

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

**DYNAMICS OF INTER-CLAN CONFLICT BETWEEN THE
DEGODIA AND THE GARRE OF MANDERA COUNTY,
KENYA; 2008-2015**

BY MUKTAR ABDI

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work, and it has not been presented for a degree in any other university or institution of higher learning.

Signature.....**Date**.....

Name: Muktar Abdi

Registration Number: C50/CTY/PT/29523/2014

This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

Signature.....**Date**.....

Name: Dr. Mwangi Owino Susan.

Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my entire family members for their support, love and encouragement throughout the period of my studies.

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ABSTRACT

Various communities in Kenya have had conflicts over time with the pastoral communities taking the lead. More specifically the Northern part of Kenya registered several inter clan conflicts with Somali sub tribes fighting over resources. However, the Garre and the Degodia stand out as the two had adverse relations for several decades. This study therefore, focused on inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre of Mandera County in the period 2008-2015. It seeks to investigate the dynamics of inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre in Mandera County. The main objectives were to examine the causes of inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2008-2010. Secondly, the study interrogated the implications of the political pact between the Garre and Murule clans on the inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the years of 2011-2015. Lastly, the study assessed the implications of devolution on inter-clan conflicts between the two clans named above. A descriptive research design was used in the study and qualitative method was the main approach. The study used protracted social conflict theory. The study was carried out in Mandera County, in particular Rhamu Sub County and Mandera town, the County headquarters. The study targeted residents of Mandera County both male and female of 18 years and above. Purposive and snow balling sampling techniques were used in the study. Both primary and secondary data sources were used. Primary data was obtained from direct interactions with the respondents in the field through interviews and focus group discussions. Archival sources were also consulted and Secondary data was obtained from journals, published and unpublished books, theses, dissertations, conference papers, reports, newspapers and internet sources. The findings revealed that the major drivers of the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia are grazing land, pastures, water and political-economic exclusions in Mandera County. Additionally, the findings also revealed that the Garre Murule pact of 2013 intensified the Garre Degodia conflicts. It was also revealed that the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia took international dimension especially when each clan sought the support of their kinsmen in Ethiopia and Somalia. The findings of the study will be significant as it will help inform policy interventions in addressing inter-clan conflicts generally and specifically those in marginalized areas of North Eastern region in particular.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ethnicity: The feeling of ‘we they’ syndrome that crop up due to competition of resources and identity.

Inter-clan conflicts: It is the disharmony of two or more ethnic groups due to shared ideas or interest leading to a clash.

Ethno-religious conflict: The disharmony of two or more ethnic groups based on religious beliefs, ideologies and practices.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

In the current century, due to increased uneven development and communication, nations are becoming multi-religious and multi-ethnic thus ethnic and clan conflicts are unavoidable.

In Latin America, Graham, Gurr, United States, National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, United States National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, & Task Force on Historical and Comparative Perspectives (1969) points out that there are varied legacies of conflict and violence including family and clan conflicts. The conflicts are attributed to race relations, workers' rights, opposition struggles and the revolutionary changes. In this regard, Kay (2001) contends that in the recent decades, rural conflicts and violence have increased tremendously in Latin America due to multiple causes such as unmet social and political grievances, and agrarian structure. On his part, Ledrich (1995) articulates that lack of cross cultural training among Latin American communities and some level of state weaknesses are the major drivers of the conflicts in the continent. Additionally colonial legacies and wars of independence have contributed to conflicts among clans in Latin America (Princeton, 2016).

Studying conflict in Asia, Parks, Colletta & Oppenheim (2013) contend that conflicts in Asia are ranked among world's largest running and lasting for multiple generations. With regard to this, Adam & Anwar (2005) argue that Asia is prone to sub-national conflicts that are characterized by struggle for control of sub-national territories within states. Scholars such as Johnson (2007) and Ganguly & Macduff (2003) have noted that these conflicts impacts negatively on development and state capacity in terms of performance thus a need to dig deep into their root causes and address them.

In Africa, Venkatasawmy (2015) noted that many nations witnessed conflicts in the last three decades. Majority of these conflicts are inter-clan in nature and are commonly experienced among pastoral communities where competition for pasture, land and water resources is a common phenomenon (Mkutu, 2001). Mbowura (2014) articulates that northern Ghana has for many years experienced ethnic conflicts posing challenges of insecurity and lack of peaceful coexistence. Communities fight over merger resources such as land, pastures, water and farms as witnessed in 1991 and 1992 when the Gonja and Nawuri were fighting over land. Further, Ghana News Agency, (2010) reported that in 2010, two clans in Gbankoni and Kambatiak clans were involved in a conflict due to land. As a result of the conflict the two clans sent away women

married from each side. However, religious organizations such as the Catholics were involved in bringing peace between the warring communities.

In Uganda, Quinn (2004) notes that long history of ethnic clashes since 1860s especially between the north and south of Uganda. The conflicts, however, intensified in post-colonial era from 1962 due to ethnic political environment. For instance, during the Amin regime conflicts were racial in nature with Asians being declared non citizens by the government and left the country in exodus with their properties confiscated. In 1986, the conflict developed a religious dimension with rebel leaders agitating for a Christian based government founded on biblical Ten Commandments. Political party divisions later on became ethnicized under Museveni rule. Kasozi (1994) concurs with the above author on the history of the inter-clan conflicts in Uganda. He notes that these conflicts could be traced back in the 1960s, caused by disputes over land ownership, cattle rustling, and natural resources. For instance, in Karamojong and Lango, violence on clan basis were always a recurring episode and persisted in Uganda amongst different communities both urban and rural. Alice Lakwena and later Joseph Kony headed brutal rebel forces causing great atrocities to the people of Uganda. Joseph Kony led the infamous Lord Resistance Army waging

the most barbaric war in Northern Uganda killing thousands of innocent civilians and displacing nearly million others while making them refugees in their own nation. These conflicts were based on resources, political power, religious differences and cultural diversity. In addition, IRIN News (2005) reported that inter-clan conflicts had been witnessed in North-eastern region of Uganda, between the Bokora and the Pian clans. The conflicts were due to cattle rustling, access to land, pastures and water. These conflicts accelerated later due to proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) which were as a result of wars in the entire IGAD region notably the Lord Resistance Army, the Somali civil war; the Sudan conflict and Eritrea – Ethiopia boundary war.

Studying inter-ethnic conflicts between the Nuer and Mule in Jonglei state of south Sudan, Yoshida (2013) posits that the conflicts are environmental in nature involving competition over resources such as pastures. Since 2005, the conflicts changed from resource based to identity driven wars resulting in ethnic hatred among the different communities. Shulika and Okeke-uzudike (2013) attributes these conflicts to cattle raids, grazing lands and generally access to natural resources. Despite local and international efforts of peace making the conflicts continued unabated rendering south Sudan in a state of persistent political violent conflicts. In addition, All Africa (2014)

reported that in Warrap state in South Sudan, inter-clan clashes between Wun-Adel and Wun- These erupted over women rivalry. Illegal weapons in the hands of bandits increased the conflict leading to the loss of lives and destruction of property. The actors of this conflict were mainly the unemployed youth from the two warring communities.

Bertin (2004) notes that inter-clan conflicts in Somalia existed since 1960s. The clans in this region initially were fighting over grazing lands and watering points. This has changed over time with the conflict becoming political in nature. For instance, in the 1990s after the collapse of the Somali state, clan conflicts intensified in Somalia with each clan fighting for political space, state power and resources resulting into total breakdown of law and order. The stronger tribes split the state among themselves resulting in prolonged conflicts led by powerful war lords and clan militias. IRIN News (2009) further reported that in Somalia, in Sattile region many families had fled due to inter-clan wars. The report indicated that the inter-clan fights were between the Reer Nour of Awdal and Reer Hared of Gabiley. The conflict dates back to 1998 due to political differences between the two clans. However, the conflict has transformed itself as communities are fighting over myriads of incompatible interest. Scholars such as Black& Schaefer (2011) further observed that the collapse of the state in Somalia for decades, led to

more intensified inter-clan conflicts and increased over time. Differences in religious ideologies compounded by complex clan identities became the main pillars of the Somali people leading to protracted social conflict between different clans. Somalis' political structures are defined by clan identities and ideologies based on Islamic interpretation with extremists clashing with the moderates.

In Kenya, Mworia and Ndiku (2012) posit that there exist conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana. The authors point out that the conflicts are based on competition over water, pasture and borders. In addition, lack of communication and interaction further intensified these conflicts. On their part, Kimutai & Aluvi (2013) explained that inter-clan conflicts in Kuria East are mainly from cattle rustling. Notable cases are the conflicts between Nyabasi and Buvirege clans that dates back to 2009. The causes of these conflicts were noted to be incitement by public opinion, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, high illiteracy levels, clan politics and porous borders. These conflicts have led to development projects slowing down despite measures by the government to curb the conflict.

Griffon Africa Ltd (2016) indicated that inter-clan conflicts are evident in Wajir North between Ajuran and the Degodia. These clans are fighting for their own political survival, grazing land and water. Alio (2012)

studied conflicts between Garre and Murule in Mandera. He observed that the conflict is fuelled by search for diminishing critical resources for the nomadic community leading to insecurities in the region and displacement of people. Salad (2015) gives an overview of the Garre - Degodia conflicts in Wajir. She noted that the conflicts have been escalating since May 2014.

Despite the above many studies, very little scholarly attention had been given to the dynamics of conflicts among the Garre and the Degodia in the period 2008 to 2015 in Mandera County. What existed were fragmented information on the causes of the conflicts. The role of the Garre and Murule political pact in this conflict had in particular not been given scholarly attention. This is the gap that the study intends to fill in by examining the dynamics of the inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in Mandera County from 2008-2015.

