TRENDS OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN KENYA: THE CASE
OF KURESOI, NAKURU COUNTY, 1992 - 2008

BY

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Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree or any other award in any other university.

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Date: 7/9/2016

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my dear wife Purity Cherus, my daughters Immaculate Lynn Muthoni and Clare Wanja, my parents, brothers and sisters.
Acknowledgement

This study would not have been possible without the assistance of several people and institutions. My gratitude first goes to my supervisors Dr. Felix Kiruthu and Dr. Lazarus Ngari who spared no efforts to initiate me into the world of scholarship. I would also like to thank all members of the Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies for the academic guidance during my postgraduate days (2011-2015).

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In a very special way I wish to acknowledge my colleagues for their support and sacrifice. Finally, I thank the Almighty God for his providential guidance in my life. Great is His faithfulness
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Definition of Terms

Conflict – a disagreement between individuals or ethnic groups. It can be open or latent.

Ethnic – a community of people who assume that they have a common identity based on kinship ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and a shared language. For the study area, Kalenjin, Kikuyu and Kisii ethnic groups.

Host Communities – these are communities which accommodated displaced persons. Some of these are Kalenjin, Kisii and Kikuyu. It also refers to communities where transit camps were set up, including where IDPs have become integrated, for instance Molo, Kuresoi, Kamara and Keringet.

Integrated IDPs - these are displaced persons who are not officially recognized because instead of moving in to IDP camps, they went to live with relatives or friends. It also includes displaced people who rented houses in urban and semi urban areas such as Total, Mau Summit, Keringet, Molo and Nakuru.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) - these are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. For the case study area, those displaced during the 1992, 1997 and 2007 General Elections.

Protracted Displacement Situations- these are situations in which the process of finding durable solutions have stalled and/or IDPs are marginalized as consequence of violations or lack of protection of human rights; including economic, social and cultural rights. The situation that has characterized the study area since 1992.

Returnees- these are IDPs who have returned to their ancestral homes following the displacement from places of habitual abode or those who have returned to places from where they were displaced.

Transit Camps- these are temporary camps where those displaced stayed awaiting resettlement or return to area of habitual abode. In the case study area, at the Deputy and Assistant County Commissioners’ compounds in Keringet and Total respectively, at Total-Kericho junction, Casino near Mau Summit and Molo stadium.
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFWIC</td>
<td>Africa Women in Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADC</td>
<td>Agricultural Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDN</td>
<td>Catholic Diocese of Nakuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDN-J&amp;P</td>
<td>Catholic Diocese of Nakuru-Justice &amp; Peace Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Danish Refugee Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMBs</td>
<td>Election Management Bodies</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIDA</td>
<td>Federation of Women Lawyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPE</td>
<td>Free Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTZ</td>
<td>German Technical Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBEAC</td>
<td>Imperial British East Africa Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPG</td>
<td>Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAMATUSA</td>
<td>Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLFA</td>
<td>Kenya Land and Freedom Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNCHR</td>
<td>Kenya National Commission on Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>National Council of Churches in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCIC</td>
<td>National Cohesion and Integration Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBCs</td>
<td>Peace Building Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNLO</td>
<td>Resident Native Laborers Ordinance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN IRIN</td>
<td>United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US DOS</td>
<td>United States Department of State</td>
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<tr>
<td>USIP</td>
<td>United States Institute of Peace</td>
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Abstract

This study investigated trends of internal displacement in Kenya; the case of Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008. The sub-county is inhabited by several ethnic groups although the Kipsigis, the Kikuyu and the Kisii are the most populous. Since the introduction of multi-party politics in 1991, the sub-county has been experiencing political violence resulting into internal displacements during 1992, 1997 and 2007 General Elections. The study was guided by three objectives; to investigate the motives for internal displacement, to examine patterns of internal displacement and to analyze the consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008. The study was predicated on three fundamental premises. First, internal displacement in the area of study was motivated by political competition. Second, patterns of internal displacement occurred during General Elections’ time. And finally, the internal displacement led to loss of livelihoods of the residents. The reviewed literature showed that although there is much literature on ethnic violence at international, regional and national levels, little effort has been made to interrogate the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county. This gap justified the need for this research. The research employed Protracted Social Conflict theory because of its strengths in addressing social, political and economic aspects of a conflict. The study targeted the entire adult population in Kuresoi North Sub-county. The research used purposive sampling technique and a sample of a hundred respondents comprising fifty six IDPs, twenty elders, seven chiefs, five police officers, two teachers, one medical officer, four councilors, two representatives from religious organizations and three representatives from NGOs. Interview guides were used to get information from the respondents. The data collected was analyzed inductively; entailing organizing, transcribing, coding, categorizing, and developing concepts and themes which resulted to narrative structures relating to motives, patterns and consequences aspect of the study. The study has argued that the motives for internal displacement were competition for political power, perceived arrogance of migrant communities, injustices over land, competition for economic opportunities, conduct of ECK, and the culture of impunity. Patterns of internal displacements in the period between 1992 and 2008 started with heightened political activities, planning of attacks and actual attacks. The study argues that the ethnic violence led to deaths, financial burdens of treating the victims, destruction of properties, and deterioration of inter-ethnic relations. It also led to termination of joint initiation ceremonies, rise of Mungiki, disruption of education, family values and agricultural activities. The study recommends stern action against politicians for hate speech and ethnic incitements. On historical grievances over land rights in the study area, the National Land Commission needs to move with speed and address the problem. Other recommendations are; creation of job opportunities, adoption of reconciliation and memorialization approaches in dealing with poor ethnic relations, as well as faithful implementation of IDP Act, 2013 which offers durable solution to internal displacement in Kenya.
1.0 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Internal displacement has been a problem, not only in Kenya but globally. For instance, in Iraq, 30 years of sectarian violence and generalized lawlessness led to a protracted displacement of an estimated 2.1 million IDPs as of the end of 2012. The majority of the displaced put up with relatives. Others rented or lived in abandoned buildings, while others stayed in internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps in deplorable conditions (Marion and Morris, 2012; IDMC, 2010). This study is relevant because it helps in comparing and contrasting experience of IDPs in Iraq and Kenya.

Nnoli (1978), in his study on ethnic politics in Nigeria, blames colonial rule for encouraging and perpetuating ethnic differentiation in Nigeria; and stresses the need to emphasize those features held in common by the various ethnic groups, as opposed to their difference. Nnoli makes a number of recommendations for solving the problem of ethnicity. He posits that it would require a revolutionary government to change the status quo by means of a ‘progressive alliance’ of ‘the rural and urban poor majority’ (Nnoli, 1978: 289). He argues that this group happens to be the most down-trodden in Nigerian society, and the most readily used by the members of the ‘petty-bourgeois’ and ‘comprador-bourgeois’ class. Further, he argues that unfortunately, these elites, who are best equipped to organize the ‘poor majority’ and infuse the consciousness of redemption often appeal to ethnic sentiments for furtherance and attainment of their goals.
Nnoli’s work closely relates to Kuresoi’s situation in that the local politicians, who are the elites, capitalize on historical grievances and end up whipping emotions of their ethnic groups to retain political power.

Awadalla and Amira (2011) argue that by 2010, there were over 10.4 million IDPs in the Sub-Saharan countries, almost a third of the global total. Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Somalia continued to have Africa’s largest internally displaced population, and among the largest in the world. The authors also observed that in particular, Sudan with an estimated 4.9 million had the highest number of IDPs in the world. Though Kenya’s internal displacement has not reached Sudan’s level, it is important to understand what ails Sudan so that we can avoid going in that direction.

Kellenberg (2009) posits that, in Kenya, internal displacement dates back to colonial era when the colonial government expropriated the fertile parcels of land and pushed the previous occupants to infertile native reserves. The author further argues that since independence in 1963, the country has experienced numerous waves of internal displacement caused by conflict over resources, administrative boundaries, sudden and slow-on set disasters, election-related factors and government-sponsored evictions from forestland and water catchments. This work is useful in this study because it covers internal displacement in post-and pre-independent Kenya.

Mkutu (2000) noted that among pastoralist communities, cattle rustling and banditry due to proliferation of small arms and light weapons has resulted into conflicts over grazing and water resources. He adds that these skirmishes are
common along administrative boundaries of Turkana/West Pokot, Busia/Teso, Migori/Kuria, Migori/Trans Mara, Gucha/Trans Mara, and Marakwet/East Baringo. He further argues that these border conflicts often turn into massacres and internal displacements, particularly because of revenge attacks. Mkutu’s research is on pastoralist communities whereas the current study is on settled communities.

Kellenberger (2009) argues that large scale internal displacement in Kenya is often traced to the onset of multi-party politics in the 1990s. The author argues that the Kenya African National Union (KANU) government under both internal and external pressure had reluctantly amended the constitution to allow political pluralism. The government insisted that multi-party politics would be a threat to the nation’s stability by polarizing it along ethnic lines. Facing a formidable opposition which brought together the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and Kisii, incidentally the same communities that had settled on the White Highlands in Rift Valley after independence, the then ruling party politicians mainly comprising the Kalenjin and Maasai called for majimboism (federalism). The author further argues that in Kenyan context, majimboism meant ethnic expulsions of ‘outsiders’ in Rift Valley and Coast Provinces. A number of majimbo rallies were held calling for ‘outsiders’ in Rift Valley to return to their ‘motherland’ and ‘true’ Rift Valley residents to defend their turf which was declared ‘exclusive’ to particular communities and criminalized perceived non-KANU political party members. The author posits that it is in this charged election campaigns’ atmosphere that violence started in October 1991 between different ethnic groups, particularly in the then Rift Valley,
Western and Nyanza Provinces. In the multi-ethnic Central Rift region of the then Rift Valley province, violence and evictions occurred in Eldoret, Uasin Gishu, Narok and Nakuru among other counties. The most affected regions in Nakuru County were Mau Narok, Njoro, Molo and Kuresoi.

In mid-1997, violence and evictions resurfaced as the country geared up for general election. The ethnic clashes resulted in to deaths, destruction of properties and internal displacements. And just like in the previous conflict, Kuresoi North Sub-county was affected (Akiwumi, 1999; HRW, 1997).

Waki (2008) posits that Kenya’s worst incident of violence and evictions took place following the disputed presidential elections results of December 2007. A total of 1, 133 people lost their lives, 3, 561 people suffered injuries inflicted by or resulting from sharp pointed objects and 117, 216 private properties (including residential houses, commercial premises, farm produce) were destroyed, while government owned properties (offices, vehicles, health centres, schools) were destroyed. The brutal attacks and rape in some areas, looting, burning of houses and businesses happened in rural, urban centres and cities particularly in multi-ethnic areas. Once again, the violence and the resultant internal displacement were experienced in Kuresoi, just like many other Central and South Rift areas.

A number of researches on the ethnic violence in Kuresoi have been done. For instance, Nyawalo et al (2001) investigated various forms of invisible violence that fuel, organize and sustain visible violence in the diverse socio-political structures found in Molo (Kuresoi was then part of Molo) among other
regions. They identified two types of invisible violence; structural and symbolic violence. The former is associated with state structures and other institutional practices that violate people’s social and political rights. Symbolic violence, which is a form of domination that is exercised in an unrecognized manner because it is fully normalized within the socio-historical setting, is represented as form of domination within which the dominators have shifted their power from overt coercion and the threat of physical violence to symbolic manipulation.

Nyawalo’s research focused on ethnicity and relations of communities in the study area. However, this study sought to fill in the gap by looking into motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi.

Muiru (2012) investigated social, cultural and economic impact of ethnic violence in Molo Division. The study found out that ethnic violence opened up new avenues for conflict over gender roles within family institutions. Among the victims, the roles of men, women and even children were radically transformed by the violence. The ethnic violence also led to destruction of properties, increased cattle theft and general crime in the area.

Similary, Akiwumi (1999) noted that in Nakuru County, Kuresoi which was part of Molo was among the most affected areas by the 1992 - 1993 clashes. Indeed, it was among a few areas declared Security Operation Zones under the Preservation of Public Security Act by President Moi on September 2, 1993.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

From the foregoing, it is clear that although a number of researches have focused on ethnic violence in Kenya, no study had examined the trends of internal displacement.

Even though internal displacement has affected Kuresoi North Sub-county since 1992, previous studies focused on ethnic relations (Nyawalo et al, 2001) as well as social, cultural and economic impact of the violence (Muiru, 2012). To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, no research examined the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in the period 1992 - 2008 and therefore this study addressed this lacuna.

The study therefore sought to fill the gaps in Muiru’s research by examining the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi sub-county in Nakuru. In particular, it examined political activities prior to elections, planning of attacks, and nature of evictions and resettlement of the victims.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What were the motives for internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008?

2. What were the patterns of internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008?

3. How did the internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008 affect the lives of the residents?
1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To investigate the motives for internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 1992 - 2008.


3. To analyze the consequences of internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 1992 - 2008.

1.5 Research Premises

The study revolves around three fundamental assumptions:

1. Internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 1992 - 2008 was motivated by political competition.

2. Patterns of internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 1992 - 2008 occurred during general elections’ time.

3. Internal displacement of population in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 1992 - 2008 led to loss of livelihoods of the residents.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

It was imperative to conduct a research on trends of internal displacement in Kenya, the case of Kuresoi from 1992 - 2008, and particularly interrogate the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement which had evaded scholarly attention. This was necessitated by the fact that existing literature on ethnic violence in Kuresoi focuses on the ethnicity and relations
of communities (Nyawalo at el, 2001) and social, cultural and economic impact of ethnic clashes (Muiru, 2012).

The research was carried out in Kuresoi because the area had a history of ethnic tension and conflict pitting the Kalenjin (Kipsigis and Ogiek) on one hand and the Kikuyu and the Kisii on the other (Akiwumi, 1999). The sub-county has been affected by three waves of internal displacements; 1992, 1997 and 2007.

The historical scope of the study covered the period between 1992 and 2008. The year 1992 was crucial because it marks the first general election after reintroduction of multi-party politics. The election was also marred with substantial violence. The year 2008 marked the end of violence that occurred during the 2007 General Election.

In this regards, the study represents an opportunity for the government policy makers, academicians, NGOs, community workers and residents in the sub-county to devise genuine mechanisms for lasting peace and solving myriad challenges encountered by the IDPs. The findings could be useful to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) in promoting peaceful co-existence between different communities living in Kuresoi North Sub-county. It is for these reasons that this study is both timely and urgent.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The geographical scope of the study included the four administrative wards in Kuresoi North Sub-county: Kamara, Sirikwa, Nyota, and Kiptororo. The study
was conducted in all of the four wards because they had been almost equally affected by the violence and internal displacement.

On limitations, the researcher encountered language barrier during data collection and sought help from research guides. The study area has its own unique characteristics which may not be replicated in other areas. For instance, majority of the residents live in settlement schemes or in parcels they bought through land-buying societies. The findings from the study therefore, can only be generalized to other areas with caution.
2.0 Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Review of related literature is organized as follows: global literature on internal displacement; studies on Africa; and finally, literature on internal displacement in Kenya. The reviewed literature is on Iraq, Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya in general and specifically Molo. This section highlights trends on causes of internal displacement and life in displacement.

Marion and Morris (2012), in their work on internal displacement in Iraq, noted that the country had experienced multiple waves of violence over the past 30 years that resulted into an estimated 2.1 million IDPs as of the end of 2012. The main triggers of the displacement were sectarian violence, general lawlessness which was closely linked to the actions of radical groups, the lack of basic services, delays in resolution of property disputes, and the fighting between insurgents and multi-national military operations. The study highlighted that most of the displaced population stayed with family, friends or simply people from the same community. Others rented homes or lived in abandoned buildings. Few moved to IDPs camps where they lived in deplorable conditions with inadequate rations, poor shelter and sanitation conditions. The study recommended, among others, upholding of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement which offer framework for the protection of the IDPs and possible durable solution to IDPs problems.

Marion and Morris’ work is useful to this study because the Iraq scenario relates closely to the Kuresoi situation. In both cases, there were multiple waves of internal displacements and IDPs faced almost similar problems.
though respective governments and other stakeholders tried to alleviate their suffering.

Nnoli (1978), in his study on ethnic politics in Nigeria, discusses the social dynamics which are integumentary to ethnicity in Nigeria, and the phenomenon’s operational mode. The author explains the difference between ethnic and class conflicts, but emphasizes that in some cases in Africa, ethnic and class lines coincide. He maintains that in the analysis of contemporary African societies, ethnicity is not a critical variable. He further argues that its role in Africa politics, although sometimes considerable, is more apparent than real. He adds that its potential as a force for changing the objective realities of African life is very minimal. The author blames colonial rule for encouraging and perpetuating ethnic differentiation in Nigeria; and stresses the need to emphasize those features held in common by the various ethnic groups, as opposed to their difference. Nnoli makes a number of recommendations for solving the problem of ethnicity that are revolutionary in character and content. He posits that it would require a revolutionary government to change the status quo by means of a ‘progressive alliance’ of ‘the rural and urban poor majority’ (Nnoli, 1978: 289). He argues that this group happens to be the most down-trodden in Nigerian society, and the most readily used by the members of the ‘petty-bourgeois’ and ‘comprador-bourgeois’ class. Further, he posits that unfortunately, these elites, who are best equipped to organize the ‘poor majority’ and infuse the consciousness of redemption often appeal to ethnic sentiments for furtherance and attainment of their goals.
Nnoli’s work closely relates to Kuresoi’s situation in that the local politicians, who are the elites, capitalize on historical grievances and end up whipping emotions of their ethnic groups to retain political power.

Awadalla and Amira (2011) conducted research on internal displacement in Sudan. They observed that by 2010, Sudan had the highest number of IDPs in the world, estimated to be 4.9 million, owing to varied reasons. The main causes were prolonged civil wars rooted on political, religious and cultural differences, as well as resentment of continued underdevelopment of some regions’ infrastructural services. Other causes were competition over use of natural resources, deterioration of the physical environmental conditions resulting into droughts and widespread poverty.

Among the problems that faced the displaced persons in Sudan were; the daily problems concerning food, education, health, utilities and public services, problems concerning demolitions, forced evictions or relocation of IDPs settlements. The research recommended policy for effective management of the population displaced in Sudan to be directed toward addressing the causes of the civil wars that plagued the country for decades. These primarily relate to the existence of inter-regional socio-economic inequalities and lack of equitable access to power, resources, and expression of political and cultural freedoms.

The research on Sudan’s internal displacement and migration was useful to this study because some of the causes of displacement in Sudan such as protracted ethnic conflicts due to politics and competition over use of natural
resources are among some of the motives of displacement in Kenya. The problems of the displaced in the IDP camps in terms of poor shelter, inadequate food rations, poor health and sanitation conditions among others, were common in both countries.

Mkutu (2000) in his study on conflicts among Kenya’s pastoralist communities in the upper Rift Valley and North Eastern Provinces, found out that the causes are inadequate land and poor resource management, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, and weakened traditional governance. To address the problems, he recommends improvement in systems for managing and allocating resources, particularly access to water and grazing land. Mkutu also recommends improvement of both security and quality of governance. He particularly stresses on the need for respecting and supporting traditional governance systems where they can contribute to problem-solving and upholding rules and agreements. Mkutu’s study was helpful to this research because some of the causes of the conflicts among the pastoralist communities such as land rights and weak governance are also common in Kuresoi. His recommendations such as improvement in systems for managing and allocating resources as well as improvement of quality of governance based on state institutions and supporting of traditional problem-solving methods is relevant in the Kuresoi scenario.

Chuma (2001), in his work on durable solution to internal displacement in Kenya, argues that the problem could be attributed to multiplicity of claims.
These are centralized power, and inequity in development patterns and resource allocation. He also attributed the problem to marginalization of groups and regions, often based on ethnicity. The author argues that IDPs may find durable solutions to their displacement through returning to their place of origin, integrating in the place to which they have been displaced, or settling in a third location. He observes that the extent to which a durable solution can be achieved depends on both the process that leads to the solution and the fulfillment of certain conditions. The process includes the provision of relevant information so that IDPs can freely choose their preferred solution, and their consultation and involvement in the process of designing programmes and policies.

This study improves on Chuma’s work by narrowing the scope from entire country to a specific area, that is, Kuresoi North sub-county. Again, Chuma did not look into the consequences of internal displacement, a gap that this research sought to fill.

Nyawalo et al (2001), in their research on invisible violence in Kenya, argued that Rift Valley region is characterized by structural violence which has never been addressed for a long time. They posited that demonization of other ethnic groups is very common in the region. They noted that ethnicity in Kenyan setting qualifies as symbolic violence, a context which has exposed the various forms of negative ethnicity assuming “natural state of being” even reproducing and transforming structures of dominance. They further argued that just as the divisive politics of ethnicity made it easy for the colonialists to achieve the
aim of exploiting the colony to serve their capitalistic state of their home country, local politicians in this region capitalize on ethnic distrust among the communities to acquire and maintain political power. Their study’s findings indicated that ethnicity in the region had entrenched many stereotypes such as Kisii are witches, Kikuyu are thieves; prejudices and assumptions which often were employed by the respective communities while interacting with others at a level that enhanced conflicts through biased perceptions and interpretations. Therefore, the complexities of superior and inferior communities haunt the region and this has manifested in tensions that are easily driven through political and economic means.

