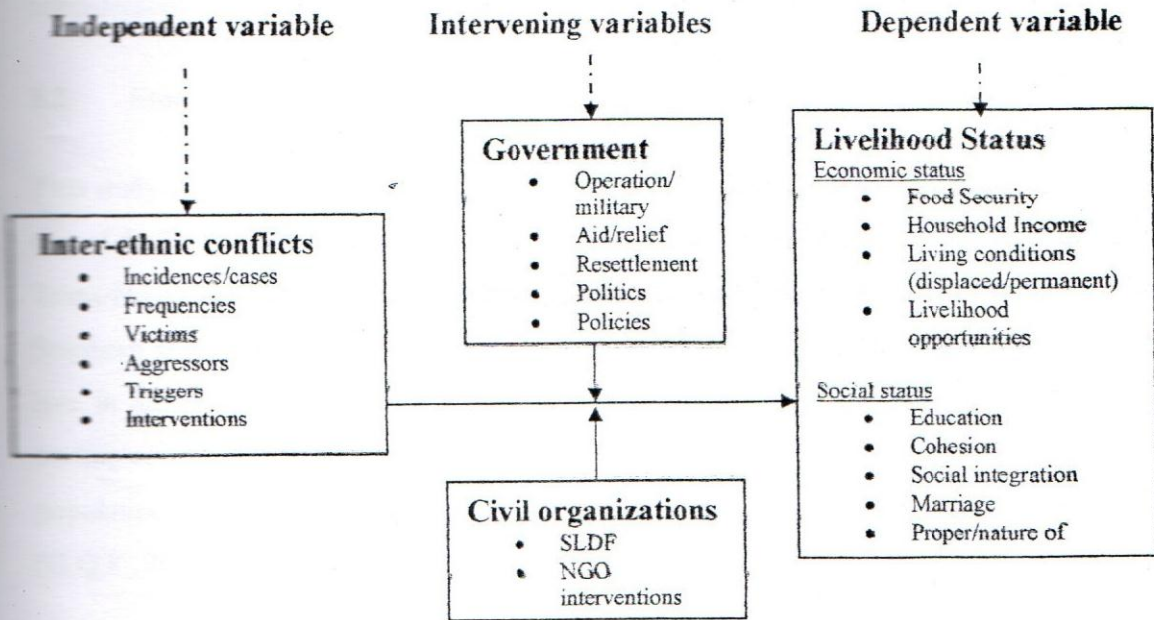
In relation to this study, social process is perceived primarily not in terms of cooperation of social groups, but in terms of human aggressiveness. Emphasis is placed on conflict as creative or at least an inevitable fact of social life rather than as merely a destructive and avoidable deviation. Conflict often have positive results, it brings people (e.g. in ethnic mobilization) together as they pursue their own interest. Conflicts between competing groups focus attention on social problems and lead to beneficial change that might otherwise not have occurred (e.g. compensation for loss of property or rightful allocation of land to the needy like those internally displaced).

The above theory therefore, enabled the study to understand and explain the rationale behind involvement of people in the inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division. For instance, the unequal and unfair distribution of resources within the study area where for instance, Mosop feel that Soy community have used political muscles to encroach and snatch their ancestral land, thus, a treat to their pre-colonial heritage and land, can best be explained in the collective action theory. Consequently, they may not regain control of their land as individuals. Hence, the reasons as to why they engage in collective action manifested in the inter-clan conflicts.



## 2.7 Conceptual Framework

This study was based on the premise that inter-klan conflicts (herein take as the independent variable) would positively or negatively influence the livelihood status (dependent variable) of the people in Kopsiro Division. However, the nature and strength of influence would vary depending on how the intervening variables (role of government and civil organizations) manifested. This is summarized in the Figure 2.1.



**Figure 2.1:** Conceptual Framework showing the relationship between inter-klan conflicts and household livelihoods.

From the figure above inter-klan conflicts, which manifested in aspects such as frequencies of occurrence, victims, aggressors, triggers, interventions are assume affect the social-economic livelihood in terms of food security, household income, living conditions (displaced/permanent), livelihood opportunities, social status, education, cohesion, social integration, marriage, property ownership and nature of investment. In addition, government and civil organizations involvement were treated as intervening variable in this study.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the study area, research design, target population and sample size sampling procedure, methods of data collection, data analysis procedures, and the ethical considerations.

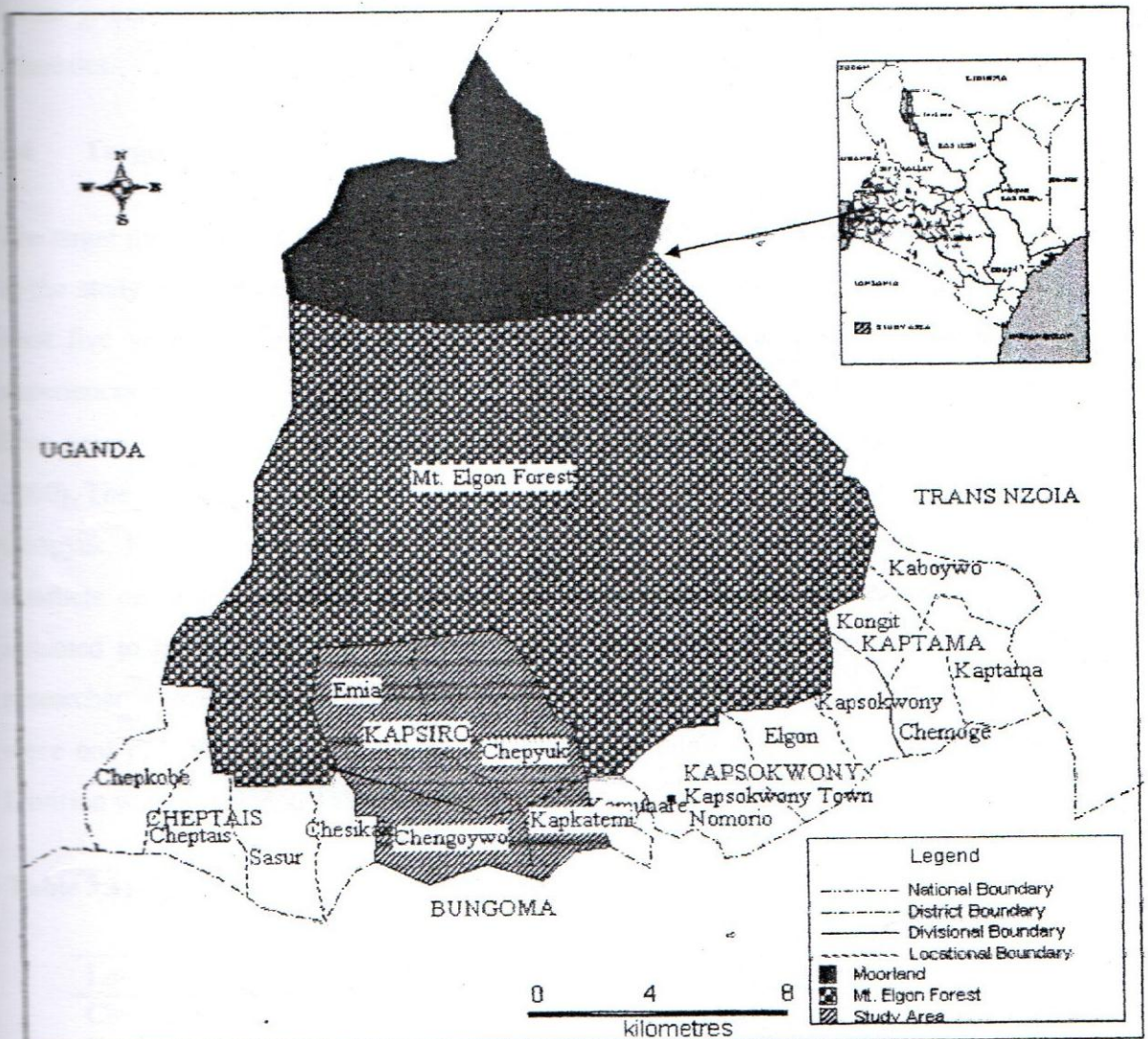
#### 3.2 Study Area

This study was carried out in Kopsiro Division of Mt Elgon District. Mt Elgon District is one of the Districts in Western Kenya, which was carved out of the current Bungoma and Trans-Nzoia counties. Its capital town is Kapsokwony. The District is located on the Southern slopes of Mt Elgon. The District has a population of 166,088, 56% of whom live in absolute poverty (G.O.K. 2012). The population is specially concentrated in trading centres of Cheptais, Kapsokwony and Kaptama. Kopsiro Division has the highest population density, followed by Cheptais, Kapsokwony and Kaptama, respectively (G.O.K, 2012).

The District is equivalent to one parliamentary constituency, but it has only one local authority: Mount Elgon County Council. The council covers the whole District and has a total of 16 wards. Mt. Elgon District is predominantly occupied by the Sabaot, Teso and Bukusu communities.

The District's development is constrained by poor infrastructure, underdeveloped human resources, inadequate and poorly developed local raw materials, poor marketing systems, inaccessibility to credit facilities, and environmental degradation (Ministry of Finance And Planning, 2002; UNDP, 2008). Given its over-reliance on agriculture (with 80% of the population being farmers), development of the sector alongside the tapping of the district's potential as a tourist destination (with a unique ecosystem and a National Park) would go a long way in improving quality of life.