1.2 statement of the problem

Throughout the most recent decades, the Garre and the Degodia have engaged in recurring violent conflicts that have influenced relations between various groups in Mandera County. The dynamics of the two clan conflicts have, however, changed with the birth of devolution and new claims have emerged, with each clan claiming ownership of

previously unknown wells, grazing land and boundaries. This study will interrogate the new dynamics in the Degodia-Garre conflicts in the period 2008-2015. As the background demonstrates, little in depth research had been done on these dynamics. This study begins by examining the factors informing inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre of Mandera County.. Further, the study interrogated the implications of the political pact between the Garre and Murule clans on the inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and the Garre. The study then proceeded to discuss how the devolved new system of government has contributed on the escalation of inter-clan conflict between Degodia and Garre communities.

1.3 Research objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives

1. To examine the factors that informed inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2008-2010.
2. To interrogate the implications of the political pact between the Garre and Murule clans on the inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2011-2015.
3. To assess the implications of devolution on inter-clan conflicts between the Garre and Degodia in Mandera County.

1.4 Research questions

This study sought to answer the following questions

1. What factors informed inter-ethnic conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2008-2010?
2. What were the implications of the political pact between the Garre and the Murule clans on the inter-ethnic conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2011-2015?
3. What were the implications of devolved government on inter-clan conflicts between Degodia and Garre?

1.5 Research premises

The proposed study assumed that

1. There were several factors that informed inter-ethnic conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2008-2010.
2. That the political pact between the Garre and Murule contributed to the acceleration of the inter-ethnic conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in the period 2011-2015.
3. That the devolved government contributed to the inter-ethnic conflicts between the Degodia and Garre

1.6 Justification and significance

Scholars have documented the historical dynamics of the conflicts in the Northern Frontier region. The works of Awuor, (2003), Alio (2012) and Mworira and Ndiku (2012) are notable examples. While some blame the conflict on clans (International region information network, 2015) others allege that these conflicts are based on claims of migrants against resident groups (Katamu, 2013). Still another group of scholars have interrogated the implications of the conflicts on the economy. Such scholars have noted that the reasons why counties of Mandera and Wajir have not recorded observable economic development is attributed to the intermittent conflicts (Ruto, Adan and Masinde, 2014). Low literacy level in Mandera, high rate of post-delivery deaths by mothers and increased child mortality have also been blamed on the conflict (Schilling et al. 2012). This notwithstanding, few studies have been dedicated to understanding conflict dynamics in the context of devolution. This study attempts to fill these gaps by interrogating the changing trends in the Degodia-Garre clan conflict in the period 2008 to 2015 with an in-depth analysis on how the new system of governance affected the conflict dynamics between two communities of Mandera County..

Mandera County was significant in this study since prolonged ethnic conflicts were witnessed in the County. Additionally, the County is a

home to the Degodia and Garre communities, the major focus of this study.

2008 was chosen as the year of focus since this is the time when the current conflict between the Degodia and the Garre begun with the election of Abdikadir Mohammed from the Degodia clan as the MP for Mandera central constituency. 2015 was important as the year renewed fighting broke out between the two sub tribes registering several deaths and destructions of properties.

The Garre and the Degodia were chosen for study because the two communities witnessed recurring conflicts for a longer period of time in Mandera County. Moreover, the Garre fought with other clans like the Murule in Mandera and Ajuran in Wajir North hence the need to find out the reasons for such conflicts. Similarly in the past the Degodia had endured conflicts with the Ogaden and Ajuran in Wajir County.

Findings of this study will be helpful to both the County and the National government officials in Mandera in coming up with policies and mitigation measures geared towards managing clan conflicts not in Mandera only but as well in other parts of the country as similar conflicts persist, notably, in Garissa, Tana River and in the North Rift Counties of Baringo, West Pokot; Elgeyo Marakwet, Samburu and Turkana.

Further, the study will help the upcoming generations particularly the youths in guiding their attitudes towards embracing peace and harmony in the society while reflecting on historical knowledge of the former Northern Frontier Districts.

The research findings will enrich existing body of knowledge for researchers, academicians, development planners and NGOs in understanding the nature and dynamics of the conflicts, its economic; social and political impact to the pastoral communities in Kenya particularly Mandera County.

1.7 Scope and limitations

The study focused on the dynamics of inter - clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre of Mandera County in the period 2008-2015. Despite the constant conflicts between and among diverse clans in the region, this study only focused on the Degodia and the Garre owing to the intensity, destruction and protracted nature of their conflicts. Although the study was carried out in the period 2008-2015, the research stretched beyond this period to collect data on the history of the conflicts' as found necessary. Conflicts continued to emerge repeatedly in 2016 and were examined as well.

The researcher encountered several challenges that included the sensitivity of the research topic that made respondents insecure to give the information needed. However, this was limited by assuring the informants that the study was purely meant for academic purposes and that the information gathered will be handled professionally. Additionally, security was a challenge to the researcher given the polarity of the northern part of Kenya. However, this was delimited by getting support from government security officers, clan elders and local administrators who understood well the clan political environment in the area of study.

Moreover, the researcher faced financial constraint as the vastness of the county was demanding. This was solved through limiting the study area to Mandera and Rhamu towns. In some cases the researcher faced conflicting and unfounded claims regarding the nature, causes and origin of the conflicts. To solve this, the researcher made use of judgment and knowledge based on the available evidence on the ground and to arrive at a more scholarly and non-partisan conclusion. Finally, getting women respondents proved difficult since in Somali culture, women would not discuss conflict issues without the consent of their husbands, fathers and elders. The researcher relied on information from relatively urbanized

women found in Mandera town as they were more enlightened than their rural counterparts.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter contains the review of related literature and the gaps that the researcher wish to identify and fill in and the theoretical framework that will guide this study to the end.

1.8.1 Review of related literature

Scholarly works exist on violent conflicts across the world. Such include the work of Croissant and Trinn (2009), Yoshida (2013), Walker (2014), Salad (2015), Alio (2012) and Mbowura (2014) which will be of immediate relevance to the study.

Walker (2014) asserts that racism and inter-ethnic violence is in the rise in Europe. Several factors such as globalization, migration flows, refugees and costly European Union political enlargement were observed as the main causes of European conflicts. The author further posits that schools have played critical role in promoting values of inter-cultural co-existence, inclusivity and integration methods that uses non-violence methods designed to promote assimilation in a complex institutional framework. However, outside schools' environment in Europe ethnic conflicts and racial discrimination are rampant. This scholar's work informs this study on the causes of conflicts and how institutions of

education play critical roles in preventing conflicts in Europe. However, his study was undertaken in Europe while this study will be carried out in Mandera County of Kenya. Additionally, Walker studies covered many ethnic groups in Europe in which the dynamics of conflicts are totally different from that of Africa while this study only focuses on two ethnic groups, the Degodia and the Garre in Mandera County. Moreover, the author did not explain the changing trends of the conflicts in Europe, which is the major focus of this study with close reference to the Degodia - Garre conflicts in Mandera.

Mutlu (1999) studied ethnic relations and conflicts in central Europe. She points out that there are three kinds of ethnic conflicts in Europe that changed over time. The first conflict was witnessed prior industrialization instigated by evolving religions development. The second occurred during the industrialization era based on social classes. The last conflict resulted from highly-industrialized society and gender movements characterized by demands for equality by women. This showed that Europeans conflicts' dynamics and their debate in nature continued in the 21st Century with immigrations, refugees, terrorism, religion and nationalism taking centre stage. Mutlu ideas inform this study on the changing nature of conflicts in different societies of the world. However, she studied conflicts in general while this study focuses

on inter-clan conflicts only. Mutlu's study was conducted in European cities with great differences in political democracy, economic development, cultural and social cohesion while this study was done in Mandera County of Kenya with profound political, social-economic and cultural background.

Quinn (2004) noted that, ethnic clashes have long history in Uganda since 1860s especially between the north and south of Uganda. The conflicts, however, intensified in post-colonial period from 1962. For instance, the conflict during the Amin regime were racial in nature with Asians declared non-citizens, their properties confiscated and expelled from the country. In 1986, the conflict changed to political Christian with some agitating for a Christian based government founded on the biblical Ten Commandments. Political party divisions later on became ethnicized under Museveni government. The ideas of this author informs this study on the nature of conflicts' dynamics in Uganda, which is relevant to this study on inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia-Garre in Mandera County. However, his work took place in Uganda while this study was done in Mandera. The author also did not outline concrete measures to solve such conflicts. This is the gap that this study intends fills with special reference to the Degodia- Garre conflict in Mandera.

Shulikaand Okeke-uzudike (2013) notes that south Sudan is a country that consist of diverse ethnic groups with different cultures. This country has gone through inter-ethnic conflicts prior and after independence. These conflicts were ignited due to cattle rustling, grazing lands and access to natural resources. It was observed that the conflicts continue persistently despite local and international efforts of peace making rendering South Sudan remain in a state of desperation. These ideas inform this study on inter-ethnic conflicts in the sub region, which is also the focus of this study in Mandera County. However, the authors did not give the ethnic identity groups that were under conflicts nor provide critical approaches to resolve such conflicts. These are the gaps that this study will fill with a special attention on the inter clan conflict between the Degodia and Garre of Mandera county.

In Central African Republic, Jennings (2015) assert that conflicts in this country is historically rooted in poor governance, inequalities and discrimination. In addition, the author noted that there is existence of perennial conflicts by pastoral communities over grazing land rendering peace making a difficult process to resolve the conflicts as the government lacked the capacity to address the contentious issues dividing the people through inclusivity of all groups in the country such as the refugees. The author informs this study on the causes of conflicts

and gives ways to resolve them. However, his study on conflicts was too general presenting a probability that important dynamics of the conflicts were overlooked. These are the aspects that this study unmask with reference to the Degodia and Garre conflicts in Mandera County. Further, the author failed to recognize any pact between the conflicting parties, which is also a focus of this study. Moreover, his study was undertaken in Central Africa Republic while this research was carried out in Mandera County.