Nyawalo’s study also identified lack of sustainable peace building mechanism as another factor that contributed to poor relations of communities in the area. They argued that the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict Management (NSC) does not have the necessary independence, capacity or visibility to assert a leading role in response to conflict in the area, as in any other mainstream peace building mechanism that relates vertically downwards to the people/grassroots. They also noted that the community elders and spiritual leaders in the area ended up bringing peace but were later sidelined with modernization and mainstream peace building initiatives. The authors added that while mainstream processes are valid, the intricacies of local level tensions, conflicts and potential pointers to violence are best understood by elders, however, their incapacities does stem from the fact that there is lack of employable framework to peace building in the region.
Their research looked into ethnicity and lack of sustainable peace building mechanism as the only causes of poor inter-ethnic relations and violence in Rift Valley. Apart from narrowing the geographical scope of the study from Rift Valley region to a sub-county, this study fills gaps in Nyawalo’s work by also looking into land rights, competition for employment opportunities and unsatisfactory performance of government institutions as other causes of the conflicts.

Muiru (2012), in his research on social, cultural and economic impact of ethnic violence in Molo argues that the conflicts have had profound consequences. Among others, families established two homes; one being a home in violence prone areas and the other where families sought refuge when they anticipated outbreak of violence especially just before elections. Other findings were that many young girls of displaced families were exposed to sex and adult lifestyles quite early. Owing to difficult life that they encountered the lure of a better life by men in urban areas where most of the IDP camps were located ensnared the girls to early marriages. The author criticized the peace building approaches that were used in the area. He argued that efforts to build sustainable peace in the area had failed to grasp the fundamental issues that caused the violence. He faulted government efforts for its top-down approach to peace making and argued that re-integration of displaced people, reconstruction of ruptured social relationships, cultural and attitudinal change had to be addressed for lasting peace to be experienced in the area.
Muiru’s research on social, cultural and economic impact of ethnic violence in Molo greatly inspired this study. However, his work did not look into political activities during general elections’ time, planning of attacks as well as the nature of evictions, gaps that this study sought to fill.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A number of theories such as Marxist and Greed-Grievance have been employed to study conflicts and their consequences. However, this study employed Protracted Social Conflict theory because of its strengths in addressing the social, political and economic aspects of a conflict.

Marxist and neo-Marxist theorists analyzed development and underdevelopment in the context of the international capitalist system. For instance, according to Karl Marx, social and economic conditions within a society determine its development. Every individual belongs to a certain economic group within the society. Such a group is called a class (Marx and Engels, 1954). The system of classes that a given culture has is completely determined by the economic means and conditions of production in that culture. Marx and Engels (1954) posit that classes are determined by the means of production, and the class a person falls into will depend upon where he/she stands, relative to the means of production. In Kuresoi context, being employed or not could be equated to classes. Hence, securing a job with Teachers Service Commission, in milk factories or saw mills in the area meant one moved to a better class. This could explain why the locals were unhappy with people from outside taking up these opportunities at their expense.
Marx and Engels (1954) further argued that the means of production follows the pattern of history, creating tension and that every such means will generate its own opposition and this will lead to a conflict. The conflict itself will bring about new relations between the people and the means of production. Marx believed that the mode of production naturally divides social life into antagonistic classes and groups determined by relations to the mode of production. In all but the most primitive societies, an exploited class performs much of the productive labor; and a ruling class controls or owns the forces of production, decides how much of the economic surplus will be distributed, and/or controls the process of production. Class action shapes the overall development of social life. Hence, the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles (Marx and Engels, 1954). Therefore, classical Marxism looked at society in terms of economic class consciousness only. All other forms of consciousness as racism, religion and ethnicity were regarded as false.

Paul Baran (1957) who led other theoreticians of neo-Marxism provided the first major analysis of the effects of imperialism from the point of view of the less developed countries. For Baran, underdevelopment is not an original state of affairs but is a product of a particular historical process. In this process, developed countries became so by exploiting and colonizing the less developed countries and that independent industrialization was blocked by an alliance between local (comprador) elites and the metropolitan states (Ayres, 1995). In the study area, this argument can be associated with Ogiek’s
grievances about powerful local politicians grabbing forest land and leasing it out to outsiders who exploited the resource.

On their part, neo-Marxist thinkers were against African dependence on foreign capital, which was developed countries’ surplus that they did not invest in the underdeveloped countries (Rodney, 1976). Development for Third World countries would therefore demand the elimination of foreign penetration, which supports the status quo, and the creation of a socialist context of development (Chilcote & Edelstein, 1978). Critics of neo-Marxism pointed out that just like its predecessor (Marxism); this school of thought was fixated with economic determinism. Yet economic determinism could not explain all the aspects of humanity (Kisiang’ani, 2003).

Collier and Anke (2001) in their Greed-Grievance theory, posit that civil wars stem from the greedy behavior of protagonists and grievance over relative deprivation. Collier did correlation analysis on “economic agenda proxies” and causes of armed conflict. The economic agenda he considered were: share of natural resources export in Gross Domestic Product (assets that can be easily looted such as diamonds, timber and drugs), proportion of young males between ages of 15 and 24 in a society (people who mostly join rebellions), and education levels of population (determines employability and income-earning opportunities outside rebellions and wars). He also did correlation analysis on “grievance proxies” and causes of armed conflict. The grievance proxies he considered were: ethnic or religious hatred, economic (horizontal) inequalities, lack of political rights, and government economic competence.
From his results, collier concluded that economic (greed) agenda seemed more possible cause of armed conflict than grievance. Collier and Anke argue that rivals in a conflict are motivated by greed to better their situation. Greed is used here as a desire for private gain. Existence of a resource that can be looted is both a motive for rebellion and a facilitating factor. They add that benefits derived from organizing violence or motivations of greed must pay well for the organizers. In our case, instigators of the violence displaced non-indigenous communities so as to loot and plunder their property.

The authors argue that unlike greed, grievance results from relative deprivation. They explain that relative deprivation is the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually believe they can get. The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a group.

However, the Greed-Grievance theory has got its weaknesses. Ballentine (2003) observes that although economic opportunities and grievance may be a determinant in motivating individuals and groups to engage in internal conflict, other factors such as inter-ethnic disputes, social and political grievances, and security dilemma among others could contribute too. He further argues that the theory disregards economic inequalities within a group. The author challenges the notions of confluence of shared interest between individual in a collectivity. However, internal displacement in Kenya has been recurring during general elections since 1992 despite efforts to curb it by both state and non-state actors. This suggests that the causes of displacement are
more complicated than just greed and grievances. This theory therefore, does not adequately explain the possible motives of internal displacement in Kenya and particularly in Kuresoi North Sub-county. Therefore, while acknowledging the contributions made by the Marxist and Greed-Grievance theories, this study, as stated at the beginning of this section, employs the Protracted Social Conflict theory. This theory has also been used by Nyawalo et al (2001) in their work on invisible violence in Kenya.

Protracted Social Conflict as a concept was developed in 1978 by a prominent Middle Eastern conflict scholar, Edward Azar in response to escalating conflict and security issues within a state. These conflicts are prolonged and violent because communal groups compete for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance and access to political institutions, and economic participation. He explains that four clusters of variables that act as preconditions of potential conflict transformation to high levels of intensity are communal content, deprivation of needs, state and governance issues, and international linkages. The first three conditions are relevant in this study.

The author posits that communal content focuses on the identity of a group. Identity may be racial, religious, ethnic or cultural. He explains that protracted social conflict analysis start with identity groups, however defined, because it is the relationship between identity group and state which is at the core of the problems. He adds that individual interests and needs are mediated through membership of social groups. He attributes disarticulation between the state and society in many underdeveloped countries to colonial legacy which
artificially imposed European ideas of the territorial statehood onto different communal groups on the principle of ‘divide and rule’ (Azar, 1984).

The author observes that as a result, in many post-colonial multi-communal societies, the state machinery is dominated by a single influential communal group or coalition of a few communal groups who are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in the society. This strains the social fabric and it breeds fragmentation, thus feeding the other factors which produce protracted social conflict. Ethnic-based politics in the study area whereby local politicians capitalized on communal differences and perceived historical injustices to unify members of their ethnic groups conforms to communal identity as articulated in theory and hence its relevance.

Azar identifies deprivation of human needs as another underlying source of these conflicts. In particular, he identifies security, development, political and identity needs. He points out that people’s security can only be provided for by meeting of these needs. He adds that security is not a ‘stand-alone’ idea but is linked to needs for development and political access. The best way to reduce overt conflicts is by reducing the levels of underdevelopment. He explains that groups which seek to satisfy their identity and security needs through conflict are in effect seeking changes in structure of the society. In this case, conflict resolution can only occur if societies can also develop economically. In this way, peace is linked to development because development is the satisfaction of needs which, if they remain unsatisfied, will propel people into conflict.
The competition for political power and economic opportunities in the study area portrays deprivation of needs as advanced in protracted social conflict. The theory was relevant in analyzing data collected on that aspect.

Azar further notes that the role of the state and the nature of its governance is a critical factor in determining the satisfaction or frustrations of individuals or identity groups’ needs. Weakness of the state is a crucial factor in provoking these conflicts for two reasons: first, ideally the state is supposed to act as an impartial arbiter of conflicts, treating all members of political community as legally equal citizen. However, in newer and less stable states, political authority tends to be monopolized by dominant identity groups which use the state to maximize their interests at the expense of others. The second reason is monopolizing of power by dominant individuals and groups and the limiting of access to other groups creating a crisis of legitimacy so that excluded groups have no loyalty or attachment to the state and may then secede from it or to take it over completely.

Internal displacement has been experienced in Kuresoi North Sub-county during general elections since 1992. The conduct of Electoral Commission of Kenya and the culture of impunity are signs of poor governance and as Azar argues, weakness of the state is a crucial factor in provoking these social conflicts.
2.3 Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter highlights causes and consequences of internal displacements. The discussion has showed that there is a need to shift the focus of attention of internal displacement in the study area from inter-ethnic relations, and social, economic and cultural impact perspective to an analysis of motives, patterns and consequences. It has also been argued that conflicts are inherent in every society and therefore it is critical to analyze them using the conflict theoretical framework. Three theories: the Marxist, Greed-Grievance and Protracted Social Conflict were discussed. This study uses the Protracted Social Conflict theory to analyze the data.
3.0 Chapter Three: Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

This study employed a descriptive research design. This was found useful as it helped to examine in depth, details of phenomena such as those needed for this kind of study, which required listening to the voices of people and analyzing the information of those who are knowledgeable about the research area.

3.2 Study Locale

The research was conducted in Kuresoi North Sub-county which is in Nakuru County, Central Rift region. It is inhabited mainly by the Kipsigis, Ogiek, Kikuyu, and Kisii. The area has a few large scale farmers but majority of the residents are small scale farmers who grow wheat, pyrethrum, potatoes, carrots, peas, cabbages, and livestock rearing. There are few traders, mainly in market centres and towns. This ethnic diversity compounded by competition for arable land had been a source of tension and conflict pitting the Kalenjin (Kipsigis and Ogiek) on one hand, and the Kikuyu and Kisii on the other (Akiwumi, 1999). Consequently, the sub-county was adversely affected by the post-election violence and subsequent internal displacement (Waki, 2008). A map of the study area is attached as Appendix 1.

3.3 Target Population

Target population for this study is the entire Kuresoi’s population of 131, 928 people with Kiptororo, Kamara, Nyota and Sirikwa wards having a population of 49, 983; 47, 005; 17, 898 and 17, 042 respectively (KNBS, 2010).
3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Purposive sampling technique was used to get twenty (20) elders who were conversant with inter-ethnic relations and interactions. Using snowball technique, and also considering the relative population of each community, ten, six and four respondents from Kalenjin, Kikuyu and Kisii key informants respectively, were interviewed.

Purposive sampling technique was also used to get information from IDPs who had returned to their farms. Based on relative number of the displaced persons, fourteen and twenty six respondents from the Kalenjin and non-Kalenjin groups respectively were interviewed. The choice of informants was based on the information provided by other respondents during the interview. Two focus group discussions of eight persons each were organized for IDPs who were in Shalom and Kamara Settlement Schemes. The chairpersons of these schemes helped to pick the respondents. The total number of IDPs interviewed was fifty six (56).

Respondents from government officials’ category were chiefs, police officers, teachers and a medical officer. For the chiefs, purposive sampling technique was used to pick respondents who had been employed before 1992 and were still in service in 2008. Seven (7) chiefs who fulfilled the criteria were picked as respondents, with four of them being Kalenjin, two Kikuyu and a Kisii. Five (5) police officers who had been in the study area since 1992 were respondents too. To get information on the impact of internal displacement on education, two (2) teachers, both of whom had been teaching in the study area
since 1992 were respondents. One (1) medical officer from Molo District Hospital, who had been in working the hospital since 1992, was also a respondent.

Purposive sampling technique was also used to get former councilors who were serving during the period 1992 - 2008. Through Snowball sampling technique, four (4) councilors, three of them being Kalenjin and a Kikuyu were picked as respondents. Catholic Diocese of Nakuru - Justice and Peace Commission, local Catholic Church Parishes and National Council of Churches in Kenya and its local affiliate churches were the main religious organizations active in the study area. Two (2) respondents, each one of them being a representative of the organizations were respondents. Some of the NGOs that were operating in the study area were USAID, the Red Cross, Danish Refugee Council, Norwegian Refugee Council, and Africa Women in Crisis. Purposive sampling technique, based on the most active NGOs, was used to select Danish Refugee Council, Norwegian Refugee Council and the Red Cross. Representatives of the three (3) NGOs were respondents in the study. In total, the respondents were a hundred (100).

3.5 Research Instruments

The research used interview guides whose questions were intended to lead the respondents towards giving data to meet the study’s objectives. Because of the open nature of unstructured interviews, probing was commonly used to get deeper information. A sample of the interview guide is attached as Appendix 3.
Observation method was also used to capture the non-verbal cues such as expressions of bitterness from the informants that enriched this study.

### 3.6 Data Collection

The study employed both primary and secondary data. Primary data, such as handing-over and intelligence notes, related to the subject under investigation were collected from government offices and Kenya National Archives (KNA). The researcher also got useful reports from NGOs operating in the study area. More data was derived from oral interviews and hand written notes made available to the researcher by some respondents as well as from field notebook in which details of observations were recorded. Two focus group discussions of eight IDPs each were organized at Shalom and Kamara Settlement Schemes. The information from these groups was recorded on audiocassettes.

Secondary data was derived from internet sources and library research. The library data were collected from Kenyatta University’s Nakuru Campus Library and Post Modern Library in main Campus. The information collected was classified as relating to motives, patterns and consequences aspect of the study.

### 3.7 Data Analysis

After the fieldwork, the data collected from documentary sources and the field was qualitatively analyzed. Here, the notes on oral information were typed, information on audiotapes was edited, interviews summarized and coded to come up with clear understandable statements and conclusions. Then, all data was collaborated to remove contradictions. This was done by counterchecking;
comparing, contrasting and corroborating the information collected from various sources together with the theoretical framework outlined, research questions and objectives. Therefore, the qualitative data was analyzed inductively; entailing organizing, transcribing, coding, categorizing, and developing patterns (themes) and concepts which resulted to narrative structures.

3.8 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The approval to carry out the study was obtained from the Ministry of Education (National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation) whose research authorization is attached as Appendix 5. The researcher explained to the respondents the purpose of the study and sought their consent. He undertook to maintain confidentiality and not to publish names of respondents against their will. After accepting to give information, respondents signed consent forms. A sample of Consent Form is attached as Appendix 2.

Since the information collected was very sensitive, the researcher upheld confidentiality of the respondents by using pseudo names in report.
4.0 Chapter Four: Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1992 - 1993

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the motives, patterns and consequences of 1992/3 internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county. It starts by discussing certain key events in the period 1947 - 1965 that are critical in understanding contemporary internal displacement in the sub-county. These events were: the Olenguruone land crisis, the pre-independence political parties and the activities of the land-buying companies that resulted into influx of non-Kalenjin communities in Kuresoi North Sub-county after independence. The chapter then explores political events that occurred before and during the 1992 General Election. These events start with the reintroduction of multiparty politics in late 1991. With the ruling KANU government facing real threat of being dislodged from power, KANU politicians in Rift Valley unified the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu communities into forming KAMATUSA grouping. Both individual and communal interests were meditated through membership of this social group. And with this social group monopolizing political authority in Rift Valley, it used the state machinery to maximize its interests at the expense of the other communities living in this region. Then the election’s aftermath, including ethnic violence, internal displacement and other consequences are discussed.

4.2 Ethnic Relations in Kuresoi, 1895 - 1992

In this section, we explore some of key events that had impact on ethnic relations in the study area which included land appropriation during colonial
era, Olenguruone land crisis, pre-independent political parties and activities of land-buying companies.

4.2.1 The Olenguruone Land Crisis of 1947

In Kenya, colonial land injustices and contemporary land policies have had far-reaching and varying effects on the control and access to land by the majority of the people. The making of modern Kenya, beginning in 1895 when the territory became part of the British East African Protectorate, entailed an elaborate process of land alienation to pave way for the construction the railway line linking Mombasa and Uganda (Kanyinga, 2000).

Through various legislations such as the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 and the Native Registration Ordinance, African land was also expropriated on a very large scale so as to attract white settlers to come and take up farming in Kenya. For instance, through a Concession Agreement, the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) acquired all the rights to land in the ten-mile coastal strip that was under the sultanate of Zanzibar, save for the private land. Private land in this context meant land held under certificates of ownership issued to Arabs by the Sultan (Kanogo, 1987). Thus, by a stroke of a pen, the Mijikenda and related indigenous people were disinherited. Commenting on the predicament of the indigenous coastal people, Kanogo (1987: 11) avers that:

To put to rest any claims by indigenous coastal people to land ownership, the colonial government promulgated the Land Title Ordinance which required “all persons being or claiming to have an interest in whatever immovable property…. before the expiration of six clear months…. (to) make a claim in respect thereof…” and declared that “all land…. concerning which no claim or claims for a certificate of ownership shall have been made shall be deemed to be crown land.
The indigenous coastal people made no claims for variety of reasons. First, they were unaware of the ordinance (Kanogo, 1987). Secondly, the ordinance had no relevance to their ownership system for they could not understand why they should be asked to lay claims against their ancestral land. Thirdly, the colonial government and courts believed that no African, individually or as community, had any title to land (Kanogo, 1987).

Hence for the purposes of the ordinance, land occupied by Africans was treated as ownerless. The indigenous coastal people thus lost land and products of the land such as coconuts. A good deal of land in the coastal belt was consequently alienated to Europeans, who used it for sisal, rubber plantations and grazing (Kanogo, 1987).

Similarly, another huge dispossession resulted from the settlers’ acquisition of land in the so-called White Highlands which once again, proceeded from the premise that the land was unoccupied.

The author further noted that:

….the settlers were only required to pay a fee of 10 cents per acre to Her Majesty’s government. The colonial government, acting on the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, declared on December 13, 1899 that under Britain’s Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, the imperial power had control over and could dispose of “waste and unoccupied land in protectorates where there was no settled form of government and where land had not been appropriated to the local sovereign or to individuals (Kanogo, 1987:12).

The consequence of land alienation was that many Africans were rendered landless. In Rift Valley, it turned some pastoral groups into agricultural peasants. These groups of landless Africans such as the Nandi, Kipsigis,
Marakwet, Keiyo and the Tugen became squatters in Nakuru County in the period 1905-1918 (Ochieng, 1989).

At the same time, the colonial government appropriated the most fertile land in Central Kenya. The Kikuyu who lived in these parcels were pushed to infertile native reserves (Ochieng, 1989; Kamondai, O.I, 2014). The loss of land was particularly devastating to the Kikuyu as their population had begun to recover from its earlier losses following the introduction of western medicine and subsequent mortality (Kamondai, O.I, 2014). With their expanding population and practice of settled farming, they were affected more by the consequent overcrowding and depletion of resources in the reserves. Some of the people from these reserves and others who lived in populated Central White Highlands as farm workers moved to offer their services to the relatively large scale farms in the Rift Valley White Highlands (Ochieng, 1989).

In 1939, the colonial government purchased 52,000 acres of Maasai land at Olenguruone in Kuresoi Sub-county to provide land for squatters who, because of the greater measures of control exercised under the 1937 Resident Native Laborers Ordinance (RNLO), were forced to vacate European lands. These included squatters declared redundant, as well as those who chose not to contract as squatters under the provisions of the new ordinance, which they considered very restricting (Ochieng, 1989).