The District occupies an area of 936.75 km<sup>2</sup>; with Mt. Elgon Forest occupying 609.6 km<sup>2</sup> (forest cover constitutes 69% of the District). The District is divided into four divisions namely Kapsokwony, Kaptama, Kopsiro and Cheptais, which are further sub-divided into sixteen locations and forty sub-locations (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002). Below is the map of Mt. Elgon District locating Kopsiro Division, the study area.



**Figure 3.1: Map of Mt. Elgon District with Administrative Boundaries**

Source (Researcher, 2014)

### 3.3 Research Design

This study adopted an exploratory design, which focused on a single social phenomenon of inter-clan conflict within Kopsiro Division. The design allowed the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection. The qualitative methods include historical approaches incorporating extensive use of written documents, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The quantitative method involved the use of interview schedules.

### 3.4 Target Population

The target population of the study was all households of Kopsiro Division who had lived in the study area for at least five years. This is because residents who had lived for at least five years would be in a better position to provide an evaluation about their experiences during the conflicts and how the conflicts would have affected their lives. Five years is the minimum standard time when assessing livelihood events (Neuman, 2000). The target population was drawn from four locations in Kopsiro Division namely, Chepyuk, Kapkateny, Emia and Changeiywo. This is because they were the victims of conflicts on one hand, and the aggressors on the other hand. Therefore, they were assumed to hold critical information on issues of interest to the study. However, the researcher also engaged key informants to collaborate information gathered, but they were not part of the target population. The total number of households in Kopsiro Division was provided in Table 3.1 below.

**Table 3.1: Population Distribution in Kopsiro Division**

Location	Number of households
Chepyuk	1023
Kapkateny	1215
Emia	1006
Changeiywo	1016
<b>Total</b>	<b>4260</b>

Source: Kopsiro Division administrative office, (2013)

## 3.5 Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis for this study were household heads. The focus on household's heads allowed the study to measure livelihood indicators based on the households' individual and collective life experiences. These included loss of property and members, living conditions, household structures/houses, number of people, roles, patterns of settlements, ethnic/clan representation, marriage, among other variables.

## 3.6 Sample Size

There are various methods and principle that guide the determination of a sample size in a research process. However, given the fact that the researcher had the number of the target study population, the study was guided by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) to arrive at the sample size. According to the table, one uses the total population (N) in the current study to determine the corresponding sample size (n) that is already predetermined. In this study, the total population for households in Kopsiro Division was 4260. Therefore, the corresponding sample size was 351 as shown in Table 3.2.



**Table 3.3: Household distribution per location**

Location	Number of households	Sample size
Chepyuk	1023	84
Kapkateny	1215	100
Emia	1006	83
Changeiywo	1016	84
<b>Total</b>	<b>4260</b>	<b>351</b>

### **3.7 Sampling Procedure**

In this study, two sampling procedures were used. First, purposive sampling was used to select the key informants. It involved the researcher using her experience and the purpose of the study in mind to select the most desirable and knowledgeable members of the target population to participate in the study. This method was easy to employ, saved time and it allowed the researcher to concentrate on only those informants with appropriate information.

Secondly, the study used simple random sampling to select household heads from which information was collected. This was specific for selecting respondents that would provide responses to the interview schedule. The method was useful because it allowed equal chances of participation by all household heads.

### **3.8 Data Collection Methods**

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative procedures of data collection. The study used an interview schedule, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation to collect data.

#### **3.8.1 Survey Method by Interview schedule**

A semi-structured interview schedule containing both closed and open ended question items were used to collect data. An interview schedule refers to a set of questions designed in a particular form and is employed by the study in eliciting information for the

purpose of data analysis. Interview schedule involved a collection of question items to which a respondent were expected to respond to. Interview schedule have a definite advantage over other methods of data collection. They are more efficient and less expensive and permit collection of data from a much larger sample. First, it is used in semi-literate population to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. They can also be used to collect information that is not directly observable since they, among other things, enquire about feelings, motivation, attitude, accomplishment, opinion as well as an individual's experiences. In this study, the semi-structured interview schedule was used to collect data from all the respondents. The interview schedule elicited both qualitative and quantitative data on all the specific objectives of the study.

### **3.8.2 Interview Method**

The study employed two types of qualitative interviews: the key informant or in-depth interview and the focus group discussion.

#### **3.8.2.1 In-depth/Key Informant Interviews**

This study used in-depth interview method, specifically, through key informants to collect in-depth data on the specific objectives of the study. This captured data on causes of conflicts, effect of conflicts on household social-economic status and the role of stakeholders in mitigating the conflicts. The method involved a face-to-face interview between the researcher and informants using an interview guide. The key informants for this study were two government administrators, four selected households' heads and three representatives from NGOs working in the area.

All the nine (9) key informants were purposively selected. This method allowed collection of in-depth information that was mainly qualitative. These key informants were selected based on the amount of information they hold on conflict and conflict-related issues in the study area.



### **3.8.2.2 Focus group discussion**

This method involved the researcher engaging in a face-to-face interface with a selected group of members of the study target population. The study had two focus group discussions - one with members of the Mosop community and the other with those of Soy community. The focus group discussion revolved around the various issues raised in the specific objectives of the study: causes of conflicts, effects of conflicts on the people's livelihood and the role of stakeholders in mitigating the conflicts; new questions were added to the interview where it was deemed necessary depending on the contribution of the respondents. This was mainly to generate qualitative data that was recorded through note taking.

### **3.8.3 Direct Observation**

This method involved careful watching and recording of phenomena in the study area as guided by research objectives. During visits to the various households in the Division, the researcher observed their settlement patterns, educational facilities, activities they engaged in, living arrangements, economic activities, use of resources like land, type of houses and other conspicuous development assets. Detailed observation was important because it was used to verify some of the information produced during interview sessions. Observation was employed throughout during data collection and mainly produced qualitative data.

### **3.9 Validity and Reliability**

The validity of instruments refers to whether the instruments measured the variable that is to be measured. On the other hand reliability means the instruments are in a position to be able to produce consistent results each time it's administered Mutai (1998). The study will use the following procedure in assessing Content Validity. The researcher engaged supervisors to verify the content of the interview schedule by assessing the concept the instrument was to measure and to determine whether the set of items or checklist accurately represented the problem under study.

The study adopted the test – retest technique of assessing reliability of data as indicated by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003). This involved administering the same instruments twice to the same group of subjects. There was a time lapse of two weeks between the first test and the second test. The variations were observed and corrections done appropriately.

### 3.10 Data Analysis

Once the interview schedules were collected by the researchers, they were coded and fed into the SPSS computer software Version 20 and analyzed. Initially data was checked for completeness, appropriateness, accuracy and relevance. Data were based on the objectives and research question of the study.

The researcher employed both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The two methods complemented each other in that, whereas quantitative provided the numerical data needed, qualitative data provided an in-depth explanation on the discrete data. In qualitative analysis, the information collected through observations, focus group discussions and key informant interviews was summarized into descriptive narratives. The analysis was presented by use of quotes/excerpts and narrative descriptions. The researcher used themes to guide the descriptions. For instance social and economic effects have been clustered as themes of discussion in chapter four. This study was largely qualitative in approach.

Quantitative analysis involved derivation of statistical descriptions and interpretation of data by use of descriptive statistics that mainly relied on numerical values. Quantitative data was summarized and presented in the form of frequency tables, percentages, and means. The researcher relied mainly of descriptive statistics since much of the data was qualitative in nature. For instance percentages, frequency tables, and means have been used to summarize demographic data. The SPSS computer program was used to process numerical data into frequencies and percentage values. The results from the two methods were later synchronized, interpreted and discussed.

### 3.11 Ethical Considerations

The process of carrying out this kind of study involved a lot of public interest especially for all the stakeholders concerned. It also touched on a sensitive matter of security and life experiences of the residents of Kopsiro Division. Therefore, various ethical considerations were factored in before and during the research process. First, the researcher sought a research authorization. This was presented to the Sub-County commissioner, Mt. Elgon District, who also gave another letter of authority for the study to commence.

The researcher also sought permission and consent of the respondents before engaging them in the study. This was because the study was focusing on inter-clan conflicts, which is an emotive issue to the respondents. This was done through clear explanation of the objective and the purposes of the research to the respondents and ensuring them of complete confidentiality. The respondents gave verbal consent to be interviewed.

The researcher also made it clear to all the participants that the study was specifically for academic purpose. Therefore, confidentiality and anonymity of the responses and the respondents were upheld. For instance, during data collection, none of the participants was allowed to write their names in the questionnaire. Similarly, the study used pseudo names for the key informants during data analysis

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents in details the results of this study based on the views of the responses collected using interviews schedules, interview schedules and focus discussion (FGDS). The results are organized according to the objectives of the study. The results are presented in the form of percentages, frequency tables and excerpts. The findings were drawn from household heads from the four locations that form Kopsiro Division. This study examined inter-clan conflicts on household livelihoods, analyzed the perception of the household and key informants towards inter-clan conflicts. A total of 351 respondents were interviewed using the household as the basic unit of analysis. The researcher has analyzed presented, interpreted and discussed the findings.

#### 4.2 Socio - Demographic Characteristics of Household Heads in Kopsiro Division

At the outset, it was important to know the demographic characteristic of the respondents such as gender, age marital status, education level, household size, income and occupation. The Knowledge of demographic characteristics of the respondents was necessary for the understanding the views from each category and also its provide a better understanding of the respondents included in the study thus good found for the detailed discussion of the results.