Alio (2012) studied conflicts between Garre and Murule in Mandera. He observed that the conflict was fuelled by competition over diminishing natural resources leading to persistent violent conflicts in the region and displacement of people. His study focused on the Murule –Garre conflict and considered relevant to the study on the Garre-Degodia conflict. However, the author failed to explain the changing dynamics in the conflict, an aspect this study intends to address with special reference to the Degodia - Garre conflict in Mandera County.

Mworia and Ndiku (2012) notes that there exist conflict between the Pokot and the Turkana in the North Rift region. The authors noted that the persistent conflicts were caused by competition over water, pasture and borders. Further, lack of structured inter-communal communication and interactions between the warring parties fuelled these conflicts with

ever increasing hostilities. The authors' ideas are relevant to this study as, they captured the causes of conflict between different ethnic groups. However, the Mworira and Ndiku (2012) did not illustrate the dynamics of the conflicts, a significant factor in this study.

The literature reviewed above indicates that several works were done on inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya, regionally and globally. However, there are several gaps that the review identified which needed an indepth scholarly attention. While the scholars' failure to examine the dynamics of the Degodia-Garre conflicts is a concern none had also given the impacts of Murule-Garre political pact on this conflict. This study made use of data from various related fields to address these gaps.

1.8.2 Theoretical framework

There are several theories that could be used to explain the many conflicts among different communities particularly the Somali sub tribes in Kenya. These theories include the conflict theory, social identity theory and the Homer Dixon theory.

Conflict originated from the works of Karl max who posited that conflicts in society are majorly caused by inequality in the distribution of resources (Shakul, 2000). The powerful social groups coerce the poor masses to follow their will and advance their interest struggling over the

control of the limited resources. However, this theory does not explain why some conflicts change over time. Moreover, this contradicts the functionalist perspective that views a society as a body with several organs working towards the same goals and interest.

Tajfel developed the social identity theory in 1979 explaining how groups discriminate others on social identity perspective in order to achieve self-esteem and recognition. As a result, groups' social identity produces discrimination against others leading to hatred (McLeod, 2008). This theory is vital in explaining why communities hate each other but is appropriate to use in this case since it does not fully explain how in-group nepotism may result in violent behavior towards out-groups and in so far as the theory cannot explain why social constraints such as extreme poverty plays a bigger role in behavior than social identity.

Given the short comings of the above theories, this research made use of the protracted social conflict theory, developed by Edward Azar in the 1980s. According to this framework, conflicts occur over various factors including inequality in distribution of resources, security; unfair political system; poor governance, unmet basic needs such as grazing lands and water among many others. The supporters of this theory argue that conflicts are common in the world ranging from inter-personal, Intra-estate, Inter-state, inter-ethnic and inter-clan conflicts (Azar, 1990). In

Mandera County ecological resource scarcity caused by perennial drought, land degradation and climatic changes combined with political corruption induced inter-ethnic violence. Conflict created structural scarcity as violence was used to displace populations from resource rich to resource poor areas.

The study explains competing demand of pasture and water between the Garre and the Degodia in Mandera. Equally, the study will reveal if colonial powers created conducive environments for conflicts to occur. Therefore, this theory will be used to explain the violent struggle and prolonged conflict over pastures, land and water resources coupled with political differences between the Degodia and the *Garre*.

1.9 Research Methodology

Introduction

This section discusses the methods that will be used to carry out the study and comprises the research design, the study location, the target population and the sampling techniques that were used to select the study population. Further, the section contains the data collection instruments, the validity and reliability of the tools, data collection procedures, analysis and presentation methods. Finally, the section presents the ethical issues considered in the course of this study.

1.9.1. Research design

The study made use of descriptive research design and both qualitative and quantitative approaches were applied. However, qualitative method of research was the primary approach. The design is significant to this study since it allows for in-depth collection of data on dynamics of inter-clan conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre of Mandera County ascertaining people's narratives, opinions; attitudes and feelings.

1.9.2 Site of the study

This study was conducted in Rhamu Sub County and Mandera town the County headquarters. The County covers an area of 25,991.5 Km² and is

located in the North Eastern part of Kenya. To the north, the county borders, Ethiopia, Somali Republic to the East, and Wajir County to the South - West. (GoK, 2013). The county comprises of six sub-counties namely: Banissa, Lafey, Mandera West, Mandera East, Mandera North and Mandera Central. These with 22 divisions, 97 locations and 141 sub-locations. over ninety percent of the land is communally owned and used for common grazing with few pockets of rain fed farming and irrigation along the banks' of River Daua. Over ninety five percent of the county is semi-arid with dense vegetation of thorny shrubs and 'mathenge' trees - locally known as Ali Gorob (GoK, 2013).

1.9.3 Target population

The study targeted both male and female Somali persons of 18 years and above in Mandera County with more focus on the members of Degodia and Garre communities as they are majorly the residents of the study area and have first-hand information on the dynamics of the conflicts under study. Clan elders, religious leaders, chiefs and senior administrators were targeted for interviews since the communities under study found within their areas of jurisdiction and hold important information on the causes, nature and changing trends of the inter-clan conflicts between the Garre and Degodia, the subject of this study.

1.9.4 Sampling techniques

Random, snowballing and purposive sampling were used to select the sample size for this study. Random sampling was applied since it allows the target population an equal chance of selection to the sample as participants thereby avoiding biasness. Snowballing sampling was used as the area of study is sensitive in clan politics with high prevalence of insecurity, therefore, an insider knowledge was needed. Purposive sampling was preferred to select the clan elders, chiefs and the County administrators because the researcher considers them as persons with vital information needed to enrich this study.

1.9.5 Data collection instruments

Both primary and secondary data were used in this study. Primary data was obtained from direct interaction with the respondents in the field through focus group discussions, key informant interviews; oral interviews; personal narrations and Archival sources were also consulted. Secondary sources were obtained from a critical textual analysis of the textbooks, thesis, dissertations, magazines, newspapers, journals and reports.

1.9.6 Validity and Reliability

To establish the validity and reliability of the research instruments, the researcher made use of triangulation method in comparing information from different research tools for accuracy, then gave an explanation of the similarities and variations in the data. To ensure accurate validation, the research instruments were sent to the responsive departments, the research experts, and the supervisors to ascertain the correctness of the documents.

1.9.7 Data collection procedures

The researcher sought authorization of the study from NACOSTI and then proceeded to the County of Mandera and sought permission from the administrators. Once given authorisation for data collection, the researcher approached the respondents, explaining the purpose of the study to the participants while focus group discussions and interviews were in progress, the researcher took down important notes as well as tape-recorded the sessions to avoid loss of vital data.

1.9.8 Data analysis and presentations

Data analysis begun in the field in order to prevent the loss of crucial data. Tape recorded data was transcribed and coded according to the

themes outlined in the objectives. Secondary data was subjected to critical textual examination to ascertain their accuracy and analysed data was presented in form of narration followed by first hand quotation from the primary sources.

1.9.9 Data management and ethical considerations

No respondent was interviewed forcefully nor tape recorded without their consent. Information from interview schedules was treated with utmost confidentiality to conceal the identity of respondents who wished not known. The researcher acknowledged sources used in the study and submitted the results honestly.

10. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

10.1 Introduction

Before embarking on the discussion of the findings, it is important to examine the demographic characteristics of the respondents that the researcher interacted with during data collection. In this section, these characteristics were discussed in terms of age, ethnicity, sex and occupation.

10.2 Age

The study was conducted among 102 respondents. Out of these individuals, 45 were youths aged 18 -30 years. 40 individuals fell within the age bracket of 31-60 years while 17 were aged 61 years and above. Interacting and collecting data from individuals of the diverse aged brackets was essential since conflicts are generational in nature and has no boundary on individual's impact and effect in matters of emotions, psychology; economic, political and social life.

10.3 Ethnic composition of Mandera County

Mandera County has various clans, however; the major ones are the Garre, Degodia, Murale and the corner tribe respectively. The corner tribe consist of the rest of the Somali clans except the Degodia, Garre

and the Murale. Such include Ogaden, the Ajuran and the Gurreh. Out of these clans, the respondents were selected depending on the clan size with the Garre being the majority, then the Degodia, Murule and finally the corner tribe. Accordingly, out of 102 respondents, thirty nine were drawn from the Garre, thirty eight from Degodia, twenty from the Murale and five from the corner tribe. Interviewing individuals from diverse clans was essential in avoiding biasness in data collection.

10.4 Sex

Conflict significantly affects both the male and female gender in the society and in different ways both sexes directly or indirectly participate in clan conflicts hence by collecting the views of men and women in the society was critical for an in-depth data collection and analysis as conflicts impacts on all members of the society regardless of sex, age and status. In this study out of the 102 respondents, 80 were men while 42 were women. The difference in the number of male and female respondents was due to the Somali culture where women are confined to the domestic sphere and their active participation in conflicts' decision making is always traditionally limited.

10.5 Occupation

Despite the fact that Somali ethnic groups in Mandera County is majorly a pastoral community, there are other equally important economic activities in the County apart from livestock rearing including quarrying, trade; businesses and small scale crop farming.

However, it is important to note that apart from the above economic activities, the County host teachers, doctors, County administrators, security officers, bankers from other parts of Kenya that tremendously contribute to the economy of Mandera. In this study, respondents were drawn from diverse population, professionals, economic activities, and social workers. These included pastoralists; hawkers; women vendors, bankers, teachers, doctors, hoteliers, shop owners, M-pesa attendants, County administrators and religious leaders. It was essential having the views of wide spectrum of individuals affected by the conflicts and the majority that witnessed the conflicts unfolding as the elders negotiated the ending of the conflict in the County.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 The Nature and Causes of the Conflicts between the Garre and the Degodia

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discussed the causes of the conflicts' between the Degodia and Garre. The chapter argued that the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia is caused by inadequate grazing land, declining economy of pastoralist communities brought by recurring droughts; agitation for political power and County resource distribution.