Most of the settlers in Olenguruone scheme were Kikuyu who had formerly been resident in various parts of the Maasai Reserve (Waweru, O.I, 2013;
Ochieng, 1989). Considering themselves as land holders who had lost their land in Central Kenya through alienation, the Kikuyu wanted the government to acknowledge their legal entitlement to the scheme and double the acreage in proportion to the number of wives a man had, terms that the government rejected. Instead, the government introduced stringent terms which further angered the Kikuyu. Some of the punitive measures were: out of eight acres of land per household, not more than two-and-a half acres could be brought under effective cultivation on any one time and maize, which was staple crop of the Kikuyu, was forbidden among others (Kanogo, 1987).

Provoked to the limit, the Kikuyu turned to oathing (muma) as a way of cementing their unity against the British (Nyambura, O.I, 2003). The government reacted by evicting the Kikuyu who refused to comply with its demands. It conscripted Kipsigis men to assist in the eviction of the defiant Kikuyu men, with the collaborators replacing those evicted. These actions fractured ethnic relations between the two communities in Kuresoi (Waweru; Nyambura, O.I, 2013).

4.2.2 Pre-independence Political Parties, 1960 - 1963

Divisive and ethnic-based politics in Kenya is often traced to the indirect rule administered by the colonial government. The government applied “divide and rule” strategy which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya (Nyong’o, 1987). Early political parties in Kenya that championed the nationalists struggle against colonial establishment were basically “distinct ethnic unions”. For instance, the Kikuyu formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), the
Luo formed the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the Kalenjin formed the Kalenjin Political Alliance (KPA), the Luhya formed the Luhya Union (LU) and the Kamba formed the Ukambani Members Association (UMA) (Nyong’o, 1987).

On 14th May 1960, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) was formed. Jomo Kenyatta was elected president in absentia, James Gichuru was elected acting president while Oginga Odinga was elected vice president and Tom Mboya was picked as the secretary (Kyle, 1999). Ronald Ngala and Daniel Arap Moi who were abroad when KANU elections were held were elected treasurer and assistant treasurer respectively in absentia. However, on return to the country, they declined to take the positions. Both the Kalenjin (Moi’s ethnic group) and the Mijikenda (Ngala’s ethnic group) feared Kikuyu – Luo dominance in KANU (Kyle, 1999). Consequently, on 25th June 1960, representatives of the KPA, which brought together all the Kalenjin sub groups met at Ngong with six other ethnic organizations to form the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) so as to challenge what they considered the danger of Kikuyu – Luo dictatorship.

In the first and second constitutional conferences held in Lancaster in 1961 and 1962 respectively, KADU consistently demanded that regionalism (Majimbo) be the foundation upon which independent Kenya would be built. Under the KADU plan, Kenya would be a federal state with six regions and the federal territory of Nairobi (Kyle, 1999). The regional governments would have independent legislative powers and their own revenue, each being the effective administrative and executive authority for the region. This would
protect the members of smaller ethnic communities from the numerical power of the larger ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu and Luo.

In contrast, KANU envisaged the infant nation – state as dominated by a centralized government responsible for implementing development policy (Nyong’o, 1987). It contested the emphasis given to regionalism by KADU as it considered it as a policy designed to limit the power of the central government that it would certainly control. So as early as in 1960, there were ethnic divisions in Kenya due to communal politics that resulted from formation of KANU and KADU. In Nakuru County, in 1961, ethnic tensions were so high to the extent that some residents carried two party membership cards; one for KANU and the other for KADU to avoid attacks from either of the party’s supporters (Kamondai, O.I, 2014). KANU was largely supported by the Kikuyu, Luo and the Kamba and was fairly active in Nakuru, Subukia, Molo, Londiani, Nyakinyua and Mau Summit. KADU was supported by the Kalenjin and was fairly active in Rongai, Maela, Mauche, Kapsita, Kamara, Sirikwa, Kuresoi and Kiptoro (Tonui, O.I, 2013; Kamondai, O.I, 2014). The seeds for animosity in Rift Valley were planted during the formation of pre-independence political parties whereby Kalenjin and non-Kalenjin supported different parties. The same scenario played out in early 1990s when the Kalenjin supported KANU while non-Kalenjin supported Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD).
4.2.3 The Activities of Land-Buying Companies

In the meantime, as Kenya’s independence became imminent in early 1960s, the colonial government planned for an agreement with incoming Kenyan government to buy land from the settlers. Donor-financed scheme, to transfer land worth 1.17 million acres to African ownership aimed at creating resettlement schemes was established in 1962 (Christopher, 1984).

This was to correct the colonial Swynnerton Land Tenure Reform plan that had led to a markedly skewed distribution of land, with chiefs, loyalists and the wealthy acquiring more land than others while the lower social groups lost out. But with most deserving squatters losing out in the envisaged Africanisation programme, they approached their national leaders for help to buy land in the Rift Valley White Highlands (Christopher, 1984; Kanogo, 1987). Due to financial constraints, the squatters were advised to form co-operative societies or limited companies that bought large farms, which were later subdivided and shared out among the various members in parcels of 2 to 5 acres (Kamondai, O.I, 2013; Christopher, 1984). In this way, many co-operative societies and land-buying companies, most of which were exclusively owned by Kikuyu, sprang up in many parts of the Rift Valley and they played a big role in acquiring land for several thousand landless Kikuyu (Kanogo, 1987; Akiwumi, 1999).

In Kuresoi North Sub-county, societies that acquired land in this way included Ndundori Farmers Company Ltd, Ol Gachura Society, Ngwataniro. Kahurura, Mutirithia, Ngenia, Kamwaura, Temyotta, Karirikania, Ndeffo,
Mwaragania, Murinduko, Kioo, Kamwingi, Ndimu, Central Farmers Society, Dagoretti Nyakinyua Farmers Society, African Farm, Jogoo, Mlima, Rironi, Haraka Farmers Company Ltd among others (Mwangi; Kamondai, O.I, 2013). There were complaints, especially among the Kalenjin that the Kikuyu were favored by President Kenyatta’s government in the acquisition of land in the area at the expense of the indigenous ethnic groups. These grievances have been a source of conflicts between the two groups (Tonui, Kamondai, O.I, 2013; Akiwumi, 1999).

It is therefore within the context of the above events that contemporary internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county ought to be understood. With this background in mind, we now turn to a discussion on the motives of internal displacement in the period 1992/3.

**4.3 Motives for Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1992 - 1993**

Although data collected indicated that there were low level inter-personal conflicts and disputes emanating from stock theft and land boundaries, *siasa mbaya* (bad politics) and particularly the *Majimbo* debate was the major motive for the 1992-1993 violence and subsequent internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county (Kemunto, Mutai, Maina, O.I, 2013). The respondents argued that there was no rational way one could explain why, having lived together with members of other ethnic groups more than four decades, communities would turn against each other.

This view seems to concur with evidence from secondary sources. According to Kagwanja (2001), the clamor for multiparty politics appears to have been a
turning point in ethnic relations in the area. As the opposition to prevent President Moi’s leadership grew over the years, the civil society became increasingly vocal and donors increased pressure on him, including through the use of financial sanctions, to democratize (Kagwanja, 2001). President Moi, however, claimed that the return to multiparty rule would threaten the stability of the state by polarizing the country along ethnic lines. In the end, Moi very reluctantly agreed to allow multi-party democracy in 1991 by repealing Section 2A of then constitution which made Kenya a de jure one party state (Waki, 2008; Kagwanja, 2001).

Although Moi agreed to multi-party democracy, he did not accept the idea that through this, he might lose the presidency (Waki, 2008). Under the amended constitution, to win the presidency, President Moi needed to win his parliamentary seat, obtain a majority of the votes cast in the country, and receive 25% of votes cast in five out of eight provinces. In a bid to hold on to power and derail the multi-partyism, Moi’s regime sponsored ethnic violence as a tool of informal repression (Waki, 2008). In this regard, Kenya is not unique. Most African countries underwent political liberation in the 1990s, often against the incumbent regimes’ will, prompted by strong domestic and sometimes international pressure. A number of them deliberately provoked violence in varying ways to increase their chances of remaining in power, such as South Africa under F.W. de Klerk; Malawi in 1993 - 1994, Rwanda culminating in the 1994 genocide; and Zimbabwe’s use of so-called war veterans in 2000 - 2002 (Waki, 2008).
In Kenya, politicians opposed to pluralism, many drawn from the then ruling party, re-ignited the calls for *Majimbo* (ethnic federalism) to counter those calling for pluralism. As a subject of national political debate, *Majimboism* had been moribund since shortly after the absorption of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) by KANU in 1964 (Muiru, 2012). It was re-ignited by Noor Abdi Ogle, a Member of Parliament from Wajir. During a speech in parliament in July 1991, Ogle explicitly connected implementation of *majimboism* with the survival of KANU. The *Majimbo* concept did not imply federalism in the real sense of the word, but an arrangement in which each community would be required to return to its ancestral province and if for any reason they would be reluctant or unwilling to do so, they would be forced to do so (Akiwumi, 1999). The politicians who were mainly drawn from the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and the Samburu (KAMATUSA) ethnic groups organized meetings where they routed for *majimbo system* (Akiwumi, 1999).

In Kuresoi North Sub-county, as elsewhere in Rift Valley Province, in their struggle to remain in power, KANU politicians succeeded in portraying non-KAMATUSA ethnic groups, mainly Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba and Kisii as enemies (Akiwumi, 1999; Mayoyo, O.I, 2013).

Azar’s (1984) first precondition for escalation of conflicts; communal content came into play. The KAMATUSA ethnic groups were united to face a perceived threat and they developed a conflict ideology. Mbembe (2001) argues that for members of a group to create and adopt conflict ideology, the
individual members must be convinced that conflict is necessary and individual perceptions be converted into a binding group ideology.

The common view was skewed toward the opinions of the politicians who advocated for expulsion of communities whose leaders supported the calls for multi-partyism. Consequently, Kikuyu, Kisii, Luhyia and Luo communities living or bordering the Rift valley became targets of Kalenjin and Maasai warriors’ violence (Gecaga, 2007). This argument is supported by respondents who said that local KANU politicians “banned” members of the opposition from entering Kuresoi North Sub-county and issued threats and ultimatums to Kikuyu, Luo, Luhyia and Kisii living there to either support politicians from indigenous communities or risk evictions (Muthoni, Mayoyo, Mutisya, O.I, 2013).

At a political rally in May 1992 in Keiyo, Nicholas Biwott, the then Minister for energy and powerful KANU operative, accused non-Kalenjin communities in Rift Valley of playing the camel and tent game (Africa Watch, 1993). He advocated for their evictions and argued that if unchecked, these communities would dominate the same people who had welcomed them (Africa Watch, 1993; Kiliku, 1992). In June 1992, the Minister for Local Government, William Ole Ntimama, threatened that non-Maasai in Narok would not be allowed to vote there unless they owned land or property (Kiliku, 1992; Njuguna, O.I, 2014). In the following week, Maasai warriors attacked non-Maasai at a voter registration centre in Narok killing three people and injuring four (Kiliku, 1992).

Njuguna (O.I, 2014), narrated that:
…Ole Ntimama and other local politicians held a rally at Enoosopukia in Narok County in May 1992 and threatened to evict Kikuyu who had settled there since 1964 after buying the land from Maasai. His supporters moved around and forced Kikuyu to sing “KANU YAJENGA NCHI” (KANU builds the Nation) and to wave one finger salute which symbolized support for the then ruling party KANU.

After a local councilor who the minister supported lost in the 1992 General Election, the Kikuyu were accused to be behind the defeat and consequently in September 1993, Ole Ntimama, declared that area a trust land for the Narok County council. His action was then reinforced by Minister for Environment and Natural Resources John Sambu, who told residents to move because the land would soon be gazetted as protected area. In October 1993, some 11,000 Kikuyu were displaced from Enoosopukia and camped at Maela in Nakuru County (Njuguna, O.I, 2014; HRW, June 1997).

A respondent, whose name has been concealed, identified three aims of the 1992 violence in Kuresoi. First, to fulfill prophecy made by President Moi that multi-party politics would bring ethnic animosity and chaos. The second aim was to displace potential opposition supporters so that they would be unable to register as voters. This would in turn make them ineligible to vote in the general election of that year. This strategy would ensure that only the indigenous politicians would be voted in and this would translate to more KANU MPs in parliament. The third aim was to displace non-Kalenjin ethnic groups from Kuresoi and subsequently occupy their farms.
This argument is also corroborated by Klopp (2001) who argues that KANU used ethnic violence to discredit the whole notion of democracy. The same observation was reported in September 1992 by a Parliamentary Select Committee, chaired by Kennedy Kiliku, otherwise known as ‘The Kiliku Report’, which was set by the National Assembly to investigate ethnic clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya in 1992. It noted that;

….high ranking political figures, civil servants, and others close to the heart of the government organized and used violent gangs to intimidate people in areas of potential opposition support, most of whom were Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba and other groups…. the strategy was to keep opposition supporters from voting and the means used was to hire gangs in the Rift Valley and elsewhere to kill people and displace individuals from their home areas so that KAMATUSA candidates could win (Kiliku, 1992 : 43).

In the then Molo constituency, however, in spite of the fact that many opposition voters were unable to cast their votes having been displaced before the General Election, the opposition candidate, Njenga Mungai won parliamentary seat (Muiru, 2012). The parliamentary results were as shown in the table below:

Table 2.1: 1992 Parliamentary Election Results for Molo Constituency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes Received</th>
<th>% of Valid Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Njenga Mungai</td>
<td>Ford Asili</td>
<td>57,637</td>
<td>60.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Kebenei</td>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>33,016</td>
<td>34.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Kihiu</td>
<td>DP</td>
<td>5,081</td>
<td>5.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Valid Votes</td>
<td></td>
<td>95,734</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the local level, therefore, the first and second aims of the violence and displacement were achieved. The third aim of dispossessing the victims was partially achieved since in some areas, farms that belonged to IDPs were grabbed while in some areas such as Mau Summit, the Kikuyu resisted and defeated the attackers (Kamondai, O.I, 2013). Bosibori and Kimani(O.I, 2013) had similar views when they noted that after peace was restored, many non-Kikuyu from Gacharage and Ngenia in Sirikwa ward, Kioo and Buchege in Kiptororo ward as well as Jogoo in Kamara ward returned to their farms. However, President Moi was the only presidential candidate who managed to get 25% of the votes cast in Rift Valley province. The presidential results for the top four candidates in that General Election were as shown in the table below:

**Table 2.2: 1992 Presidential Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes Garnered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Arap Moi</td>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>1,927,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth Matiba</td>
<td>FORD-Asili</td>
<td>1,354,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwai Kibaki</td>
<td>DP</td>
<td>1,035,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oginga Odlinga</td>
<td>FORD-Kenya</td>
<td>903,886</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Wanjohi N.G., Challenges of Democratic Governance, NCCK (1993)**

Another motive for 1992/3 internal displacement in the study area was perceived arrogance of migrant communities which culminated in changing original names of some villages in Kuresoi North after being dominated by the new comers (Samoei, O.I, 2013; Jackeline, 2001). Some respondents reported
that Kalenjins were uncomfortable with introduction of foreign names because to them, it was disrespectful of the natives’ culture and symbolized intended dominance. Muiru (2012) noted that naming is interpreted as a tool of domination and an expression of cultural hegemony especially in multi-ethnic areas. The author added that on the other hand, renaming of areas previously occupied by a hostile group is a powerful tool of resistance and reasserting group identity.

Majority of the villages and trading centres in Kuresoi North were renamed after the land-buying companies or where the members of the companies came from (Kamondai; Tembur, O.I, 2013). For instance, Baringo farm is named after a land-buying society comprising teachers mainly from Baringo. Kamondai (O.I, 2013) explained that both big and small land-buying companies in the area renamed the parcels they acquired. Michelle and Pillar (2006) corroborate this argument and posits that some of the big companies were OlGachura which was owned by Kihika Kimani, Munyeki Society (which is an acronym for Murang’a, Nyeri, and Kiambu) and Gema Agricultural Holdings which was owned by Njenga Karume. Examples of smaller land-buying companies were Rironi, Ndumberi, Chepchomo (owned by the former Provincial Commissioner Ishmael Chelang’a), Getomwa (acronym for Gichuru, Tony and Mwaura – owned by the family of the former Kenya Power and Lighting Company Limited managing director, Samuel Gichuru. Tony and Mwaura are his sons), Ndeffo (belonging to ex-Mau Mau fighters), and Dagoretti Nyakinyua farms (Kanogo, 1987; Kamondai, O.I, 2013).
Rironi village near Mau Summit was named after Rironi land-buying company. The shareholders of the company came from Rironi in Kiambu (Kamondai, O.I, 2013). During 1992 ethnic violence, many Kikuyu who occupied a section of Rironi bordering Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) farm were dispossessed. Eventually, the few who remained sold their farms to Kalenjins who had been settled in the ADC farm. The section of Rironi which was occupied by the Kalenjins was renamed Tabain. Samoei (O.I 2013) reported that the naming was necessary because the new occupants perceived the name Rironi ‘foreign and meaningless’. He explained that the name Tabain was from a Kalenjin word Taban meaning ‘the border’.

Similarly, Nyakinyua trading centre in Sirikwa ward was named after Dagoretti Nyakinyua land-buying company. Some informants indicated that the farm had been given out by President Kenyatta in the early 1970’s to a group of Kikuyu women, known as Nyakinyua. The group entertained the president through their traditional songs and dances in many of his public meetings. After 1992 internal displacement, many of the victims in Gachorwe trading centre sold their plots to members of the Kalenjin communities. That section, was renamed Choronok by the new inhabitants. Mwangi (O.I, 2013) said that another shopping centre, a few kilometres away has two names. One section of the centre has retained its name Sachoran while another section has reverted back to the Kipsigis name Sirikwa that had gradually fallen into disuse for many years.
From the above discussion, primary data from respondents such as Kemunto, Mutai and Maina (O.I, 2013) as well as secondary sources (Gecaga, 2007; Kagwanja, 2001; Kiliku, 1992) indicate that the struggle for political power and perceived arrogance of migrant communities (Samoei, O.I, 2013; Jackeline, 2001) were the main motives behind internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county in 1992.

4.4 Patterns of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1992 - 1993

After discussing motives for the 1992 - 1993 internal displacement, we now turn our attention to the period just before, during and immediately after the 1992 General Election. This section captures political activities preceding the elections, planning of attacks, identifies the attackers and the victims, and describes the nature of evictions and how victims left their homes.

In 1991 as the campaign for multiparty democracy gained strength and then developed into a full elections campaign, relations of communities in Kenya were dramatically changed. Political rallies that were held in September 1991 at Kapsabet, Kericho, Kuresoi and Narok heightened ethnic tensions (Akimumi, 1999; Kellenberger, 2009).

In Kuresoi North Sub-county, KANU politicians, in their struggle to remain in power, succeeded in portraying the Kikuyu and the Kisii as enemies of the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and the Samburu. A respondent, Mibei (O.I, 2013) claimed that sometimes in early 1992, a political rally that was held in Sirikwa and attended by local Kalenjin politicians resolved that the ‘madoadooa’, referring to non-indigenous communities who had migrated into the area from
other provinces such as Nyanza, Western and Central were either to renounce their ethnic allegiance or move out of the area. In that rally, Leitich, a then Nakuru District KANU chairman and a close Moi’s confidant said that:

“...no land transactions that had taken place in the district since 1963 are recognized as valid whatsoever. Let the Madoudoa (referring to non-Kalenjin) living in Kuresoi know that, they are temporary tenants at the will of the Kalenjin and if any of them dared to flush out two-finger salute (which was a symbol used by the Opposition politicians and their supporters), will have them chopped off ...” (MibeI, O.I, 2013).

Planning of the attacks started in late 1991 (MibeI and Koskei, O.I, 2013). The network comprised the politicians and their key point men, prominent business people, elders (laibons in some areas) and the attackers. The politicians, who were on top of the hierarchy, together with prominent business people in the area provided financial and material resources required (Chumo, MibeI, Keter, O.I, 2013). The finances were for logistics such as transporting attackers, their handouts as well as for buying raw materials for making bows and arrows, spears, pangas (machetes) among other weapons. This information is corroborated by Waki (2008: 486) who states:

It is worth highlighting that in 1992, violent attacks were organized under a central command often with the participation of local administration and security forces officials, and that alleged perpetrators arrested in the connection with the violence were often released unconditionally.

Mwangi (O.I, 2013) noted that by March 1992, the number of political rallies organized by Kalenjin politicians in Sirikwa had increased unlike before. However, political rallies organized by Kikuyu politicians were concentrated in areas predominately occupied by the Kikuyu such as Moto near Molo town, Jogoo and Mau Summit areas. In Kalenjin rallies, speakers who were mainly
politicians, laibons (Kalenjin spiritual leaders) and elders used vernacular language. This new development discouraged non-Kalenjin groups to attend the rallies. He attended one rally at Choronok village and noted that speakers lamented how ungrateful the Kikuyus were. They singled out Matiba (Kenneth Matiba, a Kikuyu and a 1992 presidential candidate) and said he wanted to bring more Kikuyus in Rift Valley, just as President Kenyatta had done, if he won the elections (Mwangi, O.I, 2013).