##### 4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

The gender of the respondents was one of the demographic variables that the study noted. From the findings, 210 (60%) of the respondents were male, while 141 (40%) were female. This is shown in the Table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1. Gender of the Respondents**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	210	60
Female	141	40
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

Results in Table 4.1 show that more men than women participated in the study. This does not necessarily mean that there are more men than women in the general population in the study area. However, it was observed that being mainly a patriarchal society, men were the household heads except in situations where they were absent or diseased that women would become the heads of their households. The 40% of the respondents that reported women as household heads reflected the many men that were absent during the time of study and/or diseased. One of the key informants explained that some men have left the area to seek for employment opportunities in towns like Eldoret, Kitale, Kisumu, Kakamega and Nairobi, leaving women in charge of the family.

The presence of many men in the sample population was also explained by the fact that most of the people in this community are of low educational status as manifested in Table 4.4, which explains why most of them do not have the relevant skills to compete in the formal sector of employment in urban centers that requires skilled labour. Thus, most of them resort to staying at their rural homes where they could be more useful. This argument is further strengthened by the fact that majority of the respondents that were interviewed said that they provide casual labour. The type of casual labour provided by the respondents involved mainly the unskilled labour works like digging for others in their food crop farms, Transporting goods by use of Donkeys to markets like Chwele and Kimilili which do not require skills, but just the physical strength to work.

Cultural factors were also important in explaining why many males were interviewed in the sample population, on the basis of their cultural roles at the household level among the Sabaot community. The study established that traditionally, males (husbands) are the

household heads among the Sabaoth people and by the fact that this study was concerned with the household's demographic and socio-economic issues, men were the ones in the right position to speak on behalf of the household about their status. During data collection, the study interviewed any one of the spouses that was available at the household. However, in situations where both of them were available, the one willing to talk on behalf of the rest was given the chance to participate as the other one could chip-in once in a while. However, the researcher observed that in situations where both spouses were around, the male was the one talking as the female took a low profile in the whole session. The gender of the household head was an important variable because it influences decision making and the exact activities each member of the household undertakes during conflict. Both men and women play important roles in situations of conflict and conflict management and thus, the role of gender variable cannot be underscored.

#### **4.2.2 Age of the Respondents**

Age defines the various roles played by different age groups in the society and influences the decision making power at the individual, household and community level. It informs the dynamic assessment of given situation. Age of the respondents was another important demographic characteristic in this study. From the findings, we have diverse age brackets being represented by the sample population that was interviewed. 107 (30.5%) of the respondents were in the age bracket of 20-30, 113 (32.2%) were in the range of 31-40, 51 (14.5%) were in the range of 41-50, while the remaining 80 (22.8%) were within the age bracket of 50 and above. This has been summarized in Table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2. Age of the Respondents**

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percent
20-30	107	30.5
31-40	113	32.2
41-50	51	14.5
Above 50	80	22.8
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

From analysis in Table 4.2 above, it is clear that people aged between 20-40 years formed the majority (62.2%) of respondents interviewed. If the results were to be classified using Oucho's (2000), young (less than 30 year), the middle age (between 31-55 years), and the old with 56 years and above, then it is possible to say that most of the household heads that participated in the study fall into the young and middle age categories. Thus, this study confirms the findings by Oucho and Odipo (2002) on estimation of internal migration in Kenya. The two found that most of the sending districts in Western and Eastern regions of Kenya (districts contributing migrants to the urban centers) experienced net gains in male population after age 40. This may suggest return migration of unsuccessful job seekers. This phenomenon was particularly observed in Siaya, South Nyanza and in all the districts in Western province. For most districts of Western and Eastern Kenya, return migration due to retirement was also observed among those in the age bracket 50-59 and those over 60 years old. Their study, therefore, could partly explain why the current study encountered more males than female respondents as presented in Table 4.1. However, this study notes that women have been there and the coming back of men does not imply reduction in the number of women.

### **4.2.3 Marital Status of the Respondents**

Analysis of the findings indicated that most of the respondents were married. From the data collected, 249 (70.9%) of the respondents were married, 45(12.8%) were single, 37 (10.6%) were either divorced or separated, while 20 (5.7%) of them were widowed as summarized in Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3. Marital Status of the Respondents**

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	249	70.9
Single	45	12.8
Separated/divorced	37	10.6
Widows/widowers	20	5.7
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

Table 4.3 shows that although 70% of the respondents were married, about 30% were not due to various situations as indicate therein. The study noted that, the status of being married in this community is highly valued not just to the man, but also to the woman that gets married. During key informant sessions, an informant observed that

...in my village, if one marries it is when he/she gets a home and becomes part of the decision makers on issues affecting the community.

(34 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 14)

This means that when one is married in this community, he gets a family, joins the elders and is now tasked to more responsibilities including making of decisions for the community. This implies that the researcher engaged respondents that were relevant in making of decisions at family and community levels, including those to do with conflicts, conflict management, its effects and coping strategies.

Marriage was also vital because most of the conflicts that took place largely affected the family and marriage institutions in the study area. In fact, all the 20(5.7%) of the respondents that mentioned that they were widowed, they lost their spouses during conflicts in 2007/2008 at the height of the SLDF gorilla activities and the operation "Okoa maisha " that included hacking people to death.

In as much as the study targeted household heads, in some few instances (45, 12.8%), the household heads were minors not married. This was again because of incidences of conflicts that led to loss of one or both parents, separation in marriage and migration.



Thus, the elder child in the family, whether male or female, would assume the parental responsibilities. Hence, the reasons for the household heads that were not married.

#### 4.2.4 Level of Education of the Respondents

In this study education level of the respondents was assessed because it enhances the ability of a person to reason and look at issues more critically and make informed decisions when responding to the questionnaire. The level of formal education is an important variable in any given population. This is because it not only influences the demographic, but also socio-economic characteristics of the population. The 351 respondents interviewed had varied levels of education. 66 (18.8%) of them had not had formal education, 138(39.3%) reached primary level, 111 (31.6%) had reached secondary level, 13 (3.7%) had reached tertiary level, while 23 (6.6%) had attained university level of formal education as presented in Table 4.4 below.

**Table 4.4. Level of Education for the Respondents**

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percent
None	66	18.8	18.8
Primary	138	39.3	58.1
Secondary	111	31.6	89.7
Tertiary	13	3.7	93.4
University	23	6.6	100
Total	351	100	

Source: Field Data, 2014

Results in Table 4.4 manifests a cohort of a relatively low level of education among the members of this community, with 58% of them having reached primary level of education. When combined with those with secondary education, then it is about 90% of the respondents. This translates into a semi-skilled labour force that is largely confined to the rural settings.

The level of education was vital in understanding conflict dynamics in the study area. According to one of the key informants

Our youth are not educated and that is why they are used by politicians to cause violence

((44 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 22)

Meaning that our youth have low level of education and that is why they are mainly used by politicians in times of conflicts to cause chaos and violence. This implies that one's level of education may influence the role played in conflict situation in fact most of them were promised Land which they did not get at the end.

#### 4.2.5 Household size

The number of individuals in the household was an important variable in understanding the socio-economic characteristics of the people of Kopsiro Division in relation to conflict. It determines the expenditure level in the household. Out of the 351 respondents interviewed, 84 (23.9%) had up to 3 members in the household, 201 (57.3%) had between 4-7 members, 29 (8.3%) had 8 to 11 members, while 37 (10.5%) had more than 11 members. This is summarized in Table 4.5 below.

**Table 4.5. Household Size of the Respondents**

Members in a Household	Frequency	Percent
Up to 3 members	84	23.9
4-7 members	201	57.3
8-11 members	29	8.3
More than 11 members	37	10.5
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

Results in the table show that the majority of the households in Kopsiro Division have between 4-7 members. These include both offspring and non-offspring members of the family. During visits in the community, the researcher observed that majority of the households had at least one person who was not strictly a member of the family. Most of these people are relatives. Majority of them were young in terms of age and they were either schooling from there (in Kopsiro Division) or helping their hosts in one way or the

other, or have been saved by the host from a problematic situation including those that were displaced by previous conflicts. For instances, the study encountered children of the wife's brother or sister, as well as those of the husbands' brother or sister who were not just staying in the household, but also schooling from there. Some of these children are orphans.

In an interview with one of the local administrators, he said that

I have children belonging to my brothers and they stay and school from my place. This is a burden, but the parents are deceased.

(54 yrs. administrator, Personal Communication, 2014 March 28)

Meaning, I stay with many children of my brothers and sisters. They stay, eat and school from my place. Even though it is costly, there is little he can do because the parents were killed during previous conflict. This implies that conflicts have had a direct bearing on the household size in the study area. In one way, it has led to loss of family members, while in the other way, some families have more members accommodated out of the conflict situations.

A study by Kareithi (2000) on food security in Turkana District revealed similar findings on household composition. He found that 82.4% of the households had at least one person who was not strictly a member of the household. These findings then ascertain that the concept of the extended family still works in African communities even in modern times. Although some of these persons play important tasks in household production like digging, weeding and planting of crops, and looking after the livestock among others, their dependence on the host household presents a considerable drain on the resources of the households as observed in both studies.