2.2 The composition of the Garre and the Degodia

Before embarking on the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia clans, it was important to examine the background of the two sub tribes with the objective of bringing out the historical events in relations to their conflict. To achieve this, the researcher examined the larger Somali ethnic group from which the two originate.

The section argued that historical events between these two clans found in the Horn of Africa are key in analyzing the conflicts between the Garre and the Degodia.

2.2.2 Somali people

The Somali people of Kenya are part of the Cushitic speaking groups that majorly inhabit the entire area of the horn of Africa. Many of the Somalis live in Somalia (Alio, 2012). However, others inhabit the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, Djibouti and the northern part of Kenya. Scholars have noted that the history of the Somalis dates back to the AD 1000 (Gunther, 1989). Although some oral traditions reveal that Originally came from Arabian Peninsula, however, linguistically; culturally, and historically evidence reveals that the Somali speaking people came through the southern highland of current Ethiopia.

Somalis are a single ethnic group in the horn of Africa with many internal divisions characterized by clan identities (clan elder, O.I, 2016). This agrees with Alio (2012) who revealed that the Somali people are interconnected by a common language, culture and Islamic religion (Clan elder, KII, 2016). Alio (2012) and Kenya information guide (2016) contend that Somali people are majorly pastoralists and practice Islam as their religion. The Islamic religion among the Somalis people was adopted from the Arabian visitors to the East Coast of Africa in the 13th - 14th century and thereafter spread to the greater Horn of African including Kenya, Somalia and Uganda among others. It is important to note that before the coming of Europeans, the Somali people had no

single unified political structure and boundaries. However, an oral source pointed out to the sporadic attempts by the Gareen dynasty of the Ajuran and Bartile, which were violently overthrown by other clans (Clan elder, KII, 2016). His ideas agrees with Hassan (2014) who noted that Somalis never had a unified political structure in the pre-colonial period but a strong cultural elders' system that served as a council of governors which had powers to govern each clan.

In the colonial era, the Europeans established domain over the different divisions of the Somali people (retired chief, KII, 2016). This view agrees with Lewis (1982) who noted that, in the colonial period the various European powers exercised dominance over various divisions of the Somali people albeit strong resistance by the Somalis. In reality, Somali people are not unified people but a grouping of large clan federations. Although Somalis claim conviction to Islam, Clannism claim a superior conviction than Islam (Hussein, 2014). Clan identity is significantly maintained even where groups speak non-Somali language. Given this scenario, it becomes important to discuss the major clans of the Somali people. This study, therefore, focused only on two clans Garre and Degodia the major actors in the conflict under study.

2.2.3 The Garre clan

Origin

The Garre people are part of the larger Somali ethnic group mostly found in the Horn of Africa. The sub tribe is diverse and complex consisting of two major clans, the Tuff and the Quaranyow. The Garre clan came from the Moyle Ibin Samal originally of the Somali people (Schlee, 1989). The Quaranyow section of the Garre clan descended from Dirr sub tribe of Somali which claim accentual relations and was the son of Ibn Samal called Irrir Samal (Hassan, 2014).

This clan use three languages, which include Somali, the Rahanwein dialect of southern Somalia, and the Boranized language of Garre community (Alio, 2012). An elderly woman in Mandera north noted that the Garre use a unique language to the exclusion of other Somali clans except for Ajuran sub-ethnic group (elderly Woman, O.I, 2016). The above is attributed to the fact that the Garre borrowed their language from the Borana. This agrees with Schelee (2009) who noted that the Garre language is a somalised dialect of Borana, a Cushitic speaking ethnic community found in Marsabit and Isiolo Counties. The author further noted that in the 18th century, the Borana dominated the Gabra, Sakuye and the Garre. This made the ethnic groups to abandon their

earlier somaloid dialect adopting the Borana language and cultural practices which led to their rituals being composed of three sub complex diverse origins.

An elderly man noted that the Garre are found in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia (elderly man, KII, 2016). This agrees with Schlee (2009) who articulates that the Garre people are split in three countries namely Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, they live in Murale, Huded and Woreda. In Kenya, they majorly inhabit Mandera, Wajir north and lesser groups found in Garrisa and Isiolo. The split in the three countries make any conflict that involves this clan both national and international one (Hassan, 2014).

Social Economic Organization

The oral sources consulted revealed that the Garre people are majorly herders, seasonally moving from place to place with their livestock; the Garre similarly to the Degodia keep the camels, goats; sheep and cattle (clan elder, FGD, 2016). His ideas are collaborated by scholars such as Hassan (2014) and Alio (2012) noting that the Garre are nomadic herders. The Garre live in portable huts made up of bent sapling covered with animal skins or woven mats (Alio, 2012). An oral source revealed that the major wealth of the Garre is their livestock (elderly woman, O.I,

2016). Her ideas were supported by an elderly man who narrated that livestock is the major wealth that the Garre people boost off in Mandera county (elderly man, KII, 2016).

The Garre social organizations was based on patriarchial system of male domination and are the major decision makers on land ownership, grazing areas, watering points, marriage; tribal wars and inheritance. However, an oral source revealed that in the 21st century women control part of that heritage progressively becoming formidable force in social economic and political decision making (Elderly woman, O.I, 2016). Alio (2012) posits that Garre dwelling huts are arranged in a circular manner with cattle pens in the middle using thorn shrub hedges to surround their animals' bomas for protection from intruders and wild animals (Joshua Project, 2016) enclosing their villages in a socialized set up. Division of labour was evident in the community with men performing productive labour such as herding, migration marriage, burials, religious rituals; declaring tribal wars and trading while women did domestic chores such as cooking meals, milking cows, farming, caring for children and collecting materials for dwelling homes (Adan, 1999). Generally, women were confined to the domestic sphere while the men were in the public sphere (Joshua project, 2016).

Culturally, Garre consider that practicing handcraft works as people of lower class similarly as other Somalis. An oral source remarked that the Garre traditionally look down upon people working on hand crafts. They generally consider them as low caste people and believe that pastoralism is a noble economic activity (retired chief, KII, 2016). The above remarks agrees with those of scholars such as Lewis (1982) noting that the Garre as many other Somali original cultures despise people not owning livestock albeit these cultures changing for modernization in to workers, educationist and commercialized activities.

The Garre as a nomadic community moved from place to place with their belongings in search of pasture and water for their livestock. Their migration always depended on weather patterns prevailing at a given season (Adan, 1999). Land was considered as a prime asset as it was needed in plenty for a wider grazing territory. A youth interviewed revealed that as grazing land or water points became scarce, the families pick up their belongings and move as a single extended family unit with their herds (youth, O.I, 2016). Garre are loyal to one another spreading evenly across the land to ensure that each gets enough grazing land and waters (Hassan, 2014). In polygamous family, each woman has her own hut from where she raises her children. The above is based on Islamic tradition which allows a man to marry four wives but each with her own

hut. In case of divorce, the children are shared between parents based on their gender and age with the man taking the boys and the mother taking the girls (Sheikh, KII, 2016). This agrees with Joshua project (2016) which noted that divorce rate is high among the Garre and normally children are split according to gender and age with the younger children left with the mother and older siblings with the father. However, the father cares for the well-being of the children left with the mother.

The major diet of the Garre traditionally were the dairy products such as milk and meat. However, with changing times, cultures and modernization, maize, rice, wheat and vegetables are also used (Schlee, 2007). Chewing miraa is considered as a social favorite pass time especially among the youths. Religiously, Garre are majorly Muslims. A security officer interviewed noted that although the Garre are orthodox in their religious believes, religious syncretism is evident in the community (security officer, KII, 2016). His narration concurs with Alio (2012) who noted that although the Garre are Muslims, they believe in the traditional Somali practices such as the existence of ancestral spirits.

2.2.4 The Degodia clan

The Origin

Degodia is a Somali Clan of the Hawiye tribe in Kenya. The tribe is located mainly in Mandera County and Wajir County of the North-eastern Province. Degodia is the majority in Wajir as they form more than 83% of the population according to the 2009 census.

The Degodia is a Somali clan members inhabit Kenya but also large part of Southern Ethiopia and places in Southern Somalia.

Like many Somali, Degodia members trace their paternal ancestry to Somali lineage through Samaale. They are genealogically related to other Samaale but in particular the Marehan, Isa (Saransor) Owrmale with which they share the same ancestor Samaale.

When Arthur Donaldsor Smith travelled through what is known here Bare Woreda in 1895, he found that the Degodia were neighbours of the Majertan clan whom they were at endless wars with their territorial stretching East to the weyib and Dawa Rivers.

The Degodia are said to have originated around the rivers Dawa, Parma and Ganale Daria in South East Ethiopia and from Eel Ali in Somalia where clansman are still present today.

Degodia clan is made up of ten sub clans found in both Kenya and Ethiopia. However, an oral source revealed that the traditional leadership structure of the Degodia is based on Degodia clans living in Ethiopia (sheikh, KII, 2016). In Mandera county, the Degodia are dominantly found in the Banisa district in Guba and Markamani division, Mandera north in Rhamu, Rhamu Dimtu and Oila division (Muchemi and Wamugi, 2010). A clan elder interviewed noted that the Degodia originated from Somalia in Eli- Ali (Clan elder, KII, 2016). His remarks agrees with Galaydh (2016) noting that the Degodia sub-tribe occupies about 18 sub locations in Eli-Ali location of Hiraan region. An oral source revealed that the sub ethnic groups moved to Isiolo district in early 1900s due to drought and threats from the Ajuran (Elderly woman, KII, 2016). Due to this interaction with the Borana and Ajuran, they begun identifying themselves with the Borana (Baregu, 2011). Another elderly woman interviewed noted that the Degodia shares ancestral links with the Murale (Elderly woman, O.I 2016). This agrees with UNDP report of (2010), which articulates that the Degodia and the Murale are linked through Somali lineage with blood to the Gogondhobo Hawiye in Mandera the Degodia are found in Rhamu, Asahabito, Rhamu-dimtu, Kalalio, Mandera town and Parts of Banisa and Takaba. In Ethiopia they are currently found in region five but originally in Sidano province. The

areas of settlement include Dolow, Filtu, Sedey, Malka-dida, Boqhagol, Maanyo and Buur Aminow.