Kemboi (O.I, 2013) said that:

A decision had been reached to evict non-Kalenjin from Kuresoi. The plot was to attack them so that they could either leave their farms or sell them cheaply to Kalenjin. Night meetings were held in campaign coordinators’ houses. These fora were used to exchange information between the elite in the community and those to coordinate the attacks in various areas such as Sirikwa, Mau Summit, Londiani and Kamara. The elite relayed blessings from top politicians and provided finances to cater for transport, food and allowances for the attackers. They also provided weapons such as pangas and swords as well as money to pay blacksmiths in the community who made bows, arrows (from 6 inch nails), spears and shields (from hides). To avoid arousing curiosity, the blacksmiths made the weapons deep in the forest.

Lisawa and Rateno (O.I, 2013) concurred that there were night meetings held by members of the Kalenjin community. However, whenever they asked their Kalenjin neighbors about the agenda of the meetings, they were told that the meetings were for Kalenjin who were registering to be given land. (It was common for Kalenjin to be given land in former ADC farms in the Area).

According to Mbaisa and Nyambura (O.I, 2013), in April 1992 during voters registration exercise for the December General Election, members from non-Kalenjin communities were discouraged to register as voters in these areas. Apart from being told that they would not vote regardless of registering as
voters, some were turned away and told to come the following day by registering clerks for no apparent reason. Others had their polling stations numbers in the voters’ cards deliberately entered incorrectly.

Leaflets warning non-Kalenjin to leave for their ancestral provinces started circulating in April, 1992 (Cheluget and Ngugi, O.I, 2013). In traditional beer drinking dens, Kalenjin partakers told their non-Kalenjin friends of planned evictions. In schools, teachers and pupils from Kalenjin community warned their non-Kalenjin friends of impending evictions. They were told that the violence would happen during school holidays (Tonui O.I, 2013). Unlike before when lost-but-found livestock would be returned to the owners, livestock belonging to non-Kalenjins started disappearing without trace. The situation deteriorated to stealing of livestock and farm produce during the day.

Ratemo (O.I, 2013) added that:

I saw two Kalenjin young men, who I knew well; take away my neighbor’s cow from the grazing field. When they heard me alerting him, they insulted me and threaten to burn my house. Even screams from women did not scare them. They took it away as our Kalenjin neighbors watched. We went to Assistant Chief hoping for help but we were shocked when he sarcastically told us, “why rear a cow which would be stolen anyway”.

Tonui (O.I, 2013) said that relations between Kalenjin and non-Kalenjin neighbors deteriorated as the elections approached. He added:

The Kikuyu refused to buy our milk, potatoes and peas. The only shop and a posho mill in our area belonged to a Kikuyu. When we went to buy sugar, the shopkeeper told us it was out of stock, yet Kikuyu were given. He would say that he had no fuel for the posho mill. We were helped by friendly Kikuyu who told us to leave money for sugar with them and we would later collect the sugar from their houses. We also left maize and collected maize flour in their house at night.
Ngugi (O.I, 2013) said that stealing of farm produce especially during market days became rampant. He added, ‘they (Kalenjin) then started to burn unoccupied huts particularly those which were constructed in farms and which were used as shelters during rainy periods and cooking when attending to the farms’.

In spite of the signs that all was not well, the non-Kalenjins did not leave. They thought that they were just being scared so that they could leave (Onyango, Bosibori and Muthoni O.I, 2013). In any case, they said that the area District Officer and other government officials had started holding peace and reconciliation barazas (meetings) and assured security to the residents.

However, Bosibori (O.I, 2013) added that:

The night the attackers raided our homesteads at Sondu was the least expected. Chelang’a (then Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner) had held a baraza in neighboring Chebonde village and he had assured us that the government would provide adequate security. But that same night at around 4 am, we were woken up by war cries and screams from attackers who had surrounded our homestead. I lost everything, everything!

The war cries and screams for help in Sondu area woke residents of Mung’etheo trading centre which was about a kilometer away. Waweru (O.I, 2013) said that:

We were woken up by war cries from attackers and screams from Sondu. We could hear victims desperately pleading to be spared. Their houses were up in flames. As my wife went back to the house to pick up our children, I heard war cries from another group of attackers who were running from Sirikwa forest, advancing towards the trading center. I grabbed the last born and we all ran towards maize farms. We were lucky to have escaped because not everyone was lucky.
Some of the *Kimnyige* (Kalenjin name for warriors) were from the neighborhood of targeted areas while others were transported from distant areas. The warriors were youth who had undergone circumcision but not yet married since according to Kalenjin culture, apart from being energetic and agile, this group has no extra burden of looking after wives and children and therefore should they die in the fight, they would not leave behind widows and orphans (Kemboi, O.I, 2013). They assembled in forests near targeted areas where they received briefs from the attack coordinators and blessings from laibons.

Assorted weapons which included bows and arrows, spears, machetes, axes, shields and matchboxes which had been brought in the forest were distributed to the attackers, depending on specialties (Sitonik and Kemboi, 2013). In particular, the best in using bow and arrows were assigned the poisonous arrows which were precious and needed utmost care when handling. After eating, the attackers were divided into groups depending on the targeted areas. Each group had attackers who knew the surroundings well and those who were from far. Those who knew the surroundings were to show directions and to ensure homesteads were strategically surrounded. To hide their identities, these categories of attackers had smeared mud on their faces (Kemboi and Sitonik, O.I, 2013).

The timing of the attacks was at the wee hours of the night, at around 3 to 4 am. Preferably, they were to be done simultaneously so as to inflict maximum damage and to avoid a possibility of notifying targeted victims in advance.
(Kemboi O.I, 2013). These attacks were accompanied by screams which were meant to cause panic and disorient the targeted victims. When a homestead was surrounded, some attackers were left to guard strategic areas such as the gate or any possible exit routes. While some attackers broke down doors to get entry into houses, others guarded the windows to ensure nobody escaped. Men and boys were not to be spared. Women were maimed while others were raped, while girls were thoroughly beaten (Kemboi, O.I, 2013). In case of permanent houses whose doors could not be broken down, glass windows were broken and curtains set on fire. The fire was sustained by throwing in anything that could burn.

After burning structures in the homesteads, the attackers took away livestock to neighboring forests to be taken care by pre-identified herders. The livestock were to be shared out later while others were to be slaughtered. The warriors got their financial allowances after accomplishing their assigned duties (Kemboi, O.I, 2013).

Respondents’ reports of attacks were remarkably similar. Bands of armed Kalenjin warriors attacked farms belonging to Luo, Luhya and Kikuyu, the group from which the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), the opposition party, drew its main support, destroying homes and driving occupants away or killing those who resisted (Baraza, Ngugi, Awino, Mayoyo, O.I, 2013). The attacks by the Kalenjin warriors had in almost all cases been carried out by organized groups. The attackers were often dressed in an informal uniform of red, yellow or black t-shirts, their faces marked with clay
in a manner of initiation candidates. Local Kalenjin often reported that outsiders had come to tell them that they had to fight and that the non-Kalenjins in the area were planning to attack them. They also reported that they were promised land of those they attacked (Kemboi, Sigilai, O.I, 2013).

Ong’era (O.I, 2013) narrated:

At Kamara area, attackers came from neighboring Koibatek forest, killed a resident who was deaf and set his house on fire. We ran to the chief’s camp where we were rescued by Administration Police officers. We spent the night in the cold for we had not salvaged anything from our houses. After staying in the camp for two days, a priest from Molo Catholic parish took us to a temporary camp in Molo Catholic Church compound where the parishioners provided us with food, shelter and medicines for the sickly.

4.5 Consequences of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1992 - 1993

Ethnic clashes that occurred in the study area between 1992 and 1993 led to loss of lives. For instance, Anyango (O.I, 2013), narrated how her husband was hacked to death in December, 1992 at Arimi near Kuresoi. Apart from bringing up her children without a father figure, she never came to terms with the fact that her late husband body was said to have been devoured by dogs.

Besides the deaths directly resulting from the violence, some elderly people were said to have succumbed to “early” deaths in circumstances related to the internal displacement. The experience of violence, which demanded rapid and unexpected movements, sometimes even at night impacted heavily on the elderly. Many of them could not comprehend what was happening. For example, during the 1991 ethnic violence, an old man by the name Jeremiah Mungai kept on asking his son, “which Mau Mau is this that is fighting
people” (Muiru 2012: 90). The old man, who died later on October 20 1992, could only link the violence with the *Mau Mau* rebellion which occurred in the period 1952 - 1956.

Another consequence of the internal displacement was destruction of properties. Many of the victims had their houses burnt, agricultural produce and household items looted, and livestock stolen. For instance, Mbone (O.I, 2014) who was in IDP camp at Total division headquarters at the time of the interview had her house estimated at 500,000 shillings at Gacharage razed down. That was her third house to be destroyed since 1992. Mburu (O.I, 2014) who relocated from Kuresoi to Total trading center said that:

> We did not salvage anything in Kioo (near Kuresoi town) in 1992 when our house was razed down….we moved to Gacharage in 1994 where we have a *shamba*. In 2008, I was displaced and my house burnt.

On December 30, 1992 at Mawingu in Nyota ward, thirty houses and a local Presbyterian Church of East Africa building were burnt (Klopp et al, 2010).

Church buildings, schools, and some parishioners gave shelters to those fleeing the hostilities. The first organizations to initiate assistance programme for the displaced persons were the Catholic Church and the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK), through their established networks and institutions. Perceiving displacement as temporary, provisional and short-term assistance focused primarily on relieving material needs. Relief providers hoped that violence would end so people could return to their homes within a short period. As more displaced persons flocked these facilities, the capacity of local structures was overwhelmed. Odonde (O.I, 2014) reported:
...We all thought that the violence would be short-lived and that it would end after the 1992 December elections. To the frustrations of most of us (relief workers), this assumption turned out wrong. This realization posed the single most difficult challenge: how to reorient relief programme beyond the then relief assistance engaged in by all actors.

Thereafter, other NGOs such as the Red Cross, Peace Net, and USAID came in and provided food, medicine and tents. However, persistent problems with displacement led to outside actors experiencing burnout. Furthermore, resources were diminishing because of donor fatigue, and frustration with the government was increasing. Therefore, most actors left the scene in less than 24 months after the eruption of the conflict.

In 1993, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) took commendable initiative to create a reconciliation and reintegration programme for those displaced from the ‘ethnic’ clashes. The programme was to be implemented jointly with the government. However, at the same time, the government steadily undermined the reintegration through active obstruction of reintegration efforts on some fronts and inaction on others. Particularly, there was no government commitment to reverse the damage that had been caused, and to restore the displaced to their lost land and livelihood without regard for ethnicity (HRW, June 1997; UN OCHA, 1993). Where UNDP encountered government resistance to addressing an issue such as human rights violation or land law reform, the agency’s approach was to retreat rather than to press for these fundamental changes to be made. The narrow perspective adopted by UNDP resulted in a programme that ignored issues
responsible for the humanitarian crisis in Kenya which were key in finding lasting solutions (HRW, June 1997).

The final blow to the programme was the forced expulsion of some 2,000 Kikuyu from Maela camp, who were trucked out of the camp after a police raid in the middle of the night on December 24, 1994, without the knowledge of UNDP. They were dumped at three sites in their ‘ancestral’ homes of Central Province in the middle of the night and left to fend for themselves (HRW, June 1997). At Ndaragwa, the displaced were left by the side of the road with no shelter and practically with no belongings (HRW June 1997). At Ol Kalou, they were left between the railway line and the main road while at Kiambu, they were left dropped at Kirigiti Stadium (Kamau, O.I, 2013; HRW, June 1997). A few days later, many of the same people were subjected to second round of police raids, as the government tried to disperse them as quickly as possible (HRW, June 1997). The Maela camp incident brought the UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya to a halt. It was formally ended in November 1995 (HRW, June 1997).

Odonde (O.I, 2014) said:

...the number of people permanently resettled by UNDP and government through their ‘Displaced Persons Programme’ in 1995 remained a matter of controversy. When they ended that programme, they announced that some 10,000 persons had been resettled in Kuresoi. When we asked David Round-Turner, former policy advisor with the UNDP programme to give us the names of the people who had been settled in former ADC farms in Kuresoi, we were told to ask the DC. Where did they resettle people? Where is the list of names? We (the Justice and Peace Commission) can show you our list of people, where they came from and where they are. The UNDP - Government programme was a sham…
The Catholic Church helped to resettle 500 families through Kangawa Upendo Resettlement Programme near Baraka Agricultural College in Mau Summit (Odonde, O.I, 2014). Another 200 families displaced from Olenguruone in Kuresoi which missed out in the alleged UNDP-Government resettlement programme were helped by the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) to settle in Elburgon (Odonde, O.I, 2014; HRW, June 1997).

Internal displacement of 1992 - 1993 affected initiation ceremonies in the study area. It was common for the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu to hold joint circumcision ceremonies for boys prior to the first wave of the internal displacement in Kuresoi North in 1992 (Mwangi; Tonui, O.I, 2013). However, the outbreak of violence in 1992 created mistrust and as such, joint initiation ceremonies were discontinued (Mwangi; Tonui, O.I, 2013). The desire to conceal society’s secrets from outsiders may be the main reason for the collapse of common initiation among the locals. The Kalenjin shifted the ceremonies to a few selected forests mainly in areas predominantly occupied by their kinsmen. The initiates put on cowhides as their clothes and painted their faces, a practice known as kagomargei taraseik to disguise their identity (Tonui, O.I, 2013). While in the bush, the tairisiek (young warriors) used arrows to hunt small animals like hares and birds, skills that became handy during the subsequent ethnic violence (Tonui; Teituk, O.I, 2013).

Besides the discontinuity of joint initiation ceremonies, the communities developed new strategies so as to cope with the realities of ethnic conflict. For instance, many families avoided initiating their sons during the month of
December of every election year (Mwangi, O.I, 2013). This strategy was meant to avoid exposing the initiates to risks associated with internal displacements.

Another new development was that the Kikuyu opted to taking initiates to hospitals and dispensaries while the Kalenjin continued with the traditional rites of passage in the forests (Tonui, O.I, 2013; Kamondai, O.I, 2014). For the Kikuyu, as much as opting for the modern way of conducting the initiation was popular since it was convenient and the initiates healed faster, they lacked avenues for acquiring useful traditional culture and particularly bonding and fighting skills which they needed to defend their community (Kamondai, O.I, 2014).

Another consequence of the internal displacement in Kuresoi was dispossession of land. Influential individuals in government collaborated with local administrators and corrupt land officials to acquire parcels that belonged to evicted persons (HRW, June 1997). For instance, after 1992/3 internal displacement, in Chepakundi and Sirikwa schemes, Kikuyu and Kisii landowners discovered that their title deeds had been transferred without their knowledge into the possession of Kalenjin owners by the Land registrar in Nakuru (HRW, June 1997).

This point was also highlighted by Kamondai (O.I, 2014) and Makori (O.I, 2013), who referred the two schemes as ‘Kenyan West Bank’, referring to the contested Israeli/Palestinian area. They said that in some cases, the land of those evicted had been completely occupied. Those displaced who attempted
to report the illegal occupation or transfer of their land to the government were sent on a futile mission by being referred from one office to the next until they were finally forced to give up. The government took no step to address the irregularities in land ownership and sales, portraying the problems as mere contract disputes that needed to be dealt with among the affected individuals. In other cases, those kept from their land were offered sums significantly below market value for their farms. Those who refused to sell were given warnings by their Kalenjin neighbors that a time would come when they would not only have to sell but would have to accept the price given to them by Kalenjins. In other instances, the boundaries had been illegally moved to expand the farms of neighboring Kalenjins onto parts of the land of the displaced. Other non-Kalenjins exchanged land with people who were willing to take their plot in return for land in another province (HRW, June 1997).

Internal displacement affected inter-ethnic relations in the study area. Prior to the first wave of violence in Kuresoi North in 1992, communities lived harmoniously. Mwangi (O.I, 2013) narrated that:

...before 1990s, as boys from different ethnic groups, we grazed and hunted together in the forests. We used to have one team for football and volleyball competition against other villages. Women from all communities used to have Kibagenge (merry-go-round) and assisted each other during planting, cultivating and harvesting periods. However, distrust, resentment, suspicion and hatred replaced harmonious existence and long term interactions.

Tonui (O.I, 2013) said that prior to multi-party politics; relations of ethnic communities in Kuresoi North were cordial. Residents inter-married, traded
and embraced joint cultural ceremonies. However, ethnic animosity, fear and suspicion developed with the onset of internal displacements.

### 4.6 Summary

The discussion in this chapter has analyzed the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county in 1992/3 period. It has been argued that in that period, politics and perceived arrogance of migrant communities played a major role in the conflict. The call for pluralism was countered by *majimboism*, leading to violence and internal displacement of perceived opposition supporters and sympathizers in the area. KANU politicians united their ethnic groups into KAMATUSA, an agglomerate of communities. Through this communal content, the first precondition of protracted conflict as argued by Azar (1984) was put in place. Then, the second precondition in the theory which is deprivation of needs, in this case, recognition need, came into play. Indigenous communities felt that their culture was disrespected by the migrant communities through changing of original names of some villages.

The discussion has further shown that patterns of internal displacement in Kuresoi North during the period under review started with heightened political activities accompanied by incitement. This was followed by leaflets warning non-Kalenjin to vacate the area before the elections’ time. Then, organized groups of armed Kalenjin warriors attacked non-Kalenjin. The displaced persons, often with no food and inadequate clothing, sought refuge in police posts and stations, school and church compounds before shifting to safer areas
and camps where well-wishers, religious organizations and NGOs provided both food and non-food items.

The violence and the resultant internal displacement had a number of consequences. Apart from deaths and destruction of property, it resulted into discontinuation of joint initiation ceremonies. Another impact was dispossession of the displaced persons. The government did little to assist the dispossessed and to resettle the IDPs. The skirmishes also affected inter-ethnic relations in Kuresoi North. Communities that for a long time lived in harmony, trusted and traded with one another changed into warring communities with hatred, distrust and resentment.
5.0 Chapter Five: Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1997 - 1998

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the motives, patterns and consequences of 1997/8 internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county. A few observations on patterns of 1997/8 internal displacement are worth making from the onset of this discussion. First, the attackers were from the Kalenjin community while the victims were non-Kalenjins, mainly Kikuyu and Kisii. However, unlike 1992/3, some victims of the 1997/8 violence retaliated or had organized themselves such that in some instances, they confronted the attackers and chased them away. Second, the 1997/8 violence was neither coordinated nor widespread as that of 1992. Also, unlike 1992/3 skirmishes which caught residents unprepared, this time around some residents moved out of some hot-spots well before the clashes began.

A court case filed by Mwai Kibaki, the closest challenger to President Moi in the 1997 presidential elections was construed to be a threat to Kalenjin community’s retention of political power. The protracted social conflict theory was useful in demonstrating how the Kalenjin politicians effectively unified their communities against this perceived threat. Then, the land rights issues concerning the cultivation of parts of Mau forest by Abagusii and Agikuyu were interpreted by the Ogiek as both cultural invasion as well as economic threat. Azar (1984), points out that when a group’s identity and livelihood is threatened, intractable conflict is almost inevitable.
In Kuresoi North, the 1997 - 98 period did not experience widespread violence and displacement as compared with 1992 general election (Bosire, Maina and Rono, O. I, 2013). The respondents attributed this scenario to the hiving off of a new constituency – Kuresoi, from Molo constituency. Muiru (2012) concurs with this argument and adds that the aim of creating the new constituency was twofold: to ensure KANU got an extra parliamentary seat and to make sure that the Kalenjin population, hitherto overwhelmed by non-Kalenjin voters in the 1992 election, was represented in parliament. In the 1997 election, while Njenga Mungai retained his Molo constituency seat, Moses Cheboi, a Kalenjin, was elected the Member of Parliament for Kuresoi on a KANU ticket. The results showed that the strategy for carving out Kuresoi constituency had worked for the ruling party, KANU (Muiru, 2012).

A possible reason for occurrence of less violence was that President Moi was by then preoccupied with his succession strategy since 1997 General Election was his last, as per the constitution requirement of maximum two terms. He adopted conciliatory approach and wooed Njenga Mungai, the then Member of Parliament for Molo back to KANU. President Moi ordered the resettlement of about three hundred Kikuyu families displaced from Olenguruone in Kuresoi and other parts of Molo at Kapsita Settlement Scheme in Elburgon (Muiru, 2012). Rono, Ong’era, and Maina (O.I, 2013) argued that the president addressed a gathering at Total centre in Kuresoi and reassured the displaced that maximum security would be ensured so that the problems did
not recur. He directed Provincial and District Commissioners in the affected areas to ensure that the programme of resettlement in the families’ original farms was done within a week.