#### **4.2.6 Occupation of the Respondents**

From the data collected, 210 (59.8%) of the respondents were subsistence farmers, 194 (55.3%) were businesspersons, 24 (6.8%) were public/government employees, 30 (8.5%)

were working in NGOs, as 17 (4.8%) were engaged in other occupations. Table 4.6 below summarizes the results.

**Table 4.6. Occupational Status of the Respondents**

Occupation	Frequency (n=351)	Percent
Subsistence farmer	210	59.8
Businessperson	194	55.3
Government employee	24	6.8
NGO employee	30	8.5
Other occupation	17	4.8

Source: Field Data, 2014

Normally, most people engage in more than a single source of livelihood. This was also the case in the study area. In fact, most respondents venture into a number of occupations from time to time in the same day. For instance, one has a small business and at the same time he is a *boda boda* man or a subsistence farmer. By *boda boda* it means one who transports goods and services using a bicycle or a motorcycle. The study also observed that most women do their farming work in the morning hours and then later in the day they go to the market places to sell foodstuff, milk, vegetables, and paraffin among other goods in small quantities.

However, majority of them engaged in subsistence farming where they produce vegetables, cereals and fruits for sale on the local markets. This is why the second majority said they are business persons. This involves venting of fresh farm produce they produced or bought from others in their local markets. They mainly sale maize, Onions, Irish Potatoes, Garlic, vegetables, milks and legumes like peas and beans.

During data collection, various respondents explained that most of them were victims of conflicts and had been severally displaced. Thus, they were limited to semi-skilled activities like *boda boda* transport, small businesses and subsistence farming as the coping strategies to make ends meet for their families. In fact, even the farming and

business ventures were also biased and dominated by either the Ndorobo or Soy clans depending on their numbers in a specific village in the division.

#### 4.2.7. Level of Income for the Respondents

Another major socio-economic characteristic for this study was the household's income level. Income levels here refer to the average monthly income of the household head (respondent) and his or her spouse, in Kenya shillings. From the data collected, 126 (35.9%) of the respondents and their spouse earn below 5000, 111 (31.6%) earn between 5001-10000, 81 (23.1%) earn between 10001-15000, 19 (5.4%) earn between 15001-20000, while 14 (4%) earn over 20000. This is summarized in Table 4.7 below.

**Table 4.7. Income Levels of the Respondents**

Level of income per month	Frequency	Percent
Below 5000	126	35.9
5001-10000	111	31.6
10001-15000	81	23.1
15001-20000	19	5.4
Above 20000	14	4
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

Table 4.7 indicates that most of the respondents get less than 5000 Kenya Shillings in a month. Similarly, when combined for all the respondents that earn up to 10000 per month, they represent 67.3%. Only 9.4% of the respondents earn above 15000.

These results present Kopsiro Division as a low-income area, which explains the kind of economic activities the respondents engage in to earn a living. For instance, the cheap casual labour that is available in the area. However, this can also be partly explained by the fact that most of their employers are also not financially stable to pay them as expected. Furthermore, there are many youths in the area that are jobless and so if one refuses the small pay there are many more that want it to survive. The study found out that this is the trend in most of the casual employment opportunities available in the area.

The level of income is an important variable when it comes to conflict situation. Just as in the case with the level of education, a key informant observed that;

Without stable jobs we are so poor. Youths have become political psychopaths that rely on hand outs. They are therefore easily incited by such leaders that take advantage of them.

(34 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 16)

#### **4.2.8 Land Ownership**

Land ownership was another important socio-economic characteristic. Land is an important factor of production alongside capital and labour. Land ownership does not only refer to one having the title deed to that land as the legal bearer of the land, but also having the powers to control the use and disposal of the land. Therefore, ownership of land has a bearing on one's productivity, especially in a farming community like the one under study. From the data collected, 247(70.4%) of the respondents said they own the land on which they live, while 104(29.6%) said they did not.

From the key informant interviews, land is individually owned by the various household heads, mainly registered under the men's name. However, the elder child may also own the parents' land in cases of orphanage. Women would also own their husbands land together with the children in situations where the husband was deceased. The implication of individual land ownership and the specific control of land resources by men in this community imply that men make most of the important decisions when it comes to how to use or disposal the household land. Out of informal discussions with some members of this community, the study found out that some of the men could even sell land without the knowledge of the wives or children. When it comes to decision making on what to plant, the wives would have to consult the husbands before they can know which crop to grow that season.

In relation to conflicts, land was the main cause of conflicts as shall be explained in detail in the subsequent sections. Generally, the recurrent conflicts have always been linked to fighting over land resources and how they are allocated among conflicting interests in the

study area. In fact, many of the households (29.6%) that said that they do not own the land that they stay on, were actually victims of violent conflicts that displaced them from their ancestral land to their current locations.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that understanding the conflict situation in the study area would require some basic understanding of the underlying socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the people of Kopsiro location. It is also evident from the data analyzed so far that, one may not divorce conflicts from economic, social, age, gender, marital status and educational dimensions of the people involved as detailed in this section. In the next section, the researcher presents the causes of conflict in the study area.

### 4.3 Causes of Inter-clan Conflicts on Household Social Economic Status

The first objective of this study was to establish causes of inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division. During data collection, all the 351 respondents said that they had experienced conflicts.

After all the respondents saying that they had experienced conflicts in their area, the researcher was interested in finding out what were the specific causes of the same conflicts? The respondents were asked in an open ended question to name as many as possible causes as they could remember. Out of the 351 respondents, those who mentioned land as the main cause were 326(92%), politics were 262(74.6%), and boundary disputes 267 (76.1%) and land distribution were 302 (86%). This is summarized in Table 4.8 below.

**Table 4.8. Causes of Inter-clan Conflicts**

Cause of conflicts	Frequency (n=351)	Percent
Land	326	93
Politics	262	75
Boundary disputes	267	76
Distribution of land	302	86

Source: Field Data, 2014

Results in Table 4.8 show that land was mentioned the most, followed by distribution of land, boundary disputes and eventually politics. My analysis would simply cluster the responses into two main themes, land related issues and politics as the main causes of conflicts in the study area.

The theme of land has several explanations as to why it was mentioned the most. From the conflict background, it was evident that during the 1<sup>st</sup> resettlement of the Mosop Phase I, the exercise was faced with a lot of challenges. These included poor preparations, lack of title deeds as evidence of ownership and corruption that resulted in dissatisfaction among the Mosop and envy from the Soy.

The same problem remained unsolved in phase II and III. In addition, the long duration of those resettlement phases led to new problems mainly that the residents on the ground could not continue farming on the land because of the dispute and thus, had to seek other means to survive including business. This has been a major source of anger and discomfort especially among the residents who have been rendered jobless with no other stable sources of livelihood. According to a key informant, "...all these started with land issues" (33 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 18).

Meaning, these conflicts started with land issues. The land issues included boundary allocation and distribution of title deeds to the new owners. Originally, the Mosop occupied a water catchment area, which the government wanted to preserve and protect thus, the reason for moving them to the settlement scheme in Chepyuk. During the allocation of Allotment letters in the latest resettlement, some people who had originally settled on the land missed out on the government list of the new land owners. This then prompted violent reaction from the aggrieved group. From that initial incidence, the recurrent conflicts have been a reflection of the 'original unfair distribution of land' that was instigated by the government of the time. Boundaries that emerged were also disputed and the whole process of land distribution appeared to favour one group at the expense of the other. Land was therefore, at the core – especially as a resource that the two clans have been fighting over.



Politics and politicians were also blamed as major causes of the conflicts. In fact, one of the discussants in key informants asserted that

Politicians used us especially during the orange and banana referendum in 2007. Residents were being forced to vote for the referendum if they were to get land. This is one of the reasons why Mr. Matakwei led young men into the forest to seek for the rights-land.

(29 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 22)

The informant asserts here that politicians will finish the community. During the Banana and Orange campaigns for the new constitution, those who voted for Banana were discriminated upon by the local politicians who were for the Orange. The politicians reacted by now allocating land to only those that voted for the Orange. This is how youths led by Mr. Matakwei and Jason Kipsangeiywo (Laibon) went into the forest to fight for their rights as a terror group. Accordingly, politicians played two main roles: first, they funded youths that caused the violent conflicts and secondly, they openly discriminated upon those that did not walk their way. During interview sessions, one of the respondents said that:

They were giving cash money between one and five hundred to the youths.

(34 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 14)

Meaning that politicians gave between one and five hundred shillings to the youths so that the youths would support them.

The researcher was also interested in knowing who the aggressor was during the violent conflicts. It emerged from the findings that up to the time of the study, there was still tension between the two Sabao clans. For the Soy clan, they blamed the Mosop, while the Mosop claimed that it was the Soy that aggressed against them. Thus, biased responses from the respondents and key informants were evident. During data collection, this was evident in their settlement patterns Phase one and two majority were Mosop while Phase three is divided equally. The researcher observed that most of the residents of Kopsiro Division were still displaced and did not have stable abode. What happened

was that since 2008 when the government of Kenya had the military operation in the area, most of those residents that were displaced during that period have not been fully resettled. They therefore, reside in market centers in concentrated settlements mainly of people from the same clan.

When I asked why, one of the key informants said that

We stay like birds! Anytime anything can occur. We don't live in trust and one is not assured of security even now.

(39 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 15)

Meaning that they stay like birds of the air. Anytime anything [insecure] can happen because the area is not safe. People don't trust each other and that is why the Mosop and Soy clan members displaced live in their respective groups and location without mixing freely.