Social economic organization of the Degodia

Archival sources indicates that the Degodia had a good internal unity and organization as noted in a report by the colonial DC in 1926, the same unity that another DC affirmed 20 years later (KNA/ districts records, 1944). The Degodia sub ethnic group normally keep large herds of camel (Hussein, 2014). Additionally, Schlee (2012) asserts that the Degodia are specialized nomads with their way of life predominantly based on pastoralism. The author further notes that division of pastoral labour is done by men in the family with men herding and women dealing with the domestic chores. A clan elder noted that as the Degodia migrate in search of water and pastures, conflicts with other sub tribes are bound to happen (clan elder, KII, 2016).

In farming, there exist agricultural activities in the pastoral villages albeit in a small scale ventures. Women look after the crops, children and the entire family domestic work. In the 21st century, educating children has become an important milestone for the Degodia community with the belief that educated people will not be subjected to the hardship of droughts, warriorism and tribal clashes.

The Degodia follow and believe in the Islamic faith. A sheikh interviewed noted that for the Degodia religion is a pillar for everyday life (sheikh, KII, 2016). His remarks agrees with Hussein (2014) who noted that religious leaders are respected and are able to forge peace in case of conflict among clans. Religious leaders known as Ulemas or Sheikhs maintain high profile within the community

A retired government officer noted that in the past the Garre and the Degodia had difficult relationship. This agrees with the UNDP report of (2010) which noted that in the past the Garre and the Degodia had difficult relations over grazing land especially in parts of Mandera where they shared pastures. However, the relations softened and improved for the better and the two communities were able to share resources such as pastures, watering points and grazing land with limited clashes. (UNAP Report of (2010).

Political Organization of the Degodia and the Garre

The Garre and the Degodia have complex linkage between their clans. These clans form the base of political, culture, and economic production, dominated by traditional animal husbandry, and governing system. An oral source revealed that between the two clans' traditional structures of governance and their authority are not separate entities from their

cultures and the mode in which clan relationships are maintained (Oral source, 2016). Traditional structures of governance between the Garre and the Degodia are, therefore, explicit expression of the society's cultures and traditions, which are seen in the clan's hierarchical order. The Degodia and the Garre have unwritten customary law through which the clan is the main political and legal instrument by which inter and intra-clan issues are discussed (Njoka, 2011). Through the customary law, conflicts are resolved and resources managed to avoid further escalation of the conflicts.

Additionally, fundamental cultural elements of the Garre and the Degodia are further influenced by the Islamic religion and lifestyle. The two clans have a strong following of Islam, which has shaped their values and norms. The two sub-tribes have fused their culture with Islam and described as conservative Muslim society (clan elder, KII, 2016). But most important is that the Degodia and Garre operate under the chieftain's authority (clan elder, KII, 2016). The chiefs, the clan elders and the religious leaders make the final decisions regarding political, social and economic activities propagated to the lowest level of the community. A retired chief noted that elders had their own council responsible for deliberating on important issues that included divorce, waging of wars against a rival clan, managing resources such as water,

pastures, migrations, grazing land and tribal blood compensation for and against other clan members (Retired chief, KII, 2016). Between the two sub ethnic groups, the council of elders stood supreme, respected, feared and their decisions were not easily challenged by any other organ within the clans. The clan council's decision is obligatory to all members to abide. To ensure that the elders decision is enforced the clan's unwritten governing law has three fundamental principles that must be maintained (Schlee, 1989).

These principles include the clan members' cohesion in the face of any challenging situations that included droughts, tribal wars, use of scarce resources, diseases and immigration in search of green pastures. Such challenges may arise from political resource distribution and disputes that are social in nature. This study also observed that the council also influences election of politicians through negotiated democracy and dictate on the distribution of elective posts. In addition to managing competition over political resources with other clans; control of pasture and grazing land, water sharing with other communities, resolving dispute emanating from livestock theft, settling judgement on sexual violence on women and girls; physical clash between livestock herders or facing real external aggression (Schlee, 1998). Secondly, the council of elders ensured clan members obeyed customary laws governing

conflicts' resolutions and maintaining of order among their members. This also ensured that the external relation with other sub ethnic groups was maintained for peaceful co-existence. The council of elders' responsibility extended to obeying, respecting specific treaties, accords and agreements entered into with other neighboring clans on the use of natural resources and maintenance of security and on procedures of blood compensation as agreed with rival clans and other important issues of relevance to the community (Schlee, 1989).

Thirdly, the council ensured that clan members' recognition of the hierarchical authority endowed upon the members' traditional head, the chief and sub-clan elders (Retired chief, KII, 2016). The chief and clan sub-heads always sat jointly in meetings and is the highest political decision-making body that enjoyed full power delegated by the clan's male members to advocate on behalf of the community for all matters pertaining the clans' interest.

The lower institutions such as the family were not allowed to challenge the clan elders' decision. An oral source revealed that regions of the Degodia – Garre, the actors in the traditional structures are not trained or had no mostly formal education or intended to be the state leaders (clan elder, KII, 2016). However, they remain useful conduit of the government policies to resolve inter-clan conflicts, security matters and

remained an instrument for peace making in times of political crises between opposing tribal factions. In this arrangement, the leaders play effective role of managing the inter-clan conflicts and their role is extremely important in solving conflicts of all kinds in the two sub ethnic groups' setup.

Although the chief is a powerful agent of peace between the Garre and the Degodia, unlike chiefs in other parts of Africa, the chiefs are Government appointees and have no powers over land. A retired chief interviewed, noted that, chiefs had no legal powers to assign land to their clan members individually or collectively (Chief, KII, 2016) First, the chief lacks legal authority to manage grazing land except using government authority; security structures and peacemaking process as disputes arise over use of grazing land and water wells between the two clans. The chief's position between the two sub ethnic groups is mainly ceremonial and approve the decision of the council of clan elders in concurrence. Mostly, chief propagate government policies acting as facilitators conflict resolutions.

Women folks in the two ethnic groups were always excluded from important decision-making and their participation in the elders meetings were minimal and restricted (Carrier & Kochore, 2014). The role of women among the Somali people were restricted to that of supporting

men's views, ideas and decisions without participating in the processes leading to the final decision. Women were not allowed to assume obligation for the clan because they are married within the different clans and respected for that same reason. Therefore, their presence is considered an asset to both sub ethnic groups and would not be burden with issues of wars. Traditionally, both the Garre and the Degodia considered women insignificant in governing affairs and were not allowed to take arms in tribal rivalry wars involving ethnic groups as the clan is confronted with external aggression or waging war against another clan, as the men always protected women and children. As such, women never mostly, owned property in these clans but were the manager of the family overall resources such as food, animal products and grains at homes.

2.5 Nature and Dynamics of the Garre and Degodia Conflict

2008-2015

2.5.1 Introduction

Having examined the composition of the Garre and the Degodia the researcher proceeded to discuss the major drivers of conflict between the two clans. It is important to note that historical grievances over land,

grazing areas, political and economic exclusions have accelerated the conflict between the two sub-tribes.

2.5.2 Historical Land grievances

According to the data gathered from the field, the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia is a multi-faceted composed of several causes traced back to the history of the two sub ethnic groups and their settlement in the region. The conflict between these two groups rotates around land, grazing territories and presently the fight for political and economic power. An oral source revealed that as much as politics is the face of the current conflict in Mandera, historical land disputes are at the core of the conflict (County administrator, KII, 2016).

Throughout history, land has been an emotive matter and remains so in Kenya with clashes witnessed in 1992, 1997 and 2007 – 2008 during the Post-Election Violence as people were being displaced from their land due to a mix of land and political issues. Aljazeera (2013) reported that land holds key to Kenyan politics, economic power and influence and remains sensitive between different ethnic groups. The reports agrees with the ideas of an elderly man who noted that land is the major cause of conflict between clans in the northern part of Kenya (clan elder, KII, 2016). A retired chief noted that the conflict between the Degodia and

Garre could be traced back to the divide and rule method used by the colonialist.

The colonialists brought about divisions among communities especially with the drawing of artificial tribal boundaries (Carrier & Kochore, 2014). This sentiments concurs with the report by Focus on land in Africa (2016) which noted that much of the conflicts in Kenya is traced back to the long history of land conflicts dating back to the colonial period when Germany, and British imperial powers forced people from their customary land pitting one ethnic group against the other (Focus on land in Africa, 2016). Barraza (2013) argues that land historical grievances are the major causes of conflict and ethnic tension in Kenya as witnessed in the last three decades with the ultimate boil coming in the year 2007 – 2008 post elections violence (PEV).

A youth in an focus group discussion noted that there are two histories concerning the current Garre - Degodia conflict both touching on the past and the present. In the former, the respondent argued that for a long time the two clans have been neighbors and that the last major clan war was fought about fifty years ago (youth, FGD, 2016). However, given his young age, this respondent could not give the reasons for the clashes at that time. The latter clan fighting begun in 2007 due to political reasons culminating into a major conflict in 2008.

According to the UNDP, report of (2010) the fight for the occupation of greater Mandera district existed for long time unabated. An elderly respondent noted that in pre-colonial period the Degodia went to Mandera to occupy an open grazing land. The Garre were then led by their respected chief Shaba Aliyo. Nevertheless as time elapsed and years passed the Degodia multiplied in numbers and occupied the north part of Mandera where they stay up to date (elderly man, KII, 2016). His ideas agrees with the UNDP report (2010) which notes that in the precolonial period the Degodia requested for friendship through Garre leader known as Shaba Aliyow to settle and graze their animals in Mandera. However, they were turned away by sultan of the Garre.