Another reason for limited violence was that by 1997, opposition parties had gone through self-destructive process, making them unable to seriously challenge President Moi and his party KANU and therefore the stakes were not as high as in 1992 (Kellenberger, 2009). With unity in the opposition elusive, political parties metamorphosed into ethnic enclaves. The Kikuyu supported Democratic Party (DP) led by Mwai Kibaki and Ford - Asili led by Kenneth Matiba. Luhya, on the other hand supported Ford -Kenya led by Kijana Wamalwa. The Kisii supported Ford - People led by Simon Nyachae, while the Luo supported National Democratic Party (NDP) led by Raila Odinga (Cowen and Laakso, 2002).

Before the announcement of the General Election results, it became clear that President Moi was heading for a renewal of his term (Rutten, 2001). Opposition presidential candidates, Mwai Kibaki, Raila Odinga and Charity Ngilu rejected the results and demanded a repeat of elections within 21 days (Rutten, 2001). After President Moi was sworn in on 6th January 1998, Mwai Kibaki filed a petition challenging Moi’s election (Rutten, 2001). At a public rally in Narok town on 17th January 1998, Cabinet Ministers Kipkalya Kones and William Ole Ntimama warned of possible violence if Kibaki refused to withdraw the petition. Henry Koskei, the then MP for Nandi and a minister argued that the petition was an attack against the entire Kalenjin community
and warned of bloodshed (Rutten, 2001). It is within this context that violence broke out in Njoro, Molo and Kuresoi (Mwangi, O.I, 2013; HRW, 1997).

One of the motives for internal displacement in the study area was competition for political power. The court case challenging President Moi was taken to be a threat to Kalenjin community’s hold on to political power (Mwangi, O.I, 2013; HRW, 1997). As argued in PSC theory, when a communal group’s security is threatened, members are left with no choice but to fight until their security is guaranteed. Cultivation of parts of Mau forest by Abagusii and Agikuyu also, contributed to the internal displacement (Chumo; Mayoyo; Mwangi, O.I, 2013). Large chunks of the forest land had been grabbed by well-connected government officials who rented the parcels to the agrarian Kisii and Kikuyu. The farmers cleared the land using fires thereby destroying habitat for bees and wild animals, which the Ogiek relied on for survival (Chumo; Mibei, O.I, 2013). Some parts of the forest that were destroyed were sacred grounds were the Ogiek interred the dead and held prayers (Segerger; Chumo; Mibei, O.I, 2013).

The clearing of forest by the Kisii and Kikuyu, therefore, angered the Ogiek because it did not only affect their livelihood but also was considered as cultural invasion (Chumo, Segerger, O.I, 2013). Azar (1984) posits that prolonged and violent struggle by communal groups occur when their recognition and access to economic participation is hindered. This, therefore, helps in understanding the Ogiek’s reaction when their livelihood and cultural beliefs were interfered with.
5.3 Patterns of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1997 - 1998

The 1997/8 script was similar to that of 1992/3. The number of political rallies held in the area increased as 1997 General Election approached. Again, the rallies were almost exclusively attended by Kalenjin. Mwangi (O.I, 2013) observed that since Kuresoi Constituency, which had Kalenjin population as the majority, had been curved from Molo and also smarting from experiences of previous General Elections, non-Kalenjin avoided taking part in active politics. He added:

In 1992, we (non-Kalenjin) lost our properties because of Siasa mbaya (bad politics). We thought we would be secure if we politically disassociated ourselves with our brothers in Central Province. We showed less enthusiasm in both local and national politics. However, during August holidays, rumors and leaflets warning non-Kalenjin to leave started to circulate. One leaflet had a Kiswahili message; ‘ukitaka kufukuza ndege, lazima utoe kiota yake’ translating to, if you want to make sure a bird doesn’t return to its nest, you got to remove the nest.

Tonui and Kamondai, (O.I, 2013) said that as elections approached, the frequency of night meetings increased. Kalenjin held their meetings in areas dominated by fellow kinsmen. Then, Kikuyu too started to hold meetings in areas where they were the majority (Tonui and Kamondai, O.I, 2013). In these meetings, mainly the majority in an area discussed attack strategies while the minority planned retaliation strategy or exit plan. The Protracted Social Conflict theory’s first precondition of conflict transformation to high levels of intensity was demonstrated with identity groupings.

Signs of poor relations started showing in churches and schools. In some local churches, preachers and speakers started to use mother tongue regardless of
the composition of their audiences (Tonui, O.I, 2013). In schools, teachers from same ethnic community started to have private talks and whenever a teacher from another community approached, the group would either disperse or keep quiet (Tonui O.I, 2013). Pupils from Kalenjin ethnic community started being unnecessarily rude to pupils from other communities. They would even warn of catastrophe that would befall pupils and parents of these other communities (Tonui O.I, 2013). Residents living in areas perceived to be unsafe started evacuating their belongings to safer areas. Tonui (O.I, 2013) said:

I was a teacher in Moto primary school (Moto is near Molo and is predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu) and I had to hire a lorry to evacuate my family and belongings to Keringet (Keringet is predominantly occupied by the Kalenjin). I could not wait and see what would happen in December.

Nyambura (O.I, 2013) said:

I saw Kalenjin families leave Kandenye (Kandenye is predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu). Our men (Kikuyu men) had resolved to defend their homesteads. I took my children and my mother in-law to Molo Town.

In Ndimu farm near Murinduko in Kuresoi, displacement started seven months before the December 1997 elections after Boniface Korir, a Kalenjin suspected cattle thief was killed when he and two other accomplices attempted to steal livestock in a homestead belonging to John Kiarie, a Kikuyu (Kimani, O.I, 2013). The Kalenjin refuted the robbery allegation, claiming the victim was drunk the night he was killed and that he had a love affair with one of Kiarie’s
daughters. In an attempt to cool inter-communal tension that was building up, police arrested Kiarie who eventually died in remand (Kimani, O.I, 2013).

During Korir’s burial ceremony that was held at Set Kobor in Mawingu, local Kalenjin leaders among them Moses Cheboi, the then Member of Parliament, said that the cattle owner would not be allowed to be buried in his homestead at Set Kobor. On their way from Korir’s burial, some Kalenjin mourners raided non-Kalenjin homes, looting and burning property. The fleeing non-Kalenjin sought refuge at Kuresoi Police Station (Kimani, O.I, 2013). When a seemingly isolated incident of stock theft escalated to skirmishes that affected many residents of Mkulima in Nyota ward, it demonstrated how cases involving individuals were instead taken as communal issues. This, therefore, depicted communal content as articulated by Azar (1984), in his theory.

At Mau Summit trading centre which was predominantly occupied by Kikuyu, the residents had made arrangements to defend it. Kamondai (O.I, 2013) said that:

Three months before the December General Election, Njama (warriors) had started patrolling our centre. We had some youth monitoring activities in the neighboring forests. One of the groups spotted some suspicious men entering a hut adjacent to the forest. When our youth stormed there, the suspicious men escaped but left behind assorted weapons which were being stock-piled in the hut.

Azar (1984) argues that security is a basic need and if a group’s survival is at risk, members resort to violence until their safety is guaranteed. This helps in understanding why youth from Mau Summit armed themselves and defended their territory.
In other parts of the sub-county where violence was experienced, attacks happened at night. Ngunyi (O.I, 2013) who stayed in Sirikwa posited that:

I stayed in Baringo Farm in Sirikwa. A part of it, Baringo ‘A’, is predominantly occupied by the Kalenjin. The other part, where I stayed, is Baringo ‘B’, which is predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu. We the residents of Baringo ‘B’ had planned in advance to fight off any attack. So when they attacked us at night, we were ready to counter them. We worked as a team and managed to chase the attackers away. In the following morning, we discovered a body in a well. One of the attackers had plunged into a well as he ran away.

5.4 Consequences of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 1997 - 1998

Although compared to 1992/3, the 1997/8 violence was at lesser scale; nevertheless some residents of Kuresoi North lost their lives (KHRC, 2004; Akiwumi, 1998). For instance, Mwangi (O.I, 2013) recalled an incident in 1993 when an elderly Kalenjin man was killed in a telephone booth near Molo Post Office as he tried to call the police to come and rescue him from a Kikuyu mob that was fast closing in on him. Karuri, (O.I, 2014) said that a woman was trumped to death by elephants at Londiani forest as she and others escaped attackers at Karandi village.

Another consequence was destruction of properties, albeit in smaller scale as compared to the 1992/3 internal displacement. Kerubo (O.I, 2013) from Temyotta recalled her narrow escape in November 1997 and said that:

I owe my life to police officers who were at Temyyota police post. When our neighbors (Kalenjin) surrounded my hut and set it on fire, the officers from the post shot in the air and scared away the attackers. By God’s grace, I managed to rescue my children from the burning hut and ran to the camp. Five other families joined us later. On the third day, as we were being escorted to Kamwaura which was more secure, the road was barricaded by Kalenjin men. We parted with a cow to be allowed to proceed....
Karuri (O.I, 2014), a victim of multiple internal displacements occasioned by both Shamba system (where cultivation of crops was allowed in forest areas with newly planted tree seedlings) and ethnic clashes, narrated the double tragedy that befell some of Mau Summit residents in January 1996. He explained how people who had cultivated crops under the Shamba system in parts of Koibatek and Londiani forests neighboring Jogoo, Rironi, Karandi, Kuwait, African and Haraka Farms villages were evicted:

…in addition to living in these forest areas, we also practiced the Shamba system along the cut-lines of the Koibatek and Londiani forests. One day, the government came in and ordered us to vacate the forest land. We were given a two-day ultimatum. We had to sell our dairy cows to slaughter houses at the price of a chicken! Fifteen months after we were evicted from the forests, the ethnic clashes started – political leaders, keen to hold onto power, began fanning ethnic animosity. Sadly, some of our people were caught up in the merciless killings of the clashes. We were once again on the run. Overnight people who had been self-reliant became paupers, reduced to the vagaries of urban tenancy (Karuri, O.I, 2014).

At Mau Summit, the displaced persons camped at the catholic and PCEA churches compounds. They were provided with clothing, tents, and food by good Samaritans, parishioners and Baraka Agricultural College staff (Wanjiru; Kamondai, O.I, 2014). Those displaced from Jogoo and Rironi camped at Pipeline Station at Jogoo shopping centre which had a police post (Barasa, Ng’eno; Mburu, O.I, 204). Many were forced to create open makeshift structures of cardboards and plastic sheeting while others slept outdoors. After a few days, the government ordered the local provincial administrators to dismantle the camp (Barasa, O.I, 2014). The IDPs were rescued by priests from Baraka Seminary Centre who trucked them to Mau Summit Catholic Church (Barasa; Kamondai, O.I, 204). Living conditions in the camp
deteriorated as more IDPs flocked. Inadequate sanitation and overcrowding posed a constant threat of infectious diseases. The Red Cross came in and built a number of pit latrines and handed out soap and disinfectant as well as tarpaulins and sleeping mats for the camp population (UN OCHA, 2011; Barasa, O.I, 2014).

The government did little to settle the displaced persons after 1997 General Election. A bill introduced in Parliament by the Opposition to compel the government to settle IDPs was shot down by KANU Members of Parliament (KHRC, 2008). However, NCCK and CDN-J&P Catholic Diocese of Nakuru gave, on credit, plots of land for resettlement to squatters and the ‘poorest of the poor’ displaced persons in Kuresoi and Molo areas (UNIFEM, January 2002). The beneficiaries also received building materials, planting seeds, farm implements and fertilizers. The two religious organizations also provided iron sheets, doors, windows, posts, and nails to those whose houses were burnt down, but who could return to their farms in places where relative security had been restored (UNIFEM, January 2002; Ratemo, O.I, 2013; Barasa, O.I, 2014).

NCCK and CDN-J&P Catholic Diocese of Nakuru also worked closely with AMREF, Red Cross, Medicines sans Frontieres to mobilize funds for a wide range of displaced people’s needs, such as raising medical bills, school fees, water filters, and latrines. Those resettled in Kangawa in Kuresoi benefited from boreholes and water pumps provided by the European Union and

Kamau (O.I, 2013), one of the beneficiaries observed that:

…I lost my farm in Enosopukia in Narok in 1992 when we were evicted. We camped at Maela where we received food, water, medicine, blankets and tents from the late Fr. Kaiser. In 1996, the government promised to settle us in alternative area. A District Officer came with chiefs and started screening us. They used information on our identity cards to put us in different groups depending on areas of birth such as Nyandarua, Kiambu, Murang’a, etc. After an hour, several trucks came and each group was allocated a lorry. My sister boarded one for Kiambu. One of the chiefs advised me not to board the lorry. My sister and others were eventually dumped at Kirigiti stadium. I moved to Sundu where I bought a quarter of an acre. When I was displaced again in 1997, I sought help from a catholic priest in charge of Passionist Missionaries situated at Kangawa. Through Upendo Kangawa Phase one programme, the church gave me this 1¼ farm that I am still paying for.

The 1997 - 1998 internal displacement contributed to the rise of Mungiki sect in Kuresoi North. The term is derived from the Kikuyu word Muingi, meaning masses of people (Muiru, 2012). The group was formed in early 1990s by Maina Njenga who claimed to have had a vision in which Ngai (God) commanded him to liberate the Agikuyu from all forms of oppression (Muiru, 2012). The sect is guided by the principles of cultural self-determination, self-pride and self-reliance (Mutuma, 2008; Muiru, 2012). It utilizes traditional methods such as prayers, songs, prophetic utterances, and oathing and initiation rites to unite its followers. The group aimed at the restoration of the Kikuyu culture as the first step towards liberation.

The Kikuyu who were displaced from Kuresoi, Olenguruone, Molo, and Mau Summit and from elsewhere in 1992 and 1997 were mobilized by leaders who
sought to defend Kikuyu interests such as land in the Rift Valley (Kamondai, O.I, 2014; Nyambura, O.I, 2013). In Gacharage, Mkulima, Nyakinyua, Ngenia, Kandenye and Murinduko in Kuresoi North, many Kikuyu young men were forced to join Njama (meaning Mungiki) so as to defend their land from attacks from the Kalenjin (Nyambura, O.I, 2013). Although there were those who had joined the sect voluntarily, in some instances, fleeing young Kikuyu men were intercepted, beaten and forced to take an oath by those who had joined the group (Mwangi, O.I, 2013; Njeri, O.I, 2014). Many young men displaced by the violence were attracted to the group’s agenda to reclaim and restore Kikuyu glory and prominence. Apparently, economic hardships they were exposed to by the violence, Mungiki offered a grand hope that Christianity and the State failed to give them (Muiru, 2012; Kagwanja, 2003).

While the Kalenjin had their warriors, the Kimnyige, the Agikuyu had to embrace Njama too (Mwangi; Kamondai, O.I, 2013). Azar (1984) posits that the state and the nature of its governance is a critical factor in determining the satisfaction or frustration of individuals or groups’ needs. The manner in which members of Kikuyu community in the study area embraced Mungiki showed that they had lost confidence in the state to offer them security.

Another effect of the internal displacement was disposing of land in volatile areas in the study area. For instance, at Sirikwa, Koros (O.I, 2013) alleged to have bought a 5-acre parcel for 40,000 shillings per acre instead of prevailing price of 150,000 shillings per acre. In Choronok village, Kikuyu residents who decided to relocate to other safe areas sold their farms at throw away prices (Mwangi; Kemboi, O.I, 2013). Other respondents narrated how fleeing
victims sold their farms, even on credit basis, and moved out of volatile areas such as Rironi, Mawingu and Kamara (Ndege, Kimani, O.I, 2013).

5.5 Summary

The discussion in this chapter has analyzed the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county in 1997/8 period. It has been argued that in that period, politics and land rights issues on Mau forest were the main motives for the internal displacement. Local politicians mobilized Kalenjin communities against non-Kalenjins living in the study area to fight for perceived threat to their political power. In other areas such as Mau Summit, members of the Kikuyu community armed themselves and defended their territory. The protracted social conflict theory’s concepts of communal content and deprivation of needs help to understand the actions of the protagonists.

The discussion has further shown that patterns of internal displacement in Kuresoi North during the period under review, like 1992/3 period, started with heightened political activities accompanied by incitement. This was followed by leaflets warning non-Kalenjin to vacate the area and then attacks and counter-attacks. Fleeing residents sold their farms at throw-away prices. The discussion has showed that some of the consequences of 1997 - 1998 internal displacement are deaths, destruction of properties, disposing of land and the rise of Mungiki. The protracted social conflict theory’s concept of state and governance issues was used to explain why members of Kikuyu community in the study area embraced the Mungiki.
6.0 Chapter Six: Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 2002 - 2008

6.1 Introduction
As we have already seen, there were internal displacements just before and during 1992 and 1997 General Elections. However, unlike the two, the 2002 elections were accompanied by negligible violence. This chapter begins by highlighting this uniqueness of 2002 General Election. Thereafter, the motives, patterns and consequences of 2007/8 internal displacement are analyzed.

6.2 The 2002 General Election
Unlike the previous General Elections, the one held in 2002 was marred with very little violence. This could be attributed to various factors: firstly, the unification of thirteen political parties into one coalition, National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) resulting to weakening of KANU (Maupeu, 2005; Kellenberger, 2009). On 14th October 2002, Uhuru Kenyatta was endorsed by President Moi as KANU’s presidential candidate for December’s election. This ignited a rebellion from other presidential hopefuls who had hoped for a fair competitive process of choosing KANU’s flag bearer (Maupeu, 2005; Kellenberger, 2009). On the very day that Uhuru Kenyatta was endorsed as KANU’s presidential candidate, the Rainbow Coalition breakaway group of KANU led by Raila Odinga, George Saitoti and Kalonzo Musyoka joined the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK), led by Mwai Kibaki, Kijana Wamalwa and Charity Ngilu to form the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) (Maupeu, 2005).
Secondly, both Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta, the presidential candidates for NARC and KANU respectively were Kikuyu. This might have been the main reason for absence of ethnic violence and displacement in Kuresoi North (Chumo, Mutai, Mwangi, O.I, 2013). As previously noted, violence in this area occurred whenever a Kalenjin and a Kikuyu candidate faced off in the election, both at the local (parliamentary and civic) and national (presidential) levels.

At the local level, the creation of Kuresoi constituency had helped ease the matter (Chumo; Mwangi, O.I, 2013, Muiru, 2012). At the national level, the Kalenjin had no candidate; President Moi and other senior Kalenjin leaders such as Henry Koskei and William Ruto campaigned for Uhuru Kenyatta (Muiru, 2012).

Thirdly, the Election Commission of Kenya (ECK), religious organizations, civil society and media had engaged in vigorous and aggressive civic education campaign (Kellenberger, 2009; Ngunyi, and Samoei, O.I, 2014). A number of response to conflicts and peace initiatives such as formation of self-help groups, organization of mediation workshops, relief food programme, and formation of peace building committees (PBCs) were carried out (Odondo, Nyamundo, O.I, 2014).

The NARC coalition candidate Mwai Kibaki won in the 2002 general election ending 40 years of KANU rule. The KANU candidate conceded defeat and no violence was reported.
6.3 Motives for Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 2002 - 2008

On taking over power, the NARC Government promised improved economic growth, zero tolerance to corruption, constitutional change and devolution of power (Waki, 2008). The attempt to reduce the personal power that had been accumulated by former President Moi initially was the reason the then Opposition forces sought to introduce the post of Prime minister (Waki, 2008). This culminated in an alleged informal Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) before the 2002 elections within the then Opposition coalition under which the coalition agreed to introduce the post of Prime Minister after the election. Once elected, however, President Kibaki is reported to have reneged on the alleged MoU (Waki, 2008; Koskei, O.I, 2013).

As discussions continued concerning constitutional change and the devolution of power the Kibaki Government then came up with a draft constitution drafted by Attorney General, Amos Wako (Waki, 2008). A government faction led by Raila Odinga opposed the Wako draft claiming it watered down some of the provisions in the previous draft agreed to during the BOMAS discussions. This group which included William Ruto, Henry Kosgei, and Franklin Bett among other prominent Rift Valley politicians formed Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) which spearheaded campaigns against the Wako draft. With the Kibaki Government divided, the Wako draft was put to the public at a referendum in 2005, where voters rejected it (Waki, 2008; Tonui, O.I, 2013).
Even though the 2005 referendum was peaceful and the results were accepted rather than contested, the parameters were nevertheless drawn. President Kibaki removed from government the group of ministers associated with Odinga. A sizeable number of these ministers were from Kalenjin ethnic groups (Waki, 2008; Tonui, Koskei, O.I, 2013). The purge was not directed at politicians only but went further to include senior government employees such as Sally Kosgei, immediate former Head of Public Service and Zakayo Cheruiyot, immediate former Permanent Secretary for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (The Sunday Nation, 28 Oct 2012; Koskei; Tonui, O.I, 2013). The purging of ministers and civil servants who were prominent members of the Kalenjin community after President Kibaki took over power from President Moi in 2002 was another cause of the 2007 - 2008 violence (Tonui; Koskei, O.I, 2013). Moi, a Kalenjin, had been a president for 24 years. In this period, he appointed many members of his ethnic group to influential positions in the civil service and military (Joshia, 2005). This trend was not unique to Moi. His predecessor, the late President Jomo Kenyatta had set that precedence – he had appointed many members of his Kikuyu ethnic group to such positions (Waki, 2008; Joshua, 2005).