When further asked to rank the specific causes of the recurrent conflicts, various despondences were recorded. Tension due to feeling of insecurity was ranked first, followed by unequal distribution of land resources, then land ownership and use, then political influence, boundary disputes, availability of arms, and poor governance.

Although the land and political issues have been discussed earlier, poor governance has not. Respondents asserted that the government through the local administration has not been fair to the two clans. Instead, they have been biased whenever they intervened and only involved in crisis management when the situation is out of hand. The government was also blamed for mismanaging the initial land allocation that has created the recurrent conflicts over time. In fact, one of the discussants observed that;

It is only the government that can finish this problem.

(40 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning, it is only the government that can end the conflicts if it wishes. Thus, questions the role of the government as we shall see in the subsequent section on the role of

stakeholders. When further asked to rank the causes of conflicts, the following results were recorded as summarized in Table 4.9 below.

**Table 4.9. Ranking Causes of Conflicts**

Cause of Conflicts (n=351)	Minimum (Strongly Disagree)	Maximum (Strongly Agree)	Mean	Rank
General insecurity	1	5	4.3	1
Unequal distribution of land resources	1	5	4.2	2
Land ownership and use	1	5	4	3
Influence from politicians	1	5	3.9	4
Boundary disputes	1	5	3.8	5
Availability of arms	1	5	3.7	6
Poor governance	1	5	3.2	7

Source: Field Data, 2014

By interpretation of the findings in Table 4.9, the nearer the mean mark is closer to maximum (5) then it implies affirmative response. The *vice-versa* is true. According to the table, the general insecurity situation is the highest threat to peace. This was also confirmed during visits in many parts of the Division where, the researcher had to be escorted by some community leaders for security purposes. Similarly, the presence of military trucks was also eminent in patrolling the area. Insecurity was mainly exacerbated by unclear procedures of land allocation, land use and ownership, boundary disputes, influence from politicians and poor governance.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that land and politics dominate the underlying causes of conflicts in the study area. However, it is also clear that lack of proper management of the conflict has also made the conflict incidences to persist. In the following section, the researcher will now present the consequences of inter-clan conflicts on households in Kopsiro Division.

#### 4.4 Effects of Inter-clan Conflicts in Kopsiro Division

In overall, respondents were then asked to randomly rank any ten effects, whether positive or negative in order of priority, and the findings were recorded by ranking of effects of conflicts on the household.

The second objective of the study was to examine the effects of inter-clan conflicts on the household's socio-economic status in Kopsiro Division. Normally, conflict has been viewed with a lot of negative connotations with regards to its consequences to those people and geographical spaces involved. The study of inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot community was not divorced from such findings. In fact, the whole study was premised on the assumption that the current undesirable living conditions in Kopsiro Division were largely effects of the recurrent conflicts that have been experienced in the area. Therefore, during data collection, respondents and key informants were tasked to identify, specify and explain the main effects of conflicts in the study area, where various findings were recorded.

From the economic point of view, various effects were mentioned. However, these can be summarized into loss of lives, property and sources of livelihood. In terms of loss of life, most of the respondents mentioned that they lost their close relatives in the violent conflicts between the two clans. Accordingly, members from either clan were brutally hacked to death, while others lost body parts like limbs and ears, rendering them lame for life. During key informant interviews, one of the informants narrated that

In 2008 we lost two teachers here in Chepkurkur. In total we over 10,000 lives.

(44 yrs. old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning that in Chepkurkur, they lost two teachers and in total over 10,000 people were reported dead in 2008.

During data collection, all the respondents that were widowed/widow said that they lost their spouses in the conflicts. Loss of life was also evident by the existing social

institutions in the study area. For instance, we have the Christian-Relief Fund (CRF)'s project for orphans under Masaek Hope and Light Ministries in Chepyuk Location confirm. This is a children support centre and school hosting 182 orphans sponsored by CRF. These orphans were mainly victims of conflicts. The centre has a school that operates classes from standard one to eight. However, they also sponsor 27 orphans and 12 partial orphans, needy and neglected children to pursue their secondary education in other schools.

Loss of property was another major economic impact of the conflicts to the households. All the households heads interviewed recorded that they lost property during conflicts. Most of the houses were torched; valuables looted and burnt, shopping centers were destroyed, as cows and donkeys were stolen. The household was actually at the centre of the loss from human life to material property. A lady informant tearfully narrated her story

Those people burnt my property and stole all my belongings. I was only left with the clothes I was putting on. Am just the way I am with nothing. They killed my son too.

(36 yrs. old woman, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning that those people burnt, stole and looted everything. She was only left with the clothes she was wearing. The conflict also claimed one of her children. She further asserted that.

The whole place was burnt down...whatever you are seeing was just recently constructed.

(30 yrs. old woman, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning that this entire place in Kipsigion, Kubra and Kebee was burnt and was just recently constructed.

Food insecurity was another economical effect of the conflicts. During and after the conflicts, nobody was allowed to plough their farms because it was a taboo. One of the community elders said that;

In times of conflicts, tilling land will be like scratching Oloibon's back...this is an abomination in our community. I will invoke bad omens to the community.

(54 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 24)

Meaning that when one digs, he/she will be scratching Oloibon's back that was not culturally acceptable. Doing so would attract a bad omen for the community. There was also no mechanical farming involving the use of tractors and other farm equipments. The consequences of these were enormous. First, there was hunger for three (3) years (2007-2009) and several children died out of hunger. According to one of the respondents, this is the period when people ate weeds known as *chepkukuyu*. The only agro-business and retail businesses that residents engaged in involved selling of basic commodities as most shops were destroyed. Barter trade was still being practiced even at the time of the study because of poor roads networks making farm produced to be sold or even exchanged cheaply with other goods needed at the household level. Markets like Kapkateny and Chwele that depend on farm products from Mt. Elgon District were affected by lack of food resources.

Another economic effect on the household was the aspect of displacement of residents. One of the most common characteristic of the inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division was displacement of members in households. Many household members went missing and some have never been re-united with their household members. During the study, about 6 years since the last violent conflict in the area, most of the household heads informed the researcher that most people were displaced and are now living with relatives, while others have been forced to rent houses at the shopping centre. Due to cultural reasons earlier mentioned, the displaced are not living separately within camps for internally displaced persons, but are integrated in households within their neighbourhood. This has further led to new living habits of renting houses and

dependency syndrome especially for the victims who rely of the hosts. This partly confirms why most households had many members.

In terms of livelihood options, most households lost their sources of livelihood including farming. Thus, people are currently forced to engage in odd jobs like sex for cash and other criminal activities like stealing. During a focused group discussion in Chepkurkur, a discussant shared that

Our young girls are part of the many homeless families. This predisposes them to early sexual activities. In Chepkurkur Primary school, over 25 pupils were found to be pregnant. Promiscuity, thefts and many vices are on increase.

(29 yrs. pastor, Personal Communication, 2014 April 25)

Meaning that most young girls are already mothers because they have no abode, no jobs and they have to be promiscuous in order to make ends meet. She further asserted that in Chepkurkur Primary school, over twenty five (25) girls were pregnant at the same period as it was aired in the national media stations. Another informant complained of increase in cases of theft. He singled out that;

We have families here including Omar's, which all people know they are thieves.

(32 yrs. old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 24)

Meaning that we have Omar's Family who are known for criminal activities at the moment. In overall, levels of poverty in the area are high – people have less income, are food insecure, eat less preferred foods, are displaced, are more dependent, do not farm, and have generally lost sources of livelihood.

Socially, there have been several effects of the conflicts on the household. First of all, separation and divorces in the families that form the household. The conflict situation made social life precarious to an extend that most of the households experienced breakages in marriages due to sexual promiscuity, separation of family members, displacement of households, and loss of sources of livelihood. For instance, in one of the

interview sessions, the respondents explained that in one of the incidences, women were moved from Mt. Elgon to neighbouring districts including Bungoma, Kimilili, Kamkuywa, Mayanja, Eldoret and Kitale. While there, the women were sexually assaulted as others became promiscuous and the end results were children born out of wedlock that led to separation with their husbands.

The conflicts also provided a fertile ground for a variety of sexual abuses. Men and women together with the youths have become sexually promiscuous and some have become prostitutes to make ends meet. According to a headmaster at Chepkurkur Primary School, in 2013, 15 girls dropped out of school due to pregnancy and by March 2014, 8 girls had also dropped. He also observed that most girls in the area were now going to Kimilili and Chwele to work as barmaids and commercial sex workers. Within the family, most of the men were also forcefully castrated by the militia group members of the Sabaot Land Defense Force (SLDF) and the operation Okoa maisha (The Kenya Army). According to one of the victims interviewed:

Men in my village were hijacked and taken away by Matakwei. The men were tied with ropes on their private parts and pulled. This has left some of us impotent. I am a victim.

(31 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 24)

Meaning that all men in his village were taken by the SLDF men and tortured by tying their private parts with ropes and pulled them. Most men are now impotent, which also has affected their roles at the household level.

There was also the general violation of rights experienced at the household level. When SLDF was active, they used to selectively target some household members mainly men. They would forcefully pick them into the forest to go and fight. They would kill them. They would cut their body parts especially ears and arms as part of punishment. Therefore, killing, torture, mutilation and sexual violence characterized most of the household members during conflict and after conflict period. According to one of the informants, even the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) reported that



a part from the SLDF, the General Service Unit (GSU) and the police also tortured, unlawfully detained, killed, and sexually assaulted the residents during the 2008 security operation that was called Operation Okoa Maisha.