An archival source consulted revealed that in the 1900 Mandera district was occupied by both Degodia and the Garre communities although the Garre had a higher number of population (PC/NFP/monthly report 1914/1927). In 1926 the Garre and Degodia accepted to pay tax to the British Colonial powers (KNA/ district report 1926). However, soon the clans started to rebel against the British due to their increased overall population and Iron hand of the colonizers. This rebel led to the fighting in form of targeted assassinations in undeclared war (KNA/ district report 1926).

The star (2016) noted that what is happening in Wajir and Mandera are reinforced by historical stereotypes. The report further indicate that there is inherent perception that Garre 'own' Mandera while the Degodia 'own' Wajir and hence exclusivity expected. The Garre believe that Degodia are 'expansionists' and would use their numerical strength in Ethiopia to expand to Mandera.

Before 2007 the major causes of conflicts between the two clans were land, grazing areas and water. Respondents in an FGD noted that land has been a major conflict driver between the two communities. The Degodia feel that since their number two in population in Mandera County they deserve greater say in the County Affairs including Political representation and allocation of more administrative units (Elderly women, FGD, 2016). On the other hand, the Garre belief that the Degodia should be repatriated to Wajir or Ethiopia their homeland as the Garre believes. An administrator interviewed noted that the Garre wants to curve Garre land in the northern part of Kenya (County administrator, KII, 2016). His ideas agree with the remarks of an elderly Somali woman who noted that Garre are out to curve a region called Garre land. She noted that; they want to curve the all of Isiolo, Wajir and Mandera to themselves (Elderly woman, KII, 2016).

The above arguments, no matter the community blamed, reveals that land is originally the major cause of conflict between the two communities. Perhaps this is based on the idea that in Kenya land is a very emotive asset that has not only been used for power searching but also inciting communities against each other during political campaigns. For the case of the Garre and the Degodia, most wars are due to resources in term of territory for grazing and water resources. In 2005, for instance the two clans fought over watering points (waithanji, 2008).

2.5.3 The *shifta* war: The secessionist conflicts; 1963-1967

The Shifta movement began with the legacies of the colonial period. The colonial isolation, under development and marginalization of Northern Frontier Districts by the white colonizers, contributed to Kenyan Somali alienation from the rest of Kenya. Strong feelings of betrayal that could not be resolved with scant concessions from the new Kenya government were as a result of long time negligence (Report of the Northern Frontier District Commission, London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1962). The conflict in the Northern part of Kenya can be traced back from the Shifta war of 1963-1967. During this period, the secessionist movement that developed in the Northern Frontier District had the potential to subvert domestic and regional political authority. Despite being the

leading political force in the negotiation of Kenyan independence in December 1963, the authority of KANU rule was being undermined and by no means certain. It was challenged specifically on two fronts. Regionally, the Somali Republic was laying claim to the Somali inhabited areas of the NFD on the basis of the dream of greater Somalia by Somali leaders and the right of all people to self-determination. This agrees with a clan elder in Banisa who articulated that the secessionist movement in NFD was in the making and helped Kenya to fight for territorial integrity and independence of the country repulsing off Somalis claim of the NFD as part of the larger Somali Republic (Clan elder, O.I, 2016).

This claim gained minor legitimacy following the conclusions of a 1962 commission of enquiry by British Government which reported that over 87% of the NFD population then preferred unification with the Somali Republic. Furthermore, during the Shifta war, many of the Somali ethnic groups sympathized with shifta movement against the Kenyan government at the beginning as they believed to have a better prospect by being part of the greater Somalia as then propagated by Somali politicians. However, a clan elder noted that at this time, *the shiftas* attacked fellow Somalis (Clan elder, O.I, 2016). This agrees with Whittaker (2008) explaining that not only did Somali political

aspirations challenge Kenyan territorial integrity, it lent weight to the federal ambition as a possible political compromise. Somali ethnic people in Kenya, were therefore, anathema to Kenyatta Government and regarded as illegitimate to rule over them hence the uprising of the shifta rebellion. It could be concluded that the shifta war was not only a secessionist war but also a mixed up with inter-clan clashes especially against those suspected compromising the secessionist stand and intensified by illegal fire arms in the hands of illegal non state actors.

Although the shifta war was initially more of a political war in NFD region, it later mutated into clan clashes and other forms of conflicts that complicated the whole situation. An oral source revealed that throughout the shifta war, other types of violence were also being played compromising the exercise of identifying insurgents, as explained by Whittaker, (2008) who articulated that from 1963 to 1968, inter-clan raids in Mandera County increased and further made worse the delicate shifta war situation. There were intercommunal disputes that were politically instigated. In addition, the Kenyan government's security operation into the North Eastern province continued well into the 1980s, after the so-called "Shifta War" ended, partly due to the identification of Somali communities as sources of cross-border arms smuggling, banditry, and lawlessness (Ring Quist, 2011).

The security operations in Mandera District during the shifta war and the stern security measures in the region helped to restore calm between several Somali clans such as the Garre and the Murule clans. At this period, the entire Somali clans were challenged by the common enemy; namely, the central government in Nairobi, therefore, seeing themselves as united (Whittaker, 2008). The security operations acted as a unifying factor meaning there were no major incursions between the Degodia and the Garre communities from 1970s to 1990s but this changed in the later years of 2000s. This concurs with a clan elder at Rhamu who noted that the Somali clans were united during the shifta war unlike the situation currently and they considered the Kenya government as their enemy (Clan elder, K.I.I, 2016).

2.5.4 Declining pastoralism 2005-2007

Another cause raised by respondents in an FGD with elderly men from the Garre community was the degradation of environment that led to the declining pastoralism brought by diminishing natural resources like pastures, water and increasing population in the land occupied by two communities (elderly men, FGD, 2016). This concurs with IRIN (2009) which noted that loss of communal grazing land to farming and environmental degradation lead to conflicts between the two

communities. Although both are pastoralist, the Degodia led more nomadic life styles than the Garre. Mkutu (2001) noted that declining pastoral resources led to scramble over the few available resources that eventually leads to violent conflicts between the competing herds resulting increased inter-clan violent conflicts.

The increase in human population brought pressure on the limited resources. Elders interviewed noted that this pressure is made worse by changing weather patterns in the County coupled with prolonged drought, unreliable and erratic rains brought continuous famine (clan elder, KII, 2016). The UNDP report of (2010) reported that the conditions became worse during droughts due to overcrowding at water facilities and grazing lands. The struggle for pasture and water resources has been intertwined with politicized constituency and administrative boundary disputes resulting to conflicts between communities fighting for economic and political survival.

With declining pastures and waters, many people are moving to urban centres in search of alternative means of livelihood, changing the conflicts' dynamics for economic competition for jobs, business rivalry and tenders and politics of representation in the devolved system of government. In a focus group discussion in Markamani youths noted that the conflicts in Mandera County is aggravated by the increased

proliferation of small arms and light weapons obtained from War ton countries of Somalia and Ethiopia (youths, FGD, 2016)

2.5.5 Role of Warlord Politics (Politisation of Clan Conflicts)

Warlordism is not a new phenomenon in the inter-clan conflicts in Mandera County. An administrator interviewed noted that warlords and conflicts are closely related pointing out violence in pastoralist areas is closely associated to political developments that at times lead to re-drawing of boundaries (Administrator, O.I. 2016). This concurs with Greiner (2013) pointed out that the process of democratization and on set of multipartism in 1992 created windows of opportunity for violent territorial claims in pastoralist areas that include Northern Kenya. Pastoralists are, therefore, increasingly being enmeshed in politicized violence by warlords as witnessed in Mandera, Baringo, West Pokot, Turkana, Garissa, Wajir, Tana River, Samburu and Laikipia.

Conflicts in pastoral dry lands are being transformed through moving away from traditional violence based clashes for pasture and water to political and economic gain generated tribal wars. Factors such as contested borders, divisive politics and corrupt local administrators fuel conflicts between the Garre and Degodia (clan elder, O.I, 2016). Politicians and financiers of war have been pointed out of using ethnicity

to mobilize young people into violence for economic gains (Rohwerder, 2015). Mkutu (2001) noted that among the pastoral communities warlords are the centre of conflicts and violence. The same remarks are supported by Reno (1999) who noted that clan conflicts among the Somali people is mainly fueled by activities of the warlords such as stock theft, forced displacements and arson. An oral source revealed that politicians and business tycoons are the major sponsors of clan wars in Mandera between the Garre and the Degodia. In this regard, Osamba (2000) and Menkhaus (2008) noted that warlords are the catalysts of not only cattle rustling but also the source of the violence and conflicts among Somali sub-tribes in Mandera County.

Additionally, Kummsa, Jones & Herbert (2009) contends that there are many causes of conflicts between the Degodia and the Garre clans and forceful theft of livestock such as Camels, Cattles, Goats and Sheep by warlords are among the main causes of the conflicts. The war lords mobilize the youths promising them security, monetary benefits and livestock creating their own private armed groups which they supply with guns and using them to perpetuate violence against opponent's clans (Osamba, 2000; Reno, 1999). In a way, the youths' idleness coupled with an employment fall prey of political elites who use them to actualize their own economic dreams.