It was argued that the sacking created bitterness whose impact trickled down to the ordinary Kalenjin. On the other hand, there were allegations that the Cabinet unveiled by President Mwai Kibaki reflected the resurgence of Kikuyu dominance (The Sunday Nation, 28 Oct 2012; Kellenberger, 2009). Being the most populous ethnic group, coupled with perceptions of being economically better off as compared to other ethnic groups, the convergence
of political and economic power elicited hostility (Kellenberger, 2009; The Sunday Nation, 28 Oct 2012).

In Kenya’s political processes, ethnicity and politics are intertwined. The two are connected by communal social ties (Mbembe, 2001). This is a complex system of reciprocity and obligations binding members of a single household, even a single community (Mbembe, 2001). A significant fraction of incomes from salaried civil servants goes to assist dependents in the rural areas. The philosophy that underpins this kind of a “social tax” began with the principle that every individual was and is indebted to a collective heritage without which he cannot achieve anything in life (Mbembe, 2001). Not to pay the social debt amounted to splitting the community and threatening its chance of growth. It is within the context that an ethnic group’s attachment to its leaders should be appreciated. The assumption that their rise and fall from political power significantly affects the fortunes of the entire ethnic group cannot be overemphasized. This kind of reasoning was echoed by some respondents who said that having their own as MP has enormous benefits especially in terms of Constituency Development Fund (CDF) projects (Tembur, Soi, O.I, 2013). The 2007 General Election thus presented the Kalenjin political elites with an opportunity to get back to power. This was to be achieved through ODM political party which was led by Raila Odinga (Kellenberger, 2009; Waki, 2008). At the local level, ODM was popular among the Kalenjin because it promised ugatuzi (devolution of power and resources) to the regions in case it won the election. Essentially, the rise of ODM to power would reverse the
political and economic domination of the Rift Valley by the settler communities, notably the Kikuyu and the Kisii (Tonui; Koskei, O.I, 2013; Kellenberger, 2009; Waki, 2008).

In Kuresoi, just like it was in other areas in Rift Valley, politicians in their effort to win votes waged a propaganda war that demonized other ethnic groups (Nyambura; Kemboi, O.I, 2013). This negative ethnicity was characterized by use of derogatory words. The Kalenjin used the terms *Madoadoa* (spots), *Sangara* (wild weed), *Nyang’ao* (hyena) and *Bunyot* (enemy) to refer to the Agikuyu and the Abagusii in the Rift Valley (Kemboi, O.I, 2013). The Agikuyu used the terms *Rumbwa* and *Nyamu cia Ruguru* (animals from the West, Rift Valley) and *Nduriri* (non-Kikuyu) to refer to Kalenjin, Luo and Luyha (Nyambura, O.I, 2013; Muiru, 2012). While some of these terms are used in ordinary discourse, they become dangerous when they are used in specific historical context, especially during elections (Muiru, 2012).

Another cause for 2007 - 2008 internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county was competition for economic opportunities. Koros and Chepkorir (O.I, 2013) talked of many “foreigners” who traversed the area in search of jobs. They pointed out that these people caused intense competition for the few vacancies that were available in ADC farms, Molo milk factory and saw millers in the area. This view was reported by Mutai (O.I, 2013), a secondary school teacher who said that there were many teachers from outside the area who flocked the sub-county whenever Teachers Service Commission (TSC)
advertised vacancies to be filled by qualified but unemployed teachers. The TSC recruitment procedures required that those who graduated earlier be given the first priority. At the same time, the TSC code of regulations provided that a qualified teacher could be employed anywhere in the country (Teachers Service Commission, 2005).

Many prospective teachers from outside the area had been trying their luck in the sub-county. This made competition for the few vacancies available very stiff and consequently, the local graduates felt disadvantaged (Mutai, O.I, 2013). He claimed that in the run-up to 2007 General Election, there was anticipation that once the ODM took power in December; all foreigners would leave the area and would be replaced by unemployed Kalenjin teachers. The internal displacement was therefore aimed at not only chasing away those who had been employed there but also to deter future migrations into the area by job seekers.

Azar (1984) argues that deprivation of human needs is a catalyst of protracted conflicts. He points out that conflict resolution can only occur if people’s needs are met. It is not a coincidence therefore that creation of job opportunities for the youth was one of the key recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post - Election Violence (Waki, 2008).

Perceived injustices over land were reported to have contributed to internal displacement in Kuresoi North sub-county (Njuguna, O.I, 2013; Odonde, Rono, O.I, 2014). Although many Kalenjins were unhappy with the presidential election outcome, it presented them with an opportunity to right
some of the historical wrongs committed against them as a community such as acquisition of their ancestral land by non-indigenous ethnic groups and sacking of their kinsmen from civil service (Waki, 2008; Mutai, O.I, 2013). Indeed, some have argued that in the Rift Valley province, the 2007/8 violence had little or nothing to do with the disputed presidential election. This could be so because, unlike Central and Nyanza provinces, Rift Valley had no presidential candidate in the ethnic sense of the word (the main candidates were Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu, Raila Odinga, a Luo, and Kalonzo Musyoka, a Kamba).

The campaigns leading to the 2007 General Election had prepared the group for violence in the post-election violence period. The ugatuzi (federalism) policy advocated by ODM had heightened expectations of Kalenjin that their land grievances would be addressed once the party won the election and formed the government (Mutai, Mibei, O.I, 2013). At the same time, an ODM regime would deter further encroachment on Kalenjin areas by the madoadoa (foreigners). On the other hand, the Kikuyu and Kisii feared that an ODM win would result to forcible removal from their land in the Kuresoi North Sub-county (Kamondai, Mayoyo, O.I, 2013). This argument is confirmed by Kipchumba, a regular commentator with the Nation Newspaper who noted that:

Since the 1990s, this section had been supporting calls for majimbo in the hope of altering land ownership patterns across ethnic lines. What sparked the violence was the land question, or what is referred to as a historical injustice with roots in colonialism. …the government’s land policies since independence were partly to blame for the 2007-2008 violence. People from Central Province (the Kikuyu) alongside the
Kisii became new settlers in Molo, Kuresoi, Uasin Gishu and other parts of the Rift Valley (The Saturday Nation, February 9, 2008:11).

Both the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin attach much importance to land, just like many Kenyan communities. Kimaiyo, (2004) expresses the unique position of land in the daily lives of many ethnic groups in the following terms:

…the relationship with land is not merely a question of possession and production but a material and spiritual element, which they should fully enjoy as well as means to preserve their cultural heritage and pass it on to future generations…. (Kimaiyo, 2004: 14).

Conflicts over land between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu in the area have a long history dating back to the colonial period. For instance, the Annual Report for Nakuru District (1961:4) had noted that:

Inter-tribal tensions increased markedly as the year wore on. The Kalenjin made no secret of the fact that they are stock-piling native arms against the inevitable day, probably after independence, when they will have to fight the Kikuyu and perhaps the Luo for control of their own areas, including the upper and middle Rift Valley.

Bearing in mind the rise in population in Kuresoi North Sub-county, between 1969 and 2007, conflicts involving land were likely to occur. In this period, many Kikuyu settled in this area under the controversial willing-seller, willing-buyer land policy while Kalenjin were beneficiaries of Settlement Transfer Fund (STF) schemes (Gecaga, 2007). Increased population had put pressure on available land, forcing some of the indigenous people to seek ways of recovering land they claim was irregularly allocated to non-indigenous communities.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) obtained evidence to the effect that on February 28, 2008, there was a meeting in
Kuresoi during which local Kalenjin leaders discussed how to purchase Kikuyu farms cheaply from Kikuyu who had left (Waki, 2008). This argument is echoed by Kimani (O.I, 2013) who said that the beneficiaries of cheap or free land from fleeing Kikuyu in previous waves of violence sponsored the 2007 - 2008 violence with an aim of acquiring more. The four major ethnic groups (the Kipsigis, Ogiek, Kikuyu and the Kisii), consider Kuresoi North Sub-county as their homeland. Gebrewold (2009) argues that a ‘homeland’ has to be commonly defended by those who share similar obligations for its protection because it defines ‘them’. They sacrifice their blood for its defense and recovery because it clearly distinguishes ‘them’ from ‘others’. Such deep commitment to land and territory was so strong during the 2007 - 2008 post-election violence that in areas like Muchorwe, Mkulima, Mau Summit and Sirikwa, after suffering heavy casualties in the hands of Kalenjin militias in the first few weeks of the violence the Kikuyu organized counter attacks (Kamondai, O.I, 2013).

The conduct of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) was also reported to have contributed to post-election violence (Chepkemoi, Tugut, O.I, 2013). Preliminary results showed that Raila Odinga, the ODM candidate had been leading until the last hour of vote tallying. In the election, President Mwai Kibaki, the incumbent and PNU candidate was declared the winner under controversial circumstances. This view is corroborated by secondary sources which argued that the ODM leaders and their supporters alleged that they were robbed of victory by the ECK which was accused of favoring the incumbent (Waki, 2008; Kriegler, 2008).
Anke (2009) argues that the ECK, with its power under the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, the Code of Conduct thereto and the Electoral Offences Act which include powers to prosecute did nothing to prevent election anomalies. These included vote-buying and selling, use of public resources for campaign, participation of public servants in campaign activities of certain camps, ballot-stuffing, organizing marauding gangs to ‘zone’ regions and electoral areas, as well as intimidation of opponents using hate speech and ethnic sentiments among others.

The author attributes the ECK weakness to the following: First, is the institutional design and management. Beyond the constitution and section 3(3B) of the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act, there was no law governing many of the ECK’s institutional and operations aspects. For instance, compared to other Kenyan semi-autonomous government agencies and Election Management Bodies (EMBs) elsewhere (such as Malawi and Ghana), the legal framework for the ECK had institutional structure weaknesses. These affected incorporation; chief executive; oath of office; principal office; meetings and procedures; officers and other staff; guiding principles; powers (including quasi-judicial powers); finances, investment of funds; financial year; annual reports; annual estimates; account and audits (Anke, 2009; Kriegler, 2008).

Then there was the issue of composition and appointment of commissioners (Anke, 2009). Debates on reforming the ECK led in 1997 to the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) agreement. The parliamentary opposition would
supply the president with a list of nominees, from which he would appoint ten commissioners to make a total of twenty. Although the IPPG accord was never entrenched in law, President Moi honored this arrangement in 1997 and with the terms of commissioners appointed under the arrangement approaching expiry in 2002, he renewed their appointments (Kriegler, 2008; Anke, 2009). For 2007 election, ten commissioners were replaced in January of the same year with elections scheduled for December (the chairman’s mandate was renewed only in December, after some uncertainty and public debate) this time very shortly before the elections potentially causing significant disruption in the planning and conduction of elections. Quite apart from the effect of the eventual new appointments, uncertainty as to what the president would decide vis-à-vis retaining or replacing the vacating commissioners, as well as the absence of consultation where he did make new appointments, contributed to pre-election tension and undermined the ECK’s credibility as an independent body capable of delivering fair elections (Kriegler, 2008; Anke, 2009).

After 2002, when commissioners died or concluded their terms, President Kibaki replaced them without reference to the IPPG accord (Kriegler, 2008). This caused little initial acrimony, but as he continued to replace commissioners in this manner - especially as the 2007 General Election drew closer - discontent surrounding the matter was rekindled. The President preferred to follow the letter of the Constitution while the opposition demanded he should have observed the spirit of the IPPG agreement. This
issue became particularly acute in 2007, in which year the President appointed fifteen members (Krieger, 2008). The protracted social conflict theory highlights the critical role of state and the nature of its governance in determining the satisfaction or frustration of individuals and identity groups’ need. The government failed to be inclusive by ignoring the IPPG accord. Despite the noise from disgruntled Opposition, the incumbent had his way. As Azar (1984), notes when political authority is monopolized by dominant individuals and groups, the limiting of access to the other groups creates a crisis of legitimacy. The excluded groups have no loyalty to the state and may secede from it or take it over by force.

The 2007-2008 post-election violence was given impetus by the culture of impunity and lack of political will (Bosibori, Njambi, O.I, 2013). This was manifested by the flagrant violation of citizens’ rights without holding the perpetuators accountable and responsible has been a pervasive culture in Kenya for the last forty years (Waki, 2008). Impunity was sanctioned or perpetuated by the state and perfected by non-state actors such as organizations, groups and individuals in several covert engagements. For instance, in September 1992 a Parliamentary Select Committee chaired by Kennedy Kiliku gave a report on the 1992 violence. The committee concluded that 800 people had been killed and that many government officials, security officers, provincial administrators and others had abetted, perpetrated or instigated the violence. The Kiliku Report singled out Ministers William Ntimama and Nicholas Biwott for responsibility, along with a number of other
senior officials. But Parliament which was dominated by KANU MPs rejected the report (Article 19, October 1997).

The argument of failure by the State organs was also noted by the Commission of Inquiry into the Post - Election Violence which observed that:

….despite investigations and recommendations by the Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and other parts of Kenya in 1992, (the Kiliku Committee), The Standing Committee on Skirmishes occurring at the Coastal region in 1998, The Law Society of Kenya Report on Likoni Police Station attack on 13\textsuperscript{th} August 1998, and The Judicial Commission of Inquiry on the Tribal Clashes that occurred in various parts of Kenya since 1991 (Akiwumi Commission), no action was taken to prosecute those culpable (Waki, 2008:446).

It is worth noting that for three years, the contents of Akiwumi Report, which was more comprehensive, were not made public until considerable public pressure was piled on the government (Waki, 2008). The government rejected part of the report that related to the Rift Valley and especially on the culpability of Kalenjin and Maasai communities, and in support of that assertion it produced a 31 page document entitled “Comments by the Government on Commission of Inquiry Report” (Waki, 2008). The commentary, which the government directed should be read together with the Akiwumi Report, concluded:

“….the sad chapter of the clashes in the country’s history should be brought to an end to give Kenyans a chance to start afresh as brothers and sisters in this multiparty era….” (Waki, 2008:447).

Despite the position taken by “the Government”, the Attorney General testified to the Waki Commission that he had in exercise of his independent constitutional mandate, acted on the Akiwumi Report and quoting the relevant part of his press release dated 1\textsuperscript{st} October 2002;
“... the AG directed that diligent and expeditious investigations be carried out against all persons whom the Commission had recommended that they be investigated regarding their role in tribal clashes....the Director of Criminal Investigations ... forwarded to the AG the relevant duplicate inquiry files, 70 in number, for my perusal and necessary action. Of these 70 files the AG ordered further investigations in 40 cases. Of these 40 files, 18 investigation files were returned to the AG. The AG after further perusal ordered further investigations in a number of cases...” (Waki, 2008:448).

Since the Report was an official inquiry into the endemic problem of ethnic clashes, one would have thought the contents of the report would make compulsory reading for all government administrators particularly those working in clash prone areas. However, testifying before the Waki Commission, the Permanent Secretary in charge of Provincial Administration and Internal Security confirmed that he had not read it (Waki, 2008). Some of the Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners who testified before the Commission confessed to have no knowledge of the Report let alone the issues covered therein. In particular the District Commissioner Molo confirmed that he had not read the Akiwumi and Kiliku Reports yet his district was at the epicenter of ethnic clashes. He stated that he had, “intelligence reports in my office and these were sufficient.” (Waki, 2008: 456).

Then there is a symbiotic relationship between the politicians and their supporters which fueled impunity (Waki, 2008). Politicians relied on their support to enforce immunity while their supporters, who committed the violence, got protection from the political godfathers. This relationship created a real and genuine fear among those who enforced the law. For instance, when the Officer Commanding Police Station (OCS), Bureti,
appeared before the Commission and was asked why a concerted effort had not been made by the government to arrest and prosecute those who were alleged to have incited, funded and promoted violence retorted;

“...when you arrest the so-called politicians, people don’t look into the crime. They say that the police have arrested one of their own. We arrested some councilors in Bureti and the crowd was so rowdy. They stormed the whole of Bureti Police Station so much so that we were compelled to release those councilors.” (Waki, 2008: 457).

Other government officials were intimidated and watched helplessly. For example, one Provincial Commissioner when testifying before the Waki Commission said that he feared to order the arrest of the senior politicians involved in the incitement of violence because his job would be at stake (Waki, 2008).

The elements of systematic and institutional deficiencies, corruption and entrenched negative socio-political culture had caused and promoted impunity in Kenya. Individuals in various parts of government whether in civil service, the judiciary, and even in parliament, understood that, irrespective of the laws, the executive arm of government determined what happened. This resulted into a sense of lawlessness that had led to government institutions and officials be seen as lacking in integrity and autonomy. One result of this in the 2007 election was the perception by section of the public that government institutions and officials including the judiciary were not impartial and lacked integrity (Waki, 2008).

In his Protracted Conflict Theory, Azar (1978) notes that the weakness of the state and the nature of its governance is a crucial factor in provoking conflicts.
The element of systematic and institutional deficiencies depicts incompetent and weak governance. When a state fails to treat all members of a political community as legally equal citizens, it is in essence provoking conflicts. As noted in this section, the causes of 2007 - 2008 violence and internal displacement included political competition, perceived injustices over land, economic competition, conduct of ECK, and the culture of impurity.

6.4 Patterns of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 2002 - 2008

As we have already seen, after the 2005 referendum, the Raila’s team formed the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) while Kibaki’s team formed the Party of National Unity (PNU). The two factions maintained a campaign mood. In July, 2006, leaflets warning dire consequences to non-Kalenjin if they did not move from Kuresoi North were dropped at Gacharage, Bochege and Kamara among other areas in the sub-county (Nyambura, Makori, Ndege, O.I, 2013).

Waithaka (O.I, 2013), reported that in August, the same year, at Mwaragania in Mkulima Location, a Kalenjin woman who was collecting firewood at Sirikwa Forest was allegedly raped by a Kikuyu. In a revenge attack in the same evening, Akorino Church at Mwaragania was burned down (Waithaka; Makori, O.I, 2013). Non-Kalenjin in the area ran for their safety and camped at Murinduko Administration Police camp. In a week’s time, a peace building meeting was convened at Murinduko Primary School. It was attended by Amazon Kingi, then Assistant Minister for Provincial Administration and Internal Security, Hassan Noor, then Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner,
local political and religious leaders. But instead of bringing peace, two people were killed at Mwaragania and livestock belonging to non-Kalenjins was stolen in the evening after the meeting (Waithaka and Makori, O.I, 2013). Some residents of these farms moved to other safer areas within Kuresoi while others went as far as Kiambu and Murang’a (in Central Province) and Kisii (in Nyanza Province) (Njoroge, Nyambura and Ndege, O.I, 2013).

The government reacted by setting up more police outposts and brought in more security officers in already existing police outposts in Kuresoi North (Kamondai and Korir, O.I, 2013). In the meantime, incidents of stock theft and stealing of crops in non-Kalenjin farms intensified. Makori (O.I, 2013) recalled an incident where his six heads of cattle were stolen by three Kalenjin youth who were well known to him. When he reported to the area chief, instead of being assisted to recover the livestock, all he got was a dressing down by one Kalenjin elder who said:

You people, we welcomed you back after previous internal displacement and advised you not to rear livestock. You did not heed our advice. Our opinion still remains the same; you don’t keep livestock until we first eliminate these thieves (Makori, O.I, 2013).

Mbaisa (O.I, 2013), another respondent, reported that:

My neighbor’s trees were felled by a well-known Kalenjin saw miller in the village. When the owner confronted him, the saw miller threatened the trees’ owner with a power saw and chased away. When he reported to the nearest police post, he did not get any help. The following day, he hired a lorry and evacuated his family to Molo town.

Kemboi (O.I, 2013), claimed that he attended a political rally a couple of months to December elections. In the rally, the Kalenjin were told of a plan to rig presidential elections in the favor of the PNU candidate. They were
instructed to prepare to teach the PNU supporters (Kikuyu and Kisii) a lesson in case of that eventuality.

Planning for the attacks started in the month of October (Sitonik, O.I, 2013). Night meetings were held and attackers were promised that the ODM Government would ensure that they would be given land left behind by fleeing non-Kalenjin. Kemboi (O.I, 2013) added that:

The network involved politicians, business people, laibons and attackers. The attackers were to be paid daily allowance of 500 shillings before they left for attacks and 500 shillings after they completed the tasks. For destroying a permanent house, the attackers were to be given 2000 shillings and 1000 shillings for a semi-permanent.

Before the 2007 election, the National IDP Network actively documented escalating violence and analyzed it in some detail (Klopp et al, 2010). It was established that aggressors largely came from within the local Kipsigis community (a Kalenjin subgroup), and those targeted were from the Kisii, Luhya, and Kikuyu communities. Some youth from other communities also perpetrated senseless revenge killings (Klopp et al, 2010). The social and political dynamics before the election showed clearly that serious trouble was on the way and the major challenges for local peace building network - as well some of the then approaches to the displaced - looked similar to ineffective strategies in the past.