Socially, the conflicts also led to displacement of over 66,000 households. This grossly interrupted with the households' daily-life operations. Education of children was interrupted as children were displaced while their schools were burnt down e.g.: including Chepkurkur, Kaboriot, Kaptoom and Korng'otuny Primary schools. Households' socialization process was also interfered with by the displacement. This was especially because members of the family were separated while in other cases, merged with the rest of the displaced members of the society where discipline, order, authority and values were replaced by the drive to survive and making ends meet in a harsh social environment that made parental control almost impossible. This is why sexual pervasion and criminal acts are on the rise. During the interview a discussant observed that

Our children's discipline has really deteriorated. Nowadays it is girls that are looking after us. Men have also changed their dressing code. All these are against our values.

(27 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning that the discipline and morals have gone down to an extent that it is girls now seducing men, while the girls are now dressed in trousers that they did not before. Because of displacement of families, social roles were also interfered with. Women have become household heads and sole breadwinners. This also happened for children that were orphaned and displaced during the conflicts. That is why almost 40% of the household heads interviewed were female. This number was quite high compared to what is ideally expected in a normal life experience in the same society where only a few women would be household heads.

Members of the Mosop and Soy clans have also continued to express mistrust and fear for each other because of the conflicts. This has resulted into a social tension between the two clans. During visits in the study area, the researcher observed that the settlement

patterns take the clan criteria where there is little mixing because people do not trust members of the other clan this evidenced in phase three where majority who have settled there are from the soy. Even in the market places, the types of roles played in business enterprises were also restricted for example in areas dominated by the soy the Mosop do not own any businesses and *vice versa*.

In general, the households were the melting pots during the conflicts. This is where the action was taking place in terms of the target of the conflicts and impact of the same. In fact, the living arrangements, the social life and economic activities that people engaged in at the household level is a reflection of how they were affected by the incidences of conflicts in the study area. For instance, because of displacement, people have concentrated their settlement at market centres, while engaging in business and transport activities to earn a living.

When discussing conflicts, the researcher went to the field with an open mind to capture both the positive and negative effects of conflicts on the households. The above discussion has been biased towards the negative effects of conflicts. However, the study also recorded various positive results. One of them was the aspect of capacity building. The conflicts attract a lot on national and international attention. Many non-governmental organizations including the Red Cross, Christian Reformed Relief, Women Link, NCKK, ICM ACT Kenya, and FPFK (Free Pentecostal Fellowship of Kenya) have engaged in massive civic education for the residents. As a result, various seminars and workshops have been organized on conflict management and resolution, and attitude change especially targeting the young people. This has included among other activities taking youths to Rwanda to learn from the genocide scenes. According to one Red Cross official, he observed that in as much as the area seems to be having some underlying social tensions, these kinds of capacity building initiatives have reduced the chances of such tensions escalating into full-blown violence.

In terms of infrastructure, the researcher observed that schools that had been burnt down during the conflicts were made of temporary structures.. However, when rebuilding the school, they have been replaced by permanent structures and most people now prefer

boarding schools for their children as was observed at Cheptikit Academy. Roads like Masaek -Kipsigon and Kopsiro - Chepyuk were constructed by army and have now improved it by putting murram .

Similarly, houses being built are made of iron sheets as opposed to pre-conflict period. There was also a water tank build by ACT Kenya for the whole community, which has solved water challenges that used to affect the residents. Also, those people that ran away from the conflicts have come back but with new ideas for development e.g. building of Village Polytechnic is now on the pipe line, high altitude training centre for the athletes and water springs. All these are positive effects of the conflicts. However, the way the benefits came about should be critically examined: the society must not lose life for it to get water, schools, and permanent roads, among other benefits. Table 4.10 below summarizes some of the effects highlighted by the respondents.

**Table 4.10. Ranking Effects of Conflicts on the Household**

<b>Causes of Conflicts (n=351)</b>	<b>Minimum (Strongly Disagree)</b>	<b>Maximum (Strongly Agree)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Rank</b>
Reduced household income	1	5	4.2	1
Lost family land	1	5	3.9	2
Slept hungry/ate less preferred food	1	5	3.8	3
Investors have left the area	1	5	3.7	4
Displacement of families/people	1	5	3.6	5
Life is more difficult	1	5	3.6	6
Loss of job opportunities	1	5	2.9	7
There is balanced development between Mosop and Soy people	1	5	2	8

Source: Field Data, 2014

The interpretation of the findings in Table 4.10 is that the nearer the mean mark is closer to the maximum (5), the more affirmative response it is and *vice-versa*. The ranking shown above did not rich ten, but they scored up to eight most pressing effect of conflict on the household. Loss of household income was therefore, the most common effect. This was largely because most households as it can be seen in the same Table 4.10 lost their

family land, ate less preferred food or even slept hungry, and many were displaced. What these mean is that most families were generally destabilized and experienced general loss of their sources of livelihood. The supremacy of household's level of income over other effects cannot be underscored. Income as already indicated is a major indicator of a household's socio-demographic status in the society. When income is enhanced, the living conditions of the household is hypothetically assumed to improve, but when it is deprived, the households would generally degenerate in many other aspects like food security where they would not be able to consume enough or even preferred foods since if they cannot produce it on their own farm, they may not also access [buy] it from the market since they lack the cash.

Findings in Table 4.10 also show a generally deprived community as a result of conflicts. Households have lost land, are taking less preferred foods or even going hungry. Investors have left the area as more people are displaced and life made more difficult. At the end of it all, there is no balanced development among households from both communities.

One key finding from the field was that in spite of the fact that most of the families were displaced by conflicts in the study area, there were no camps for internally displaced persons. According to one of the key informants at Chepyuk Phase III, the Sabaot culture does not allow their members to live in dehumanizing conditions.

He asserted that

Our tradition and culture does not allow one to live in a tent. For the internally displaced persons, it becomes the responsibility of their kins-to host them until they are able to rebuild their lives.

(44 yrs. old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 24)

Meaning that their customs and traditions do not allow their members to live in tents. In fact, for those displaced, it is the obligation of the fellow Sabaot members or relatives to accommodate them until the situation is sorted out. This was a response that he gave

when asked by the researcher to explain why people were not living in camps if they were truly displaced.

In the earlier findings the study indicated that people lived in concentrated settlements near market centres, but not camps. What this meant was that people of the same clan were accommodated by their kinsmen and women and allowed to share the same residential space as an extended family giving rise to a kind of informal settlement within market centres for security purposes and also to avoid exposing their member to the dehumanizing life in the tents. Thus, the Sabaot culture provided a fertile ground for members to cope with some of the effects of the inter-clan conflicts in the study area. This is partly one of the benefits that the researcher accrued by staying in the community for one month because the key informants would reveal more information over time. In the next section, the researcher then explains the specific role of the stakeholders in the whole context of conflicts, conflict resolution and management in the study area.

#### **4.5 The Role of Stakeholders in Mitigating Inter-clan Conflicts in Kopsiro Division**

The third objective of the study was to analyze the role of stakeholders in mitigating conflicts in the study area. During data collection, the researcher found that there were several stakeholders that had played vital roles in mitigation of conflicts. These stakeholders operated either as a group or individual entities in implementation of their action plans. Out of the 351 respondents interviewed, 245(69.8%) mentioned the government as a stakeholder, 224(63.8%) the civil society/NGOs, 190 (54.1%) elders, 169(48.1%) community members, while all the 351(100%) mentioned the district officer (D.O) and church leaders. These results are summarized in Table 4.11 below.

**Table 4.11. Stakeholders Involved in Resolving Conflicts**

Stakeholder	Frequency (n=351)	Percent
Government	245	69.8
Civil society/NGOs	224	63.8
Elders	190	54.1
Community member	169	48.1
Total	351	100

Source: Field Data, 2014

Analysis of the findings in Table 4.11 indicate that the government was recognized by over 69% of the respondents as having played a key role in conflict resolution in the study area. This was manifested in various ways. First and foremost, the government has the social and political responsibility to provide security for its citizens against aggression. Thus, this was a major expectation of the people of Kopsiro. According to respondents, the then government took the responsibility by declaring war against the Sabaot Land Defense Force and further declared Mt. Elgon District a security operation zone in 2008. This was an operation called *Okoa maisha* meaning save life. The military operation led to the eventual killing of the leader of SLDF and destruction of the whole group activities in the area. This is what culminated in the end of the last major violent conflicts experienced in the area.

The government also set up police posts including the one in Kapkateny, Kipsigon, and many other administration police (AP) camps like the ones in Chepchabai, Toiwondet, Chepyuk, Kapsambu, Kubra and Chebich AP camps. There is also a Military post at Panaan tega that has helped to heighten security through regular surveillance and intelligence activities.

In 2013, when the Jubilee government took power, they promised to settle most of the Kenyans that have been internally displaced out of the various causes. However, this did not work for the study area because the government was targeting people in IDP camps yet in the study area the culture does not encourage people living in camps. Meaning that

the government may need to use other criteria in order to settle the many displaced residents in the area.