Mburu (2005) contends that through history, there has been war kingpins in Mandera benefiting economically and politically from the conflicts in the region. An oral source consulted revealed that the warlord menace in Mandera is due government weakness in responding to the conflict between Degodia and Garre clans (Clan elder, KI, 2016). In this regard, IPSOS (2014) found out that due to lack of quick response from the government security organs, the malatia from each clan getting bolder as new participants in the conflicts join the clans' wars focusing on economic gain from the conflict. As this takes shape, the residents are left with no choice other than to create and support their own local militias/vigilantes for protection against attackers from the rival clan (Mburu, 2005). GoK, Ministry of Livestock (2009), noted that soon the vigilante groups turned into raiders of the rival community, thus spawning hatred between the two communities. Selective action, such as assassinations by a handful of bandits, created hatred between clans, and led to frequent conflicts between the two rival groups. As the logic of fighting and war took over between the Garre and the Degodia, group hatred, provocative poems and songs found resonance within the two communities (County administrator, KII, 2016).

With warlords, clan chauvinists glorified the 'bravery of their sons', escalating tensions, attacks and counter-attacks, in a vicious cycle of

violence, the conflict continued renewing (Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, 2008)). Between 1983 and 2005, there were intermittent clashes between the Degodia and Garre, lives and property were lost through assassinations and militia raids. However, there was no serious attempt by the state to bring to justice the perpetrators, some of which were well known (Markakis, (2008).

The researcher found that warlords are at the core of the conflicts in Mandera between the Degodia and the Garre. This takes the form of politicized ethnicity that breeds hatred and violence between two different clans giving rise to massive property destruction, evictions and human displacements. Accordingly, the war lords are able to appeal to the immediate situation of the locals, fighting to get not only their votes for political survival but also to siphon resources from the region in a monopolistic practices.

A legal advisor noted that the marginalization of the Somalis in Kenya made the warlords politicize ethnicity to achieve their desired end state. Violence has been for a long time used by politicians as a tool for political gain (Legal advisor, KII, 2016). The same remarks were echoed by a clan elder in Elwak who articulated that marginalization of the Somali people by the colonizers greatly influenced the creation of warlords among clans that have really fueled inter-clan conflicts in this

region (Clan elder, O.I, 2016). The views of these respondents agree with Mahmoud, (2010) who noted that Politicized ethnicity has been in the centre stage of Kenya's politics. The political leaders have created in the masses the *our own* syndrome. The result of this episode is negative ethnicity manifesting itself on the political ethnic clan groupings turning against each other meaning that the Garre and Degodia are not an exception. Additionally, Kaemba, et al. (2001) noted that politicians are majorly the cause of conflicts in pastoral areas. The ethno centrism perpetuated by politicians, resulted to mistrust in the region and erosion of respect and thus each community has its own armed militia groups ready to strike the *rival* ethnic group (Mkutu, 2000). Politicians from the region ignore such vices as cattle rustling or innocent killing of the "other" because it translates to committing *political suicide*, (Osamba (2000).

2.6 Major Actors in the Degodia - Garre Conflict

2.6.1 Introduction

In the previous section, we discussed the history of the Garre and the Degodia people. For an in-depth understanding of the conflict, it will be useful to examine the major actors in the Degodia - Garre conflicts. The elderly, politicians; business people and the youths are the major actors

in this conflict. Women also play their part and have contributing factors to tribal conflicts as they nurse, feed and hide the wounded while also singing and dancing for the warriors in victorious periods. Women act as spies, intelligence gatherers and provide vital information to the clan militias as they are married in cross cutting clans. However, the youths are more of a fighting tool than planners.

2.6.2 The youths as a political pawn

People involved in the clan wars are the youth who are majorly men. An oral source revealed that the elderly are involved in the decision making, resource mobilization, planning, retelling past historical memories about conflicts; tactical maneuvering and inciting the youths to fight in form of militias (teacher, KII, 2016). The remarks agrees with UNDP report of (2010) which noted that clans in Mandera have rug tag militias that act as protection forces for the clan survival. A key informant interviewee pointed out that clans have militias to protect them since the government institution have failed to guarantee the safety of life and property of the community. This agrees with Alio (2012) who noted that youths are the people who dominate clan militias since they are strong and able to survive the rigors of the clan wars.

A religious leader revealed that many of the youth who engage in clan conflicts are rarely educated, jobless and in many cases fighting wars whose cause and benefit they don't understand (religious leader, KII, 2016). This agrees with Dinky (2010) who noted that youths are mainly used in conflicts as militias due to economic hardships, idleness and temptation to join the groups for economic benefits. An oral source noted that; The militias are mainly populated by young men who have been brain washed by businesspersons, elders and politicians (clan elder, KII, 2016).

This agrees with Michira (2014) and Mburu (2005) articulating that these youths are usually inducted, trained informally sometimes under instructions of a vanguard of Ex-military personnel.

2.6.3 Business people and politicians as warlords in the Degodia and Garre conflicts

A business person interviewed noted that the conflict between the Degodia and the Garre are planned in hotels in Nairobi, majorly in Eastleigh by business tycoons who benefit from the conflict (Businessman, KII, 2016). A former chief spoke of politicians as major proprietors of the conflict through funding, inciting and buying of arms (Former chief, KII, 2016). These remarks by the two respondents agrees

with Mburu (2005) who noted that planners and the source of material support for the militias normally include successful business people, politicians, clansmen, the community and women who offer support in form of money for sourcing ammunitions, food, transport, nursing and care for the wounded, hoarding of weapons and medication.

2.6.4 Women: victims and perpetrators

Generally in conflict-prone areas, women and children are seen more as victims than perpetrators (Moser & Clark, 2001). In a focus group discussion, participants noted that women and girls were majorly reported as victims of conflict as many are unleashed with sexual violence such as rape, genital mutilation, indecent assault and other barbaric acts and abuses. Women also suffer the painful loss of their husbands and sons as men are killed in combat conflicts. Women further suffer by the orphaned children as they become widows family bread earners, displaced and lost the protection of their the deceased husbands (youth, FGD, 2016). This agrees with UNDP report of (2010) that indicated that in the conflict between the Degodia and Garre pregnant women from both communities died from injuries after rape and survivors left with psychological, emotional and physical injuries. The notion of women and children being the people who suffer most has been

propagated by scholars such as porter (2013) noting that historical Statistics indicated that women and children suffer most in conflict prone areas.

However, other oral sources consulted revealed that women as well play the role of accelerating the conflict (sheikh, KII, 2016). This agrees with the UNDP report of (2010), which cited that women were among the warlords providing material support to the militias in Mandera County during inter- clan wars. However, it is important to note that women have played a critical role in championing for peace between the two clans. An oral source revealed that women have been in the fore front campaigning for peace between the two clans in Mandera County (women leader, KII, 2016). Her ideas agree with NEP report of (2014) which articulates that in the conflict between the Degodia and the Garre, women play a role in pledging for unity and joining peace committees selected from each sub ethnic group.

2.7 Major Weapons used in the Degodia and Garre conflicts

Although traditionally, the Degodia and Garre used cultural weapons such as spears, bows and arrows, swords and other crude weapons in their clan wars, the current inter-clan conflict involved the use of sophisticated weapons. A security officer interviewed noted that the

major weapons used in the conflict are modern weapons including; AK 47 rifles, G-3s, hand grenades, sub machine guns (security officer, KII, 2016). Further interview with a security officer explained that most of these weapons were obtained from war torn Somalia and others from Ethiopia (security officer, KII, 2016). This agrees with Mburu (2005) who noted that Somalia has ensured constant supply of arms, ammunitions and militiamen to help execute conflict in Mandera County due to prolonged civil war that persisted over two and half decades.

Additionally, Hassan (2014) noted that social linkages of these two clans in Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia borders have created military alliances where friendly clans provide arms support from across the border when needed. For instance, both the Degodia and Garre receive external arms support from Ethiopia. Although there was diversity in the price of bullets and guns with respondents quoting the price between 6-150 shillings, the general submissions agreed that during war time as demand for these ammunitions increases and the prices rise. However, during peace period the prices fall as low as 6 shillings. A retired police officer explained that corrupt police officers are also the sources of bullets used in the conflict (retired police, KII, 2016). Weapons are mainly transported and sold by cartels of men dealing with the smuggling of arms across the international borders.

2.8 Conclusion

Briefly, the Degodia and Garre clans originate from the Somali ethnic group and are found in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia making the Garre - Degodia conflict in Mandera take an international dimension. Additionally, both clans adhere to Islamic religion although aspects of syncretism are reported in the Garre ethnic group. These two clans practice nomadic way of life hence conflicts over grazing land and water points are inevitable especially during the dry season. However, it is important to note that the history of these two clans was characterized by recurring conflicts traced back to events in their history.

Additionally, in this section it was revealed that the conflict between the Degodia and the Garre in Mandera County involves several actors. The youth were seen as prime actors and used as fighting tools mostly involving the jobless and uneducated but energetic young men joining militias for economic gain. The clan elders are the major tactical planners and decision makers of these conflicts. Politicians and successful business persons were identified as major financiers, providing also material and martial support to the warriors fighting in the conflicts.

The women played roles both as perpetrators and victims of violence in the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia. Additionally, women

were seen as the champions for peace between the two clans. The current warring parties in the conflict in Mandera make use of modern weapons mostly acquired from countries with long history of conflicts such as Somalia. However, others originate from Ethiopia while in some cases, corrupt police officers are the source of these illegal weapons used in Mandera clashes particularly the provision of bullets as explained by a key informant.

The next section discusses the nature and dynamics of the Degodia - Garre conflicts in Mandera, moreover, from the foregoing discussion it was revealed that although the current conflicts between the Degodia and Garre begun in 2007, their hostility is traced back to the pre-colonial period and other historical events that have shaped the county. Generally, land was always the major cause of the unending dispute between the two sub ethnic groups leading to the escalation of wars over grazing land, pastures and water points. This resource competition led others migrating to urban centers in search of new opportunities and alternative means of livelihoods.

With the new competition over economic opportunities and political power, emerges with ever increasing conflict, each clan fighting for a larger share of political representation. Conflicts then emerge and what was traditionally land economics in nature took a new face and became

politically motivated. Accordingly, political exclusions and equal representation only served as primary causes of the Degodia - Garre conflict in 2008 while land and its usage served as the secondary driver of the conflict.