Throughout this period the government worked to contain the situation, not by investigating higher level perpetrators and ensuring their arrest and prosecution, but by creating new police posts and units at different villages and commercial centres (Klopp et al, 2010; Barasa, O.I, 2014). At the
community level, peace actors joined together, using a bottom-up approach to preventing the conflict by electing elders and youth from every community to oversee peace meetings and reconciliation. Among the actors were National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK), the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru (CDN), provincial administration and the Likia and Beyond Peace and Conflicts Resolution Council (The Daily Nation, September 2007; Kamondai; Makori, O.I, 2013). A collaborative effort by these actors saw intensified peace building activities and increasing local police presence in the area (Kamondai; Makori, O.I, 2013). A fifty-member peace steering committee was also set up in the area, and partnered with the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and the Kenya Human Rights Commission (UN IRIN, July 19 2007; Barasa, O.I, 2014).

Despite such localized successes, hatred and suspicion throughout the region continued and the mistrust among communities was high (UN IRIN, July 19 2007). Nevertheless, there were several initiatives to support reconciliation and resettlement of displaced families, though progress was very slow, with limited government recognition, and with frequent recurrences of violence (UN IRIN, July 19 2007; Klopp et al, 2010). At that time, the situation appeared to be worsening with renewed clashes and acts of intimidation. In August 2007, a local militia group attacked the homes of three opposition candidates, causing them to withdraw from the election, and released a list of approved candidates (The Daily Nation, November 3, 2007). Then, anonymous leaflets warning “foreigners” that they would be attacked if they
did not leave the area were dropped in various areas (Tonui; Mayoyo, O.I, 2013; The Daily Nation, November 3, 2007).

In mid-October the IDP Network, supported by the NCCK and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), held an intensive, three-day training for peace committees from the entire region (including Kuresoi and Likia) at the Baraka Seminary Centre in Molo with more than 160 committee members and 10 chiefs participating (Njogu, O.I, 2013; Klopp et al, 2010). The final evening of the workshop was followed by a night of terror with a Peace Committee member, Mr. Anyona, being shot three times and seven others also seriously injured, including a two-year-old baby. In the same night, eight houses were torched at Kamwaura Trading Centre (Klopp et al, 2010; Njogu, O.I, 2013).

The local administration’s response was very slow, with police arriving five hours after the 3:30 a.m. incident and the District Commissioner and other officials responded in the afternoon (Klopp et al, 2010; Njogu, O.I, 2013). Residents upset by the laxity of the administration’s responses to security issues interrupted the DC’s address, demanding reinforcements for the four police officers currently stationed in the area (Tonui; Njogu, O.I, 2013). Instead of reinforcements, the police presence was withdrawn the following day. Local residents continued to flee the area, seeking refuge at schools, churches, government buildings, and market centres (Klopp et al, 2010; Njogu, O.I, 2013).
6.5 Consequences of Internal Displacement in Kuresoi, 2002 - 2008

The 2007/8 violence claimed lives of estimated 1,133 people (Waki, 2008). In Kuresoi North Sub-county, about 100 people lost their lives while hundreds were injured and maimed (IDCM, 2008; KNCHR, 2008). Most of the respondents recounted scenes of murder of people they knew such as close relatives, neighbors and friends. Most of the deaths were as a result of injuries sustained during the attacks. Other deaths were caused by security forces (Waki, 2008). Kamondai (O.I, 2013), said that Administration Police officers in a post within Mau Summit trading centre gunned down not less than five attackers in December, 2007. In Molo District Hospital, the District Public Health Officer confirmed that on average, the hospital mortuary received 15 corpses on daily basis in January 2008 (Muiru, 2012).

In an incident that occurred next to the Molo Post Office in late January 2008, a Kalenjin man was forcibly taken out of his car after he picked his daughter from St. Mary Mount Secondary School in Molo. He was then killed by a group of Kikuyu militia as his daughter watched and begged for mercy (Mwangi, O.I, 2013). Muthoni (O.I, 2013), whose husband was hacked to death by the attackers narrated that:

….When we heard screams and saw houses on fire, we knew that violence had begun. My house was near Githima where the violence begun. I told my children to run towards the shopping centre as I struggled to run behind them with my blind husband. By then, many people were overtaking us…..the attackers were pursuing us, eventually, my husband advised me to leave him lest both of us be killed….he told me to take care of the children in case he didn’t make it. After a few minutes, I heard him scream and beg for mercy….on arrival at the shopping centre, I heard that he had been killed.
Having witnessed violence and internal displacement, some of the victims became mentally unstable. Bosire (O.I, 2013), narrated incidents where young people committed suicide. For example, one young man hanged himself after he had been left by his wife after the 2007 violence. This was not a unique phenomenon, during the Algerian war of independence; Frantz Fanon (1965) had observed that after prolonged conflicts, some perpetrators and victims of violence suffered from psychosomatic disorders.

Some of the victims of internal displacements who were lucky to be alive were injured, maimed and raped. Respondents narrated how some victims lost eyes and limbs while others had serious body injuries. Anyango (O.I, 2013), said that her brother was hacked during the 2007 violence and left for dead. He was rescued by police officers who took him to Molo District Hospital and was later referred to the Rift Valley Provincial General Hospital (PGH) in Nakuru. The family had to appeal to the Nakuru hospital administrators to waive the medical bill since their resources had been exhausted during the initial stages of treatment at Molo.

A similar case was told by Bosire (O.I, 2013) who narrated how a family of a neighbor who lost an eye during the 2007 eviction had to ask for financial assistance from well-wishers to meet the medical expenses. These accounts were echoed by Njoroge (O.I, 2013) who is the Molo Hospital Superintendent. He revealed that all medical personnel who were on leave during the 2007 conflict were recalled. He said the number of casualties brought to the facility on daily basis during that time was too high. Some victims had deep cuts
while others had arrow heads stuck in their bodies. He added that the burden of paying medical bills fell on the relatives of the patients. In many situations, the patients were released by the hospital when it became obvious that they were unable to pay the medical bills (Njoroge, O.I, 2013).

The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), with financial assistance from Africa Women in Crisis (AFWIC) came in for the rescue of some of women victims who could not afford psycho-social services. Among others, they provided trauma counseling, gynaecological and referral services, legal aid to some of the victims who were dispossessed as well as legal rights education to enable women know their rights so as to pursue rape and other cases in court (Barasa, O.I, 2014). However, very few victims benefited since the majority did not know whether such NGOs existed.

A number of respondents lost personal and household possessions such as academic certificates, title deeds, birth certificates, bicycles, radio sets, television sets, sofa sets, utensils and clothing. Some of the victims had their property looted and houses burnt. When the research was being done, ruins of some of the destroyed houses were still visible. A respondent at Kamara centre narrated that:

Six years ago, providing for family was not a problem because I had money. Today, we live in this shanty with my children, with nothing to eat after we were dispossessed of everything. It hurts to see those who attacked me use iron sheet they took from me as roofs for their cow sheds (Kemunto, O.I, 2013).

Maina (O.I, 2013) added:
When the presidential elections were announced, there were wild screams and war cries all over. The first people to attack my homestead were my immediate neighbors. I ran to Mung’etho RDU (Rapid Deployed Unit of Administration Police) post. The raiders took a few belongings that they could lay their hands on since three months before, I had evacuated almost everything. They poured some fuel on the roof of my house before setting it ablaze. They even attempted to attack the police post but they were repelled.

At Choronok, a Kalenjin village elder’s home was raided by some of his Kalenjin neighbors. Kemboi (O.I, 2013) narrated:

I was away attending a peace meeting at Total trading centre when they attacked. They beat my wife and children while telling them that I was a traitor for working closely with Kikuyu elders and government officials in trying to restore sanity. They set my house on fire, destroying cereals and household items... I stayed in Maasai Den Police Post for three months.

The attack by Kalenjin kinsmen could be construed to imply that going against communal decisions could not be condoned.

Apart from residential houses, business premises were not spared either. Many of those who had shops and food kiosks in both rural and urban areas suffered heavy losses as most were vandalized before being set on fire (Langat, O.I, 2013). Once a budding entrepreneur at Kamara trading centre, Ndege (O.I, 2013), while fishing a rusty coin for his daughter’s sweet nostalgically said that:

My food kiosk was known by many people, some who were truck drivers and came from far. For three years after 2008 violence, I lived with my family in the cold; like lorries, with nothing to eat, after I was dispossessed of everything. Today, my stock of vegetable business cannot educate my children.

Majority of the IDPs in Kuresoi North regrouped in five transit camps; at Deputy County Commissioner’s compound in Keringet, the Assistant County
Commissioner’s compound at Total and at Total – Kericho road junction (where some IDPs still camp), Molo stadium, and at Casino area near Mau Summit. The camps were overcrowded and the IDPs were in deplorable conditions; poor housing, lack of food, safe water and maternal health care, prevalent sexual and gender-based violence, and exposure of children and pregnant mothers to extreme weather conditions (KHRC, August 2008; Kilika and Mburu, O.I, 2014). Soon, well-wishers, religious organizations, local and international NGOs, and the government provided both food and non-food items to the displaced (Barasa and Odonde, O.I, 2014).

In an effort to assist the IDPs, the government set up the National Humanitarian Fund for Mitigation of Effect and Resettlement of victims of 2007/8 Post-Election violence. The fund had two aspects: first, to help IDPs return to their original farms. Secondly, where necessary, settle IDPs in new locations. In helping the IDPs return to their original homes, in May 2008, the government launched *Operation Rudi Nyumbani* (Return Home) programme which included transport and financial support to the returnees. The government and NGOs helped to restart the basic livelihood and reconstruction of simple housing, rehabilitation of community utilities and institutions destroyed during the violence (MSSP, 2011).

By 23rd December 2011, the Ministry for Special Programmes had spent Ksh 2.5 billion on ex-gratia support of Ksh 10,000 per household to 161,759 households (MSSP, 2011). For the IDPs who had their own farms, in the larger Uasin Gishu and Molo districts, the government constructed houses for
them using Ksh 1.5 billion loan from African Development Bank (ADB). A total of 19,000 houses were constructed under the IDP project. In addition, these IDPs were given farm inputs such as seeds and fertilizers (MSSP, 2011).

In Kuresoi North, the government sub-contracted the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and Goal Ireland (Kenya) to construct over 3,021 houses for IDPs (UN OCHA, 2011; MSSP, 2011). The government also, through the Ministry of Land spent over Ksh 1.5 billion to purchase land for 6,978 IDPs families. These were IDPs who by January 2008 had formed 20 Self Help Groups and bought land (which they subdivided into small plots from the money they received from the government through the ex-gratia support). The government bought 2¼ - acre piece of land for each household to avoid overcrowding and creating slums in the areas where they had bought the land (MSSP, 2011). In Kuresoi North, the government bought 230-acre piece of land at Kangawa near Mau Summit and settled 102 households (Waithera; Njeri; O.I, 2014; MSSP, 2011).

Respondents indicated that internal displacement strained relations of residents of the study area. For instance, Chepkemoi and Nyambura (O.I, 2013) indicated that they were not concerned at all on what happened on the ‘other side’ (the areas where members of other ethnic groups lived).

Chepkemoi reported that:

To avoid contact that would be necessitated by fetching water from Kiboko stream, we on this side of the stream dug boreholes in our homesteads. They (meaning Kikuyu) on the other side did the same.

Nyambura (O.I 2013) added that:
…initially, we did not go to Total market center (which was predominantly occupied by the Kalenjin). They (Kalenjin) did not dare venture into Mau Summit town too (Mau Summit was predominantly occupied by the Kikuyu).

During conflict moments, towns and trading centers predominantly occupied by one ethnic community were no-go zones for the other. For instance, Sirikwa, Total, Kuresoi, Kiptoro and Kamara trading centres were exclusively for the Kalenjin (Chepkemoi; Tembur, O.I, 2013). On the other hand, Molo, Mau Summit, Jogoo, Nyakinyua and Murinduko were exclusive for the Kikuyu and the Kisii (Kamondai, O.I, 2014; Tembur, O.I, 2013). The same information was reported by Mwangi (O.I, 2013), who narrated that for the better part of 2008; there were ‘two Sirikwas’. Sirikwa trading centre was for the Kikuyu and the Kisii while Sirikwa Sachoran was for the Kalenjin. Knowing the difference was a matter of life and death. The informant recalled an incident where a relative of his neighbor visited the area in the evening. The visitor, after alighting at the ‘wrong Sirikwa’, was forced to seek protection from the informant when he realized that some young men were pursuing him with the intention to attack. The neighbor arrived with two police officers and reprimanded him for ‘being reckless’ (Mwangi, O.I, 2013).

As an indicator of widened social distance between ethnic groups, although separated by seasonal river, there appeared to be a big psychological barrier between the residents of Murinduko and Kiptororo. The latter is actually a combination of several villages exclusively dominated by the Ogiek, while the former is mainly dominated by Kikuyu and Abagusii (Tugut; Chepkemoi, O.I, 2013).
The government’s efforts to support IDPs after 2007 Post-Election Violence inadvertently widened the rift between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu. The former perceived these efforts as benefiting the Kikuyu exclusively even though they too were affected by the violence (Rono, O.I, 2013). These perceptions were not groundless as they are corroborated by a secondary source; Chuma (2011) who posits that the media (both print and electronic) largely covered Kikuyu victims of the violence to the extent that the term ‘IDP’ came to be synonymous with the Kikuyu’ (Rono; Tonui, O.I, 2013). Temburu (O.I, 2013) added that in areas inhabited by both communities, Kalenjin suffered just as the Kikuyu. The difference, he added, was where the displaced persons sought refuge. While the Kikuyu and Kisii went to IDP camps, the Kalenjin victims were hosted by relatives and kinsmen as integrated IDPs. Mburu (O.I, 2014) concurred and said that since the profiling of IDPs was poorly done, the IDPs in camps were conspicuous and therefore aid from NGOs and the government was mainly directed to them.

When the researcher conducted this work, complaints on neglecting the Kalenjin community were rampant. For instance, Samoei (O.I, 2014) complained that Kikuyu IDPs from outside Kuresoi were brought by the government and settled at Kangawa. He added that the government built a school and dug a borehole exclusively for the IDPs. Similar views were echoed by Wanjiru (O.I, 2014) who said that the IDPs who were settled at Kangawa had not been able to integrate with the local population. She blamed the government for extending special treatment to the IDPs. She argued that apart from being given free land which they have been cultivating since 2011,
the government also provided them with seeds, fertilizers and relief food at the expense of local IDPs. But Wambui, Waithera and Njeri (O.I, 2014) who are some of the IDPs resettled at Kangawa claimed that their neighbors were simply envious of the support they received from the government. They added that they were not received well by residents of the surrounding villages, yet some of them were from the same ethnic group.

Failure of integration of IDPs with host communities has been noted by other researchers as a possible cause of further conflicts. Thus;

New settlements can increase the potential for violent conflicts between displaced and host communities, even if the two groups share cultural identities, as the newcomers’ needs for water, firewood, and other resources create environmental and social damages that spill over to the host community (USIP, Special Report No. 251, 2009: 3).

Internal displacement led to escalation of marital problems (Kisia; Kilika; Njeri, O.I, 2013). The larger conflict at ethnic level created multiple conflicts within families. In some cases, wives abandoned their spouses when the husbands were unable to meet their financial and family obligations. Kilika (O.I, 2014), narrated how families broke down when some of spouses could not put up with life in IDP camps. He gave an example of a case where a husband abandoned his family because of pressure to pay school fees for two secondary school-going children. The abandoned wife ended up co-habiting with a wealthy man neighboring the IDP camp.

Those who moved into IDP camps set up in towns, experienced a breakdown of traditional family life and values common in the rural settings. The traditionally accepted norm among the ethnic groups that live in Kuresoi is
that after puberty, boys live in their own huts separate from their parents (Chumo, Mayoyo, Waithaka; O.I, 2013). However, life in the IDP camps compelled members of a family to share a room. Some of the IDP families in camps were forced to live with their children who were teenagers. The result was that this group was exposed to intimate moments between their parents and the larger population within the camps.

The exposure and the lure of a better life by men in urban areas where most of the camps were located, predisposed many girls into prostitution and early marriages (Njeri, O.I, 2014). This view is corroborated by Kellenberger (2009) who argues that displaced women and girls were often exposed to sexual and gender-based violence in the course of obtaining basic resources such as food, water and firewood. Poverty and lack of any other income-generating activity forced some internally displaced women and girls in prostitution. This observation was noted by Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink’s study (1994: 43) on the war in Uganda in the early 1980s in which they said;

……out of sheer desperation and because of a total lack of other viable options, many refugee women and girls are forced to resort to prostitution……and marginalizing activities…the sheer necessity and desperation to survive may radically modify parental attitudes to children whereby petty theft by kids becomes a means of augmenting family resources and is, therefore, rewarded rather than admonished.

Internal displacement in Kuresoi North has also created extreme feelings of humiliation. Many respondents said that they had suffered multiple displacements and dispossessions. Unsure of what the future held for them, many put up ramshackle structures to serve as their homes. Maina (O.I, 2013), was concerned about the future life of his children since he was a squatter just
like his father had been a squatter in Olenguruone. Some male respondents conceded that their image of being protectors of the family was eroded. Kimani (O.I, 2013) narrated:

…during evictions, children used to scream and shout their fathers’ names hoping they would come to their rescue, only to find their fathers also screaming and shouting for help.

Internal displacement also had thrown upon many women responsibilities traditionally reserved for men thereby eroding man’s traditional authority in many households. Many male respondents revealed that in many families, wives had come to assume unprecedented autonomy, sometimes making unilateral decisions on issues like selling family livestock and engaging in small scale businesses without consulting their husbands. Kisia and Bosire (O.I, 2013) acknowledged that many wives had become ‘headstrong’ and ‘stiff-necked’ and to avoid conflicts, many husbands reluctantly ceded some of their authority. Musima (O.I, 2013) reported:

…fourteen years down the road, I moved from proud breadwinner who used to provide for my family to a man who lives from hand to mouth. My wife has become the provider. I ceded the authority and I don’t ask her where she gets the money from.

At family level, the displacements created humiliations especially in situations where victims were forced to stay with relatives. Some respondents narrated tales of contempt in the hands of relatives. Having fled to their relatives’ homes empty handed, sometimes without sufficient clothing and food, they were forced to depend on their hosts for survival (Chepkemoi, Muthoni; O.I, 2013). What usually started as a sympathetic welcome by host family turned into desperation as their resources became scarce. Muthoni (O.I,
2013) recalled an incident where a relative derided her: ‘Even if your house was burnt, were banks also burnt? The relative could not see how she had failed to save some money in the bank for such an emergency. Chepkemoi (O.I, 2013), who sought refuge with her relative in Kamara trading centre narrated:

My children and I were mistreated by my own family members. In some cases, we worked in their shamba (farm) while they stayed at home. Often, our food was rationed and we had to do with whatever was given to us.

Periodic internal displacements in Kuresoi North had enormous consequence on the quality of education in the area. Some schools such as Jogoo, Nyanja and Mau Summit were burnt or looted in the cause of the 2007/8 violence (Odonde, O.I, 2014; Mutai, O.I, 2013). It took time even after normalcy had been restored before they were rebuilt. Again, others such as Moto, Tobain and Muchorwe were converted into IDPs’ camp during the 2007 Post-Election Violence. This meant that until the IDPs moved out, such schools did not re-open on time.

The effect of internal displacement on education was also noted by the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK). Their report stated that as a result of internal displacement in the larger Molo, over 55 primary and secondary schools with a population of about 16,500 pupils had not re-opened for second term in 1992 due to insecurity (NCCK: 1993). The report further noted that the Standard Eight pupils who were due to sit for their Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) fled their homes in 1993 because of insecurity caused by the violence. This became a common trend in the
subsequent conflicts of 1997 and 2008. Under such conditions, many schools in the area did not re-open when other schools in other parts of the country did and consequently many pupils could no longer access their schools thereby affecting the quality of education in the affected areas (Odonde, O.I, 2014).

The displacements resulted to high school dropouts. In some instances, children dropped out of schools because it became difficult for the parents to discipline them, for that is best done in the privacy of the home and the internal displacements destroyed such privacy (Odonde, O.I, 2014). Consequently, parents lost hold of their children and most of them became truants. This was especially common in situations where displaced families sought refuge in towns. Even for those children who were able to continue with their education, their performance was greatly compromised (MSSP, 2011). Respondents argued that forced transfers of schools, sometimes in the middle of the year; change of teachers; and lack of place to call home; lack of uniforms and trauma as a result of displacements were some of the challenges that demotivated such pupils.

Besides losing their books, displaced students often went hungry and fell sick because of food insecurity and poor living conditions in the makeshift camps and schools (UN OCHA, 2011; Barasa, O.I, 2014). This undoubtedly compromised the quality of education (Odonde O.I, 2014). This opinion may be true since a study done on the impact of conflict on the academic performance in selected schools within Mt. Elgon District found out that five
out of six sampled schools registered a negative index in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) for the year 2008 (Odonde, O.I, 2014).