Most of the respondents also mentioned in their responses that the government was still expected to do more. The land allocation and boundary disputes, which were then politicized, remain unresolved. During visits to the study area, it was consistently mentioned by the respondents that none of them has got a title deed for the land on which they live, while other have letters of allotment yet they have no land on ground. During the previous government efforts to allocate the land, the respondents observed that there were no prior consultations with the locals and thus, was marred with a lot of complaints over corruption and political influence. For instance, the final list of residents prepared by the government did not tally with the list that the locals had prepared and expected to be given land. Therefore, it still calls for the government's mandate to amicably solve the land crisis in order to end the recurrent discontent among the various clans living in Kopsiro Division.

Two hundred and twenty four or 63% of the respondents mentioned civil societies/NGOs as having played a major role in management of the previous incidences of conflict. During data collection and visits to the four locations, the researcher encountered various social and economic activities that were ongoing, which were being funded by the civil societies. For instance, in Kopsiro centre, ICM that sponsor, a theological college called African Theological Seminary, which was offering open air prayers in the region during conflicts. They also held pulpit exchange programs for pastors from various churches that had earlier been separated by conflicts. They also preached peace throughout the area. There was also Mt. Elgon Pastors forum, NCKK, and Catholic Peace and Justice Commission that Helped By conducting exchange pulpit programs for both clans.

The ICM through the African Theological Seminary also supported conflict victims in various ways. They helped rebuild their houses; each was given a cow; the elderly were given farm inputs and the organization leased land for them; 30 women were supported through farming on their behalf and each was further given a sheep; they also employed the local youths to be peace ambassadors; and currently, they sponsor over 200 orphans

in their education at primary and secondary levels. Currently there are training pastors from various churches.

The Red Cross is another NGO whose activities were recognized by the respondents during data collection. According to the respondents, it is the Red Cross that has mainly been in charge of relief food and medical aid during conflict situations. One of the key informants also appreciated that:

It was the Red Cross officials that saved me and my family. They gave us food, medication and mosquito nets.

(24 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 March 28)

Meaning that it is the Red Cross people that saved her and her children. They gave her foodstuff, medication and a mosquito net. There researcher also found that Red Cross is offering medical assistance to Kopsiro Health Centre, the only health facility in Kopsiro Division. Christian reformed gave to around two hundred people each 16 irons sheets reconstruction for the burnt houses.

Elders from the various clans in Kopsiro Division were also mentioned by 54% of the respondents that they have always played an important role during conflict situations. According to one of the administrators interviewed, elders play a big role in dispute resolution and particularly, in dialoguing and negotiation processes between parties. One of the respondents observed that;

It was these elders that helped to negotiate peace among the various clans that led to the end of violence. However, there are other elders that are also used to instigate war – they bless young men of their clans and set them to fight against the other clans.

(44 yrs. Old man, Personal Communication, 2014 April 26)

Meaning that the elders are the ones that talk to people of various clans so as to cool down the fight. But in some cases, the same elders are the ones that incite their youths



and bless them to go to war with their rival clans. Therefore, the findings indicate that the elders may play two major roles: the one of conflict resolution as well as conflict ignition.

Community members were also identified by over 48% of the respondents as having played major role in conflict situations. During conflicts, it is the community members that engage each other in the violence that ensues. However, they are also the victims of the same violence. In Kopsiro Division, community members engaged in various activities during and after the conflicts. First and foremost, the respondents explained that community members were involved in reconciliation and provision of humanitarian aid to victims of the conflict that had erupted. Most of the respondents provided shelter, water, food, and counseling to the victims. They also worked with elders to negotiate and reconcile the warring sides. Most important of them all, they are the ones hosting all the people that were internally displaced during the conflicts.

The District Officer (DO) and church leaders were the most mentioned as having played a key role during the conflicts. The DO being the main government figure on ground, he was highly remembered because, being the chairman of the security in the Division, he was seen all over the area moving up and down with police officers asking residents to stay in-door, to cease fire and to cooperate with the government agencies in providing information. The DO was thus, a symbol of the government's presence on the ground.

For the church leaders, they were so instrumental in provision of humanitarian support including tents, medication, counseling of victims and reunion of families, building of schools and sponsoring of orphaned children to pursue education. Generally, many Christian religious denominations have continued to play a major role in reconstructing life especially for those that were directly affected by the violence. For instance, the Free Pentecostal Fellowship in Kenya (FPFK) initiated programs on peace and rights that has been vital in bringing about reconciliation, harmony and healing among the people that were affected. The church leaders facilitated meetings that were held with elders from all the Sabaot clans. One of these meetings was held in Mabanga and officiated by the former Vice President Hon. Kalonzo Musyoka. The climax was a peace rally held at Kaptama area. In that rally, people were asked to forgive each other, ex-SLDF members

were also forgiven and reunited with the community they had tortured, the ex-SLDF were also asked to form self-help group in each location and given Ksh.75,000 to start life, and about 600 of the ex-SLDF were taken through rehabilitation programs.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that various stakeholders at various levels played important roles in conflict resolution. One observation that the researcher made was the general need for the stakeholders to continue networking with each other since most of the conflict situations cannot be addressed by a single strategy. In conclusion to the chapter, it is clear that land and land-related issues that have been politically polarized have been the main causes of the recurrent conflicts that have affected the social and economic status of households in Kopsiro Division, while the government is the main stakeholder with the authority and mandate to address the land issues.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot clans have been a recurrent problem affecting the people of Kopsiro Division. The intention of this study was to understand the extent to which conflicts among the Sabaot clans has affected their household livelihood opportunities and the current status of development experienced in the study area. This chapter brings all the dimensions of the study together by linking the objectives to the logical presentation of the findings. It gives a summary of the findings of the study and draws conclusions by making inferences from the findings. The researcher finally makes recommendation based on the findings and conclusions drawn.

#### 5.2 Summary of the Findings

One of the objectives of this study was to establish causes of inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division. It was found that conflict between the Sqy and Mosop clans is feudal in nature, complex and has a long history. It was observed that each side of the two clans acknowledged the existence of conflicts that is widespread to the whole community. It was observed that land and land-related issues like land distribution and boundary disputes were the main causes of conflicts in Kopsiro Division. Politics and more specifically, politicians who take advantage of the existing land problems were the second major cause of the persistent conflicts in the study area. In fact, politicians fuel or ignite the conflicts for their own interests. Consequently, these have brought about a general feeling of mistrust and insecurity among the members of the two clans.

The second objective of the study was to examine the effects of conflicts on the households' socio-economic status in Kopsiro Division. Findings on this objective have shown that the household was the most affected institution when it comes to effects of the conflicts both as the space and target of the conflicts. According to the findings, the recurrent conflicts have led to loss of livelihood opportunities for most of the households.

The researcher found that all households had various levels of experiences in terms of losses of life of their members, loss of livestock, loss of family land, loss of food resources, some slept hungry or ate less preferred foods, many are displaced and are leaving in conditions that they do not like. Of all these, loss of life and property, and displacement of households were the most common effects of the conflicts.

However, conflicts also had positive effects especially on the larger community. There have been various infrastructural developments out the conflicts situations including construction of two main access roads, construction of a village polytechnic and a high altitude training centre for athletes. Most schools and houses for instance, have now been built using permanent materials; there are several police posts and administration police units with a military post established for continuous surveillance and rapid response to potential security threats; and many of the residents seem to like the idea of dialogue through various channels to mitigate subsequent conflicts.

The third objective of the study was to analyze the role of stakeholders in mitigating the inter-clan conflicts in Kopsiro Division. It was found that various stakeholders play various roles in mitigating and even managing the conflicts situations in the study area. However, the government was said to have the greatest role in mitigating and providing a lasting solution to the conflicts. The civil societies including non-governmental organizations were also critical players in mitigating conflicts and managing of the post conflict situations. Further, community elders were said to be critical in negotiation and reconciliation processes during conflicts.

## **5.3 Conclusions**

### **5.3.1 Theoretical conclusions**

In attempt to understanding the inter-clan conflicts and household livelihoods in Kopsiro division collective action theory was used. According to the collective action theory historical information and present day society reveal occasional, intermitted or incessant, spontaneous and fluid actions by different groups, for example, there have been riots, mass<sup>s</sup> demonstrations and pressure for social change. This was a typical example of what

the researcher found out in the study area. That, members of the two clans act in solidarity. For instance, for the Mosop blame the Soy and the *vice versa*, as the aggressors in the persistent conflicts. They also demonstrated solidarity in their settlement patterns and the way they accommodate those displaced by conflicts.

Marx was a proponent of conflict theory focusing on class struggle. As such, the proposition of the theory in this study is that collective action originates from maldistribution of resources. Hence, collective actions is relatively fluid, unstructured, unpredictable and sometimes violent. This was also observed in the study. While addressing the first objective of the study, the researcher found that land and land-related issues were the main causes of the conflicts. In fact, findings highlight boundary disputes in particular and irregular allocation of land to people that were not supposed to get, as the main causes of violent conflicts in the study area.

However, the researcher observed that given the mitigation effort that the researcher highlighted, not all the members of the two clans were acting in solidarity with their clansmen/women. For instances, religious organizations brought together pastors and elders from both clans to preach peace and reconciliation for the two clans. Therefore, the act of being neutral actors was vital in mitigating violence and managing post-conflict situation. This means that the theory then is limited depending on the individual roles of the members of the clans.

### **5.3.2 Empirical Conclusions**

Basing on the findings in objective one, the researcher concludes that the persistent conflicts in Kopsiro Division are triggered mainly by factors from within the clans – particularly land-related issues, and partly, by factors beyond control of those clans, especially when the whole land issues is politicized and sides are taken.

In regard to the second objective, the researcher concludes that the inter-clan conflicts among the Sabaot people have had both positive and negative implications on the households in the study area. However, in terms of household's socio-economic development status, the conflicts have compromised the household's livelihood

opportunities for majority of the residents. Thus, answering the second research question, which asked what are effects of inter-clan conflicts on the household's socio-economic status in Kopsiro Division?

The researcher basing on the findings of the third objective concludes that conflicts cannot be resolved by one major stakeholder. It is a team and all-inclusive process that involves the participation of various actors. However, given its mandate, the government must lead the talk and action for the rest to be successful in their efforts especially in the case of Kopsiro Division.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

This study has two sets of recommendations: the practical recommendations to address the practical and policy issues in Kopsiro Division, and the academic recommendations to address recommendations on further research to fill the missing links. This is handled under the following subsections:

### **5.4.1 Policy Recommendations**

With regard to objective one of the study, the researcher recommends that:

1. The government of Kenya should extent its political will to the people of Kopsiro Division by being committed to resolve the pending land-related issues in the study area and finalizę the resettlement process. This with be important because:
  - a. It is mainly the government that has the absolute mandate, obligation and all that it takes to make the final decision on how to resolve the persistent inter-clan conflicts in the study area.
  - b. Those households that were displaced or are still unsettled will be settled
2. Politicians should stop using the sensitive issues of land and land-related matters in pursuing their own political interests. This is because political interference has been cited as one of the main triggers of violent conflicts and corruption in Land allocation process.

From the second objective of the study, it is the recommendation of the researcher that:

1. The government of Kenya should come up with an inventory of all the displaced households in Kopsiro Division and subsequently settle them. This is because the status of being displaced underlies the gist of problems/effects that the households are facing as a result of the persistent conflicts. This will ensure:
  - a. All the people displaced are not just settled but also compensated where necessary,
  - b. Title deeds are issued to the right people,
  - c. The whole process is transparent and open to public participation.
2. Since households belonging to members from both Soy and Mosop clans suffer consequences of the persistent conflicts, there is need to educate residents of Kopsiro Division about the need for cease fire. This is because persistent conflicts have compromised the living conditions for households in both clans.

From the findings and conclusions raised in the third objective of the study, the researcher has the following recommendations:

1. There is need for collective participation of all the actors in the process of mitigating and managing conflict situations in Kopsiro Division. This will encourage consensus building and goodwill for lasting solutions to persistent conflicts.
2. The government should come out strongly and lead the rest of the actors in mitigating conflicts situations in the study area. This is because it has a unique role and mandate to protect its people and a sure them of safety on daily basis.

#### **5.4.2 Areas for Further Research**

From the foregoing discussion, the researcher has established various research gaps that may be pursued by future researchers to create more knowledge and fill the existing gaps left by the present study.

1. A similar study should be carried out in other communities that have experienced inter-clan conflicts and compare the experiences so as to gauge if the current recommendations can be replicated for adoption at the national level.
2. There is need for a study to be carried out on the effectiveness of the mitigation strategies that were employed to end previous incidences of conflicts in the study area. This is because there were various outcries over the way the military and government treated the local residents in the process of mitigating conflicts.



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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Interview Schedule for Household Heads

Dear respondent,

I am a student at Egerton University currently pursuing a Master's Degree in community development and project planning. As part of the degree requirements I am carrying out a research study on "**Conflict and Household Livelihood among Sabaot Clans in Kopsiro Division, Bungoma County Kenya**". The research is meant for academic purpose only. You are kindly requested to provide answers to these questions as honestly and precisely as possible. The information provided will be kept confidential.

Yours sincerely

MILKAH CHELAGAT PSIWA

0722 688 778

#### Part 1: Demographic Data

1. Which location do you come from? .....
2. What is your Gender (sex) Male  Female
3. In which age bracket do you belong?
  - 20 – 30
  - 31 – 40
  - 41 - 50
  - Above 50
4. What is your Marital Status?
  - Married  Single  Divorced  Separated  Widowed/Widower
5. What is your level of education level? None  Primary  Secondary  Diploma  Degree  Other (specify).....



6. Which of the following type(s) of occupation best describe what you do? (multiple response)

- Farmer
- Business person
- Government employee
- Employee of a private organization
- Other (specify) .....

7. What is your average monthly income?

- Less than KShs. 5,000
- KShs. 5001-10,000
- KShs. 10,001-15,000
- KShs. 15,001-20,000
- Above KShs. 20,000

8. What is your household size?

- Up to 3 members  4-7 members  8-11 members  More than 11 members

9. Land ownership

(i) I own the land in which I live in.

Explain.....  
.....

I do not own the land on which I live.

Explain.....  
.....

10. Which Sabaot group are you affiliated to? Mosop  Soy

**Part 2: Causes of Conflicts**

11. (a) Have you ever experienced incidences of conflict between the Mosop and Soy in this area? Yes  No

(b) If YES, briefly explain what the cause of the conflict was.

.....  
.....

(c) Who was the aggressor in the conflict?

.....

(d) Who was afflicted?

.....

(e) How did the conflict manifest?

.....

.....

12. In the scale of 1-5 where 1= Strongly Disagree (SD) 2= Disagree (D) 3= Undecided (U) 4= Agree (A) 5= Strongly Agree (SA) how would you rate the following statements with regard to major cause of conflicts?

	1	2	3	4	5
Land ownership and land use					
Boundary dispute					
Influence of political leaders					
Marginalization and poverty					
Lack of security					
Cultural factor dowry, cattle complex, heroism					
Poor governance break of trade and modern institutions					
Armed conflicts, arms sales					
Inequality in resource distribution					

**Part 3: Effect of Conflicts on Household Economic Livelihood Opportunities**

13. In the scale of 1-5 where 1= Strongly Disagree (SD) 2= Disagree (D) 3= Undecided (U) 4= Agree (A) 5= Strongly Agree (SA) how would you rate the following statements with regard to effects of conflicts on house hold livelihood economic status?

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
We lost our family land on which we used to farm because of conflict					
We are more food secure because of conflict					
We have slept hungry and/or eaten less preferred food because of conflict					
Our house hold income has reduced because of conflict					
Conflicts have made us more innovative in creating new job opportunities					
I was displaced because of conflicts					
Things are generally better than they were before conflicts					
There are more job/occupational opportunities because of conflicts					
More investors have left this place because of conflict					
Development in this area is balanced among all the Sabaot groups					

14. What recommendation would you wish to make in regard to the effects of conflicts on the economic livelihood of the local people?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**Part 3: Role Stakeholders in Mitigating the Of Inter-klan conflicts In The Division**

15. Who are involved in resolving the conflicts in the division?

- Government
- NGOs
- Council of elder
- Community members

15 kindly explain the role of the following in resolving the conflicts

Government

.....  
.....

NGOs

.....  
.....

Council of elder

.....  
.....

Community members

.....  
.....

In the scale of 1-5 where 1= Strongly Disagree (SD) 2= Disagree (D) 3= Undecided (U) 4= Agree (A) 5= Strongly Agree (SA) how would you rate the following statements with regard to Role Stakeholders in Mitigating the Of Inter-clan conflicts In the Division?

<b>Statement</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Involvement of members of the communities and churches					
Involvement of the government					
Involvement of the community elders					
Engaging in peace negotiation with a rival party to be safe enough to search for food.					
Asking the government to provide adequate security to enable people to attend to their fields and protect livestock and other property.					
Elders usually negotiate for peace, settle internal disputes and are willing to act as emissaries of peace with other groups					
Women have been organizing peace marches and peace campaign rallies in the villages					

## **Appendix II: Key Informant and FGD Interview Guide**

The themes for FGDs are based the research objectives and are as follows;

- 1) What are the Effects of inter- ethnic conflicts on households' livelihood?
- 2) What are the Causes of inter- ethnic conflicts?
- 3) What are the Effects on inter-clan conflicts on Socio- economic status of households?
- 4) What are the roles of the stakeholders in mitigating the conflicts?

### **Appendix III: Observation Guide**

The researcher will observe the following;

- Type of houses (Permanent/Temporary/Semi-permanent).
- Economic activities (Type of Cattle, Number of cattle, Type of crops grown, activities residents engage in like businesses).
- Social amenities available like schools, hospitals, and roads.
- Settlement patterns like how houses are concentrated and which clan live where?
- The presence of actors like government agencies, churches and NGOs.

**Appendix IV: Research Authorization Letter – Mount Elgon District  
Commissioners Office**

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

Telegrams "DISTRICTER" Cheptais  
Email dccheptais@yahoo.com  
When Replying Please Quote  
REF NO: CHEP/ED/7/L/VOL.IV/ (157)

DEPUTY COUNTY COMMISSIONER  
CHEPTAIS SUB COUNTY  
PO BOX 82  
CHEPTAIS  
6<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2014


TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

**RE: MASTER OF ARTS RESEARCH: MILKA CHELAGAT PSIWA**

The above named is a Master of Arts in sociology student at Egerton University.

She is hereby authorized to carry out research on "inter clan conflict and house hold livelihood" in Kopsiro Division in Cheptais sub county .This research will be carried out between February and May 2014.

Kindly accord her the necessary assistance she may require.

  
F.K SIELE  
FOR: DEPUTY COUNTY COMMISSIONER  
CHEPTAIS SUB COUNTY

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER  
CHEPTAIS DISTRICT