Wambui (O.I, 2013) added that:

In many areas where they sought refuge, some of these students were looked down upon by fellow pupils and teachers. In schools where they got temporary admission, they were seen as an informal school within the formal one. They were collectively referred to as ‘the IDP students’ since many did not have school uniforms. In such circumstances, and at a time when Free Primary Education (FPE) programme had not been introduced by the government, it was hard for their parents to pay fees leave alone the uniforms.

One of the long term economic repercussions of internal displacements in Kuresoi North was decreased agricultural outputs. The study area which neighbors Mau Forest had adequate rainfall and fertile soils making it a bread basket for Nakuru County (Akiwumi, 1992). It had several Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) farms that produced quality livestock breeds and seeds which were availed to farmers. Consequently, the residents reared dairy cattle and sheep apart from producing vegetables, carrots, peas, potatoes, wheat and other crops. During the internal displacements, these agricultural activities were disrupted leading to losses and low yields.

To start with, cereals were either looted or burnt in granaries during the evictions. For instance, Kemboi (O.I, 2013) lost the entire harvest when his house was set ablaze at Choronok in 2008 violence. Many respondents said that apart from a few residents who managed to cart away their farm produce, majority did not, given the abrupt and violent nature of evictions. Their priorities were to save their lives and that of their families. These victims were
forced to either buy food items or depend on well-wishers for their upkeep (Kesorobi, Nyambura, O.I, 2013; KNCHR, 2008).

In many occasions, evictions happened before harvesting period. Many farmers, therefore, abandoned their crops in their farms. The abandoned crops were either stolen or used as grazing pastures (Nyambura, Koech, O.I, 2013; Waki, 2008). Generally, because of insecurity experienced during these turbulent times in Kuresoi North, land that had previously used for farming and dairy keeping was abandoned by the owners. In the process of data collection, we observed that there were some farms lying fallow. On enquiry, we were told that most of the owners relocated to other safer places such as Molo, Keringet and Nakuru (Mwangi, Kesorobi, Koros, O.I, 2013).

Even in situations where some farmers went back to their farms, the size of acreage under cultivation reduced drastically. This had been occasioned by several factors: one, farming tools such as *jembes* (hoes), ox-drawn ploughs and tractors were destroyed, stolen or lost during the violence. It was not easy to buy some of these tools (Koech, Nyambura, O.I, 2013). Secondly, due to insecurity, many farmers were apprehensive of the future and were therefore reluctant to commit too much of their labor and money in the area. Finally, due to insecurity, many residents got to their farms around 9 am and left at around 3 pm and would then go back to spend their night at the nearby towns and shopping centres. This was the routine of many since the 2008 Post-Election Violence. Previously, most of them could work on their farms for
longer hours. Much time was therefore wasted as they moved to and from their farms (Barasa, 1992; Kesorobi, Koros, O.I, 2013).

The internal displacements resulted in the decline in the livestock farming in the study area. Prior to 1992, many families had grade cows which supplemented their income by selling surplus milk to Molo Milk Company, Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC), and Spin-Knit Limited among others. Koech (O.I, 2013) reported that he had 20 grade cows from which he delivered to the Molo Milk company 100 litres every day. This translated to 50,000 shillings in a month, a substantial amount of money in the rural area where basic food items are cheap. However, after 1992 many dairy farmers lost their cattle while others abandoned the venture due to insecurity. As an indicator of the decline in livestock farming, in the entire sub-county, not a single cattle dip was found to be operational when this study was done. Also, Molo Milk Company which had milk processing factory at Total was not operational either. Owing to poor milk collections from the remaining dairy farmers, the factory was in the process of being sold to Brookside Limited (Koech, Mburu, O.I, 2013).

Some victims of internal displacements in Kuresoi North were dispossessed while others disposed their parcels and moved out to settle elsewhere (Ndege, Kamondai, O.I, 2013). These actions had a net effect of changing the patterns of land ownership in the area. For instance, some 62 non-Kalenjin who had been members of Ndumberi Society and living in Kamara area had left by 2013 (Ndege, O.I, 2013). Formerly Ndumberi Society, the 200-acre parcel
changed its name after the government bought it through Settlement Scheme Trust Fund in 1987. Stephen Ndege, one of the society’s officials and a respondent availed to us the society’s membership register of 1987. We counterchecked the register with the records at Nakuru District land office and noted that the farm had 704 members in 1987. However, in 2013 the scheme had 710 members. The ethnic composition of the farm had fundamentally been altered by the internal displacements as shown in the table below.

Table 4.1: Ethnic Composition of Kamara Settlement Scheme, Kamara Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>No. of members in 1987</th>
<th>% of the Total Membership</th>
<th>No.of members in 2013</th>
<th>% of the Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalenjin</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>79.82</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>98.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>12.92</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisii</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Membership registers of 1987 and 2013 availed by Nakuru District Land Office

As shown in the table, by 2013, the Kalenjin residents had increased by 136 while the Kikuyu had decreased by 83, Kisii by 40 and other communities by 7. Ndege (O.I, 2013) explained that although a few non-Kalenjin residents disposed of their shares voluntarily after being targeted during the internal displacements, many were dispossessed. Local politicians colluded with land officials to deny this group new ‘letters of offer’ that were being issued in 2012 after nullifying ‘letters of offer’ that had been issued in 2002 when the settlement scheme changed its name from Chesubeno to Kamara (Ndege, O.I,
2013). The excuse given was that by the time of ground verification exercise which was done in 2009, these people were not found on the ground. This was despite the fact that during verification exercises, the displaced persons had not returned due to insecurity concerns. Instead, invaders who had put up temporary shelters were allocated the alleged unoccupied parcels despite the fact that evidence of churned remains of evictees’ homes was clear (Ndege, O.I, 2013).

6.6 Summary

The chapter has examined the motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county from 2002 - 2008. It has been argued that in that period, political competition, grievances over land issues, economic factors, conduct of ECK, and culture of impunity played a major role in the conflict. The aspects of Protracted Social Conflict theory could explain why different communities in the study area united and fought. This was due to perceived deprivation of various factors such as political, security and economic needs. This could also explain why some informants blamed government organs such as ECK, police and AG for the violence.

The discussion has further shown that, like in the previous periods, patterns of internal displacement in Kuresoi North during the 2007/8 started with heightened political activities accompanied by incitement. Then, in many instances, organized groups of armed Kalenjin warriors attacked non-Kalenjin while in some cases non-Kalenjins also attacked the Kalenjins. Once again, displaced persons, sought refuge in police posts and stations, school and church compounds before shifting to safer areas and transit camps where well-
wishers, religious organizations and NGOs provided both food and non-food items.

Apart from deaths and destruction of properties, another consequence of the displacement was worsening of inter-ethnic relations in the study area. There was disruption of family values too, where families broke down when some of spouses could not put up with life in IDP camps and ended up co-habitating with wealthy men in the area. The displacement had a negative impact on education in Kuresoi North. The displacement also affected agricultural and business activities in the area. For instance, food production went done while factories closed shop leading to unemployment. Moreover, the fact that many people began to depend on relief food for survivor played a great role in undercutting local economies by creating a dependency syndrome.
7.0 Chapter Seven: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Summary

This study sought to examine trends of internal displacement in Kenya; the case of Kuresoi North Sub-county in the period 1992 - 2008. In particular, it sought to examine motives, patterns and consequences of internal displacement in the study area in the above mentioned period. Global, regional and Kenya’s literature on internal displacement is reviewed before examining literature on the study area.

Historical analysis shows that incidences of internal displacements in Kenya date back to colonial era when the colonial government grabbed the fertile parcels of land and pushed the previous occupants to infertile native reserves. After independence in 1963, displacement over grazing and water resources was common among pastoralist communities in North Rift, Upper Eastern, North Eastern, and Coastal regions. The country also experienced waves of internal displacement caused by conflict over administrative boundaries, drought and heavy rains, sudden and slow-on set disasters, government-sponsored evictions from forestland and water catchments, and election-related factors.

However, large scale internal displacement in Kenya coincided with the onset of multi-party politics in the 1990s. This became a cyclic phenomenon which happened before, during and after General Elections in 1992, 1997 and 2007. The problem; in as much as it also affected some other parts of Coast and Rift Valley Provinces; it very much affected Kuresoi North Sub-county. That
informed the need of this study. Key events that set the stage for ethnic intolerance in Kenya and in the area of the study in particular were identified and discussed. Among these were the Olenguruone land crisis of 1947 and the activities of the land-buying companies in the 1960s.

Chapter four examined internal displacement in the study area between 1992 and 1993. The research findings revealed that political competition and particularly the Majimbo debate and perceived arrogance of migrant communities contributed to the 1992 - 1993 violence and subsequent internal displacement. Patterns of 1992/3 internal displacement started with heightened political activities, planning of attacks and actual attacks. The victims sought refuge in police posts and stations, school and church compounds before shifting to safer areas and camps where well-wishers, religious organizations and NGOs provided both food and non-food items. Some of the consequences of 1992/3 internal displacement were deaths, destruction of property, and dispossession of land as well as strained inter-ethnic relations.

Chapter five discussed internal displacement between 1997 and 1998. The motives were competition for political power and land issues at Mau forest. Patterns of internal displacement in study area during the period under review, just like in 1992/3 period, started with heightened political activities accompanied by incitement. This was followed by leaflets warning non-Kalenjins to vacate the area and attacks and counter-attacks thereafter. The displaced persons, often with no food and inadequate clothing sought refuge in safer areas and camps where they got assistance from well-wishers, religious
organizations and NGOs. Apart from deaths, maiming and destruction of property, the internal displacement in Kuresoi North played a great role in formation and growth *Mungiki* sect. It also made some residents to sell their parcels at throw away prices as they relocated (Koros; Ndege; Kimani, O.I, 2013).

Chapter six examined internal displacement during the 2002 - 2008 period. The causes of PEV were political competition, perceived injustices over land, economic factors, conduct of ECK, and the culture of impurity. The internal displacement started with heightened political activities accompanied by incitement. Then, in many instances, organized groups of armed Kalenjin warriors attacked non-Kalenjin while in some cases non-Kalenjin also attacked the Kalenjin. Once again, displaced persons got humanitarian assistance in form of food and non-food items.

Apart from deaths and destruction of properties, other consequences of the displacement were worsening of inter-ethnic relations, disruption of family values, negative impact on education, changes in land ownership patterns and decreased agricultural outputs (Koech; Nyambura, O.I, 2013).

The Protracted Social Conflict theory has been used to demonstrate how politicians whipped ethnic emotions on perceived or real grievances to win or retain political power. Our analysis has shown that land injustices and economic factors are some of the motives for internal displacement in Kuresoi North Sub-county. This is in line with the deprivation of human needs as argued in Protracted Social Conflict theory. Other motives of internal displacements are the culture of impunity and unsatisfactory performance of
ECK due to poor governance. The Protracted Social Conflict theory identifies the role of state and the nature of its governance as a critical factor in determining the satisfaction or frustration of its people, hence existence of peace or conflict (Azar, 1984).

7.2 Conclusion

The research found out that internal displacements in Kuresoi during electioneering periods started with heightened political activities and Kalenjin politicians incited their community against the non-Kalenjins. It has also showed that 2007-2008 internal displacement was the most destructive and widespread. This was due to better coordination which was attributed to easier access to mobile phones unlike in the previous electioneering periods.

7.3 Recommendations

This study has established that politicians have played a central role in ethnic conflicts in Kuresoi North Sub-county by inciting communities against each other. It is encouraging however to note that the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions have already instituted criminal proceedings against some politicians for hate speech and incitements. Those who are found guilty ought to be disqualified from seeking or holding any political and public office in Kenya.

On land restitution and restoration of land rights, perceived historical injustices revolving around land issues ought to be addressed. The National
Land Commission need to move with speed and streamline land controversies that have haunted areas like Kuresoi North Sub-county for many years.

To address competition for economic opportunities, there is a need to create job opportunities for the youths in the sub-county. The waves of internal displacements created school dropouts and other youths were unable to pursue education to higher levels. Many of these youths do not engage in gainful employment and their desperation has made them available for hire by politician bent on using violence to win elections. Besides, they have become easy recruits by ethnic militias and vigilante groups. The government should devise ways of economically empowering the youths by providing more money through Youth Enterprise Fund as well as enrolling others in technical institutions and polytechnics where they can learn courses such as carpentry, masonry, and tailoring.

For residents who lost their documents such as title deeds and share certificates during the internal displacement, the government should facilitate their replacements so that the victims can recover their land. In areas like Kamara Settlement Scheme where victims of internal displacement were dispossessed of their farms, the government should facilitate their return. In situations where it is impossible for the victims to go back to their farms, the state can compensate them in accordance with the current market rates. This will enable the affected to reconstruct their lives.

Since 2008, only a few perpetrators have been convicted. The International Criminal Court (ICC) is not doing any better either. From the list of six initial
suspects, only two have their cases still going on. It may therefore not be practically possible to bring all perpetrators to retributive justice. Perhaps time has come for residence of Kuresoi North as well as policy makers to give alternative mechanisms a chance to bring inter-ethnic harmony.

One such approach is reconciliation. To build reconciliation, individuals and institutions need to acknowledge their own role in the conflicts of the past, accepting and learning from it in a constructive way so as to guarantee non-repetition. Churches and mosques can be useful agents of reconciliation by advocating for the re-discovering of a new conscience in individuals and society through moral reflection, repentance, confession and rebirth.

Another approach that should be used is memorialization. This refers to the process of creating a memorial for purposes of perpetuating the memory of a person, group of persons, incidents, events or era. Memory, as perpetuated through processes such as memorialization seen in national monuments and commemorative celebrations can assist survivors of human rights violations, through symbolic reparations, to begin the process of healing; and to assist the previous divided society in processes of reconciliation. Memorialization has been applied in South Africa and Rwanda (KHRC, 2008).

A good example of an event that can be memorialized to foster inter-ethnic cohesion is the Sachang’wan accident that occurred on January 31, 2009 along Nakuru-Eldoret highway. A fuel tanker overturned and burst into flames and burnt to death more than 130 villagers who had rushed to siphon the fuel at Sachang’wan town center in Molo Sub-county. Residents in the area have
continued to commemorate the accident in the subsequent years. However, the state has not taken a leading role in these annual memorials. With the support of the government, such a date marked every year, would prove critical in enhancing inter-ethnic harmony in the area.

Finally, a major positive step towards addressing internal displacement problem in Kenya was taken when IDP Act, 2013, was enacted. It domesticated the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, otherwise known as Kampala Convention. Some of the objectives of the Convention are; to promote and strengthen regional and national measures to prevent or mitigate, prohibit and eliminate root causes of internal displacement; and to establish a legal framework for preventing internal displacement, and protecting and assisting internally displaced persons in Africa (Article 19, July 2012).

The Act also incorporated the UN Guiding Principles and the Great Lake Protocols through legislation that largely emphasizes the efficacy of a rights-based response to the problem of internal displacement. Implementation of the Act will go a long way in achieving durable solution to internal displacement in Kenya.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

In the course of the research, it was evident that despite various peace building initiatives being undertaken in the past, the reconciliation has been elusive. Prospective researchers would be interested to do further research on why the approaches used have been ineffective.
References

Archival Data

KNA, *Nakuru District Annual Reports 1961*

Government Reports


Reports of Non-Government Bodies and Institutions


**Journals and Seminar Papers**


Books and Articles in Books


**Theses**


**Internet Sources**


**Newspapers**

**The Daily Nation**


Mureithi, F. (2004, 12th September). “Fresh crisis as State moves to resolve the headache of IDPs.” P.10


**The Standard**

Ngeta, E. (2003, 12th September). “Fourteen years later, it’s a hard life in the cold.” P.12
Appendix 1: Map of the Study Area – Kuresoi North in Nakuru County

Source: Kenya Nation Atlas, 2010
Appendix 2: Consent Form

After explanations for the purpose of the study and assurance that the information given will be treated with confidentiality, I willingly volunteer to be a respondent.

Name ................................ Signature/ Thump Print ..........
Appendix 3: Interview Guide

Part A [Interview guide for government officials, NGOs and religious organizations]

1. a) In your opinion, what have been the motives for internal displacements in Kuresoi during the following periods:
   i) 1992-1993?
   ii) 1997-1998?
   iii) 2007-2008?

b) Was there internal displacement in 2002-2003?

2. How would you describe political activities before the periods stated in 1 (a) above?

3. a) In your opinion, were there plans to evict some people in the area?
   b) If so, who were the planners?

4. a) Who were the attackers in the periods stated in 1 (a) above?
   b) Who were the victims?

5. What was the timing of the attacks?

6. a) What was the nature of evictions?
   b) How did the IDPs leave their abodes?
   c) Where did the IDPs go?

7. a) Was there any assistance accorded to IDPs?
   b) If so, who assisted the IDPs?
   c) Was the assistance adequate?

8. Was there attempt to resettle the IDPs?

9. a) Has the internal displacement affected inter-ethnic relations of residents in Kuresoi?
   b) If so, how?
10. What are the consequences of internal displacement in Kuresoi?

11. In your opinion, what can be done to solve the problem of internal displacement in Kuresoi?

**Part B [Interview schedule for IDPs]**

1. For how long have you been a resident of Kuresoi North Sub-County?

2. a) In your opinion, what have been the motives for internal displacements in Kuresoi during the following periods:
   b) Was there internal displacement in 2002-2003?

3. a) Have you been displaced in the periods stated in 2(a) above?
   b) How would you describe political activities before the periods stated in 2(a) above?

4. i) In your opinion, were there plans to evict some people in the area?
   ii) If so, who were the planners?

5. a) What preceded the attacks?
   b) Did you identify the attackers?

6. What time did the attacks in the periods stated in 2(a) above happen?

7. How has the internal displacement affected you personally? For example,
   a) Have you lost a family member or a neighbor to the violence?
   b) Has any of your relative or neighbor been injured? If so, who catered for their treatment?
   c) i) Have you lost any property during the internal displacements?
      ii) If so, approximate the total loss you incurred in Kenya Shillings.

8. a) Have you been in Kuresoi during the periods stated in 2(a) above?
   b) If so, explain what happened.
   c) How did you leave?
d) Where did you go to?

9. a) Did you get any assistance during the momentary displacement?
   b) If so, who assisted you?
   c) Was the assistance adequate?

10. a) After momentarily displacement in 2(a) above, did you go back to your occupation?
   b) Were you assisted to resume your occupation?

11. a) Has the internal displacement affected inter-ethnic relations of residents in Kuresoi?
   b) Do you know of any mixed marriages that have been affected by the internal displacement?
   c) If so, how?

12. a) How would you describe the duration that you had been momentarily displaced?
   b) How has the internal displacement affected education in Kuresoi?

13. a) During periods of displacements, did you stay together as a family?
   b) Do you think values were affected by internal displacements?
   c) If so, how?

14. a) Did the displacements affect cultural aspects of the ethnic groups in Kuresoi?
   b) If so, how?

15. a) What has been the role of vigilante groups in the internal displacements?
   b) Do you think such groups offer alternative security in the absence of State security?

16. a) Do you own a piece of land in Kuresoi? If yes, what is its size?
   b) Prior to 1992, how did you utilize your land?
i) Crop production  
ii) Dairy farming

iii) Both (i) and (ii)

iv). Any other

c) In your estimation, what was your monthly income for the economic activities named above?

17. a) Do you still have access to your land?

   b) If yes, how much of it is under effective cultivation?

   c) What is your monthly income from farming activities currently?

   d) How has the internal displacement affected your farming activities?

18. In your opinion, what can be done to solve the problem of internal displacement in Kuresoi?

**Part C [Interview schedule for political leaders and elders]**

1. For how long have you been in Kuresoi?

2. How would you describe ethnic relations of communities in Kuresoi before 1992?

3. a) In your opinion, what have been the motives for internal displacements in Kuresoi during the following periods:


   b) Was there internal displacement in 2002-2003?

4. How would you describe political activities before the periods stated in 3 (a) above?

5. a) In your opinion, were there plans to evict some people in the area?

   b) If so, who were the planners?

6. Has the internal displacement affected the Kalenjin community? If so, how?

7. a) Has the internal displacement affected inter-ethnic relations of residents in Kuresoi?
b) Do you know of any mixed marriages that have been affected by the internal displacement?

c) If so, how?

8. a) Did the displacements affect cultural aspects of the ethnic groups in Kuresoi?

b) If so, how?

9. What happened to the property of the displaced persons?

10. In your opinion, what can be done to solve the problem of internal displacement in Kuresoi?
## Appendix 4: List of Informants (NB. Pseudo Names)

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<td>Patrick Kirui</td>
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<td>Nakuru</td>
<td>13/01/2014</td>
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Appendix 5: Research Authorization Letter

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471, 2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/15/64017/8506

Date: 2nd December, 2015

Douglas Muriithi Mutugi
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Trends of internal displacement in Kenya: The case of Kuresoi North Sub-County, 1992-2008,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nakuru County for a period ending 30th November, 2016.

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

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

DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nakuru County.

The County Director of Education
Nakuru County.