Further, the chapter revealed that warlords played a key role in the fueling and sustaining of conflicts between the Degodia and the clan. These warlords include the business men and politicians who politicize ethnicity as a tool to access political and economic power.

With the above in mind, it therefore, becomes important to discuss the Garre -Murale unwritten political pact and its implication on the Garre - Degodia conflict. The next chapter discuss the Murule – Garre political pact and its implication on the Degodia – Garre conflict.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE GARRE AND MURULE PACT 2010-2013

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the impacts of the political peace pact between the Garre and the Murule and the Garre - Degodia conflict. It is argued that the pact played a major role in fueling the conflict between the Degodia and Garre conflicts.

3.2 Background to the pact

Throughout history, the Garre and the Murule consider themselves as the true residents of Mandera County. However, the two clans fought each other severally over land, pastures and water resources although the two always dominated the Mandera political land escape (Musau, 2013). With the Garre's losing the Mandera parliamentary seat and the Degodia coming out victorious in 2007 elections for the first time in the history of Mandera, upset the political arrangement between the Garre and the Murule and went against the unwritten rule (insight on conflict, 2016). To avert a repeat of 2017 in which the Degodia took Mandera Central seat, the Garre with the support of the Murule put in place vigorous campaigns for 2013 elections which were marked with hate messages, voter migration, inter and intra clan alliances and more importantly, the

signing of Garre- Murule peace pact ((Musau, 2013). An oral source revealed that the Murule and Garre had a long history of fighting (clan elder, KII, 2016).

However, with the feeling that the Degodia wanted to dominate the region, a solution was sought. Accordingly, the Garre and Murule signed a political pact to address the hostility between them with an aim of ganging against the Degodia. This agrees with Johansson (2011) who noted that the signing of the Garre-Murule pact was aimed at temporally addressing the hostility between the two clans for political unity to unseat the Degodia politically in Mandera Central and reduce competition for political supremacy between the Garre and Murule sub-ethnic groups

3.3 Political exclusions

After 2007, the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia was politically motivated. The elderly men from both communities although at different FGDs argued that the current conflict between the two communities begun in 2007 with the election of a Degodia as the Member of Parliament for Mandera central (Elderly men, FGD, 2016). This agrees with Carrier & Kochore (2014) who noted that the current conflict between the Garre and the Degodia intensified in 2007/2008

after the election of Abdikadir Mohammed, from the Degodia clan as the MP for Mandera central constituency leading to the diminishing the political dominancy of the Garre who were the previous holders of the seat. The Garre felt betrayed and fought to return status quo prior to 2007 elections.

The victory for the Degodia in 2007 elections' brought suspicions of voter migration with the Garre feeling that the Degodia, although being the second majority ethnic group in Mandera, could not win without rigging votes (Ruteere, Mkutu & Marani, 2014). On the other hand, the Degodia felt that after a long absence on political representation in Mandera, it was their time to have one of their own in the National Assembly.

With these conflicting interests, violent conflicts was inevitable to erupt and apparently in a more intensified and political manner. This is based on the notion that in Kenya, a community whose son is in power benefits most from the national cake (Ruteere, Mkutu & Marani, 2014).

Each clan felt that they should be fully represented in the government. With this in mind, since 2007 when Abdikadir Mohammed won Mandera Central seat by beating a divided Garre in 2007, the Garre's strengthened their resolve and planned strategically to recapture the seat in 2013 to ensure that the Degodia return to their previous status of no

representation in parliament (Banker, KII, 2016). This unity would involve joining hands politically with the Murule to oust the Degodia in the 2013 elections. This unity has since been termed as the Garre - Murule peace Pact.

Accordingly, the political peace pact between the Garre and the Murule in 2010 was partly blamed on the intensified conflicts between the Garre and the Degodia (Happi, 2016). The events that followed led to political cooperation between the Garre and the Murule in 2013 resulting the Degodia failing to capture the seat for the second term.

3.4 Continued Warlordism

Warlords and their militias have become a normalized way of life, if not macabre, part of the African socio-political landscape. There is strong believe by the populations that warlords, militias and armed non-state actors form part of the political environment and that governments is losing the legitimate monopoly of using violence (Happi, 2016). In reality, militias form part of the normative political land scape in Kenya notably the counties of North Rift, Upper Eastern and North Eastern.

In an oral interview it was revealed that warlord and militia structures in Mandera County are located in the rural warrior tradition as indicated in chapter two of this study found out that many members of militias are

purposely drawn from uneducated herd men's and their arms' suppliers are equally illiterate (Clan elder, O.I, 2016). Mkutu (2001) contends that they comprised of young rural men, respond to a traditional interpretation in which they attempt to retain a patriarchal context. This, the author asserts, is particularly evident in self-defense units located in impoverished rural population that defend their own property and lives with a feeling that government have failed to protect them. This warrior tradition portrays that all men are part of a masculinized institution of violence. Such narrowed traditionalist perspective of thinking directly impacts the socio-political leadership and dynamics that are reflected by warlord politics

The conflicts between the Degodia - Garre has taken a more commercial nature than ever before. A clan elder interviewed noted that apart from political and economic exclusions, warlordism has been at the core of the conflict between the two Sub ethnic groups. He further remarked that; The conflicts are not organized in Mandera but are planned in Nairobi by business tycoons and politicians benefiting from the spoils politically and the same individuals provide monetary contributions from both sides of the political divide for buying arms and ammunitions (clan elder, KII, 2016).

The author agrees with Mkutu (2001) who noted that the war lords in the northern part of Kenya are the major propellers of the inter clan wars witnessed in the region. They not only own and control militia groups but also manipulate the jobless youths to lure them into lawlessness and banditry activities.

3.5 Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, it is revealed that the Garre felt the political presence of the Degodia winning the 2007 election in Mandera central constituency alarmed the Garre and the Murule of the possible break of their political dominance in Mandera leading to the signing of the Garre - Murule pact settling the hostility between the two clans and providing a unified force that saw the Degodia defeated by the Garre in 2013 general elections. The outcome of this elections fuelled the conflict between the Garre and the Degodia hence the pact in a way served to intensify the hostility between the two sub ethnic groups. However, it is important to note that although the Murule support the Garre politically, they have never taken arms against the Degodia in favor of the Garre in any known conflict.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT; A BLESSING OR A CURSE TO THE TWO COMMUNITIES?

4.1 Introduction

The 2013 general elections marked a landmark history in Kenyan politics. For the first time, Kenya went through general elections under the new constitutional dispensation that created several political seats. A devolved system of government was born and which decentralized resources to the county level to address the economic and political exclusion that existed since independence which caused structural conflicts among communities. This section discusses the impacts of devolution system of governments on the Garre-Degodia conflicts.

4.2 The 2013 general elections

With the cooperation of the Murule – Garre in 2013, victory was not on the Degodia side and with combined efforts of the two made the Garre win Mandera central parliamentary seat in 2013, leaving the Degodia bitterly divided (Greiner, 2013). Subsequently, the Garre clan not only regained the Mandera Central parliamentary seat, but also won an overwhelming majority of political seats in Mandera County including the key posts of Governor and Senator (insight on conflict, 2016). The

Garre wanted to win Mandera central constituency by all means and this was the main trigger for the current conflict in the new Mandera North constituency which is largely Degodia-dominated areas. With this loss, the Degodia felt that the Garre had transported voters to the northern part of Mandera that led to their victory resulting to more enmity (Greiner, 2013). With unequal political representation in favor of the Garre, the Degodia remained disillusioned bringing out renewed suspicions and rising tensions.

Respondents from both clans agreed that the Garre being the largest majority won many political seats in the county. However, the clan representation reveals that 90% of the county seats are occupied by the Garre, 8% by the Murule who are the third majority and 2% is shared between the Degodia, the second largest and other the corner tribes. This is the major issue of confrontation between the two communities currently.

The Degodia as the second largest group in Mandera felt that they deserved more representation in political positions than the Murule and blaming the Garre for such political exclusions. Oucho, (2002) noted that discriminatory government policies play a significant role in aggravating ethnic conflicts. There is no big gap between the 'politics of exclusion' and violent ethnic conflicts. The politician in control of a political

resources will always favor their own ethnic group and discriminate others as witnessed in the past in the Kenyan political history.

On their part, the Murule and the Garre consider themselves as the really owners of Mandera while the Degodia are regarded as expansionist and the corner tribes as minority and immigrant status. An FGD with Murule respondents revealed that the Garre and the Murule are in consensus that they deserve the largest share of the county resources as compared to the Degodia and others (Murule clan elders, FGD, 2016). A County administrator noted that the propagation of the clan politics intensified triggering endless conflict (County administrator, KII, 2016). This agrees with Badejo (2006) noting that Kenyan politics developed over time with the tribal syndrome as each community struggles to have their own in political position. Accordingly, in cases where communities feel their own ethnic leader is not in a political position, suspicion, mistrust and enmity always erupts.

More over, a medical practitioner interviewed noted that the cooperation between the Murule and the Garre was regarded as a strategy by the Garre to evict the Degodia from Mandera county in turn making the Degodia unified against to fight for political survival in 2017 (medical practitioner, KII, 2016). The author's sentiment is echoed by the insight on conflict (2016) which regarded the pact between Murule and Garre as

the main thrust towards the political sidelining of the Degodia by the Garre. This conflict has stretched beyond the Mandera boundary spilling over to Wajir and Ethiopia where both the Degodia and Garre are seeking the support of their clansmen in the fight against the other. Ndiku (2010) concurs with the above and noted that political alliances and parties in Kenya have a tendency of favoring a particular ethnic group with narrow perspectives and strong elements of rivalry. Additionally, Anyang Nyong (1992) echoes the same findings pointing out that the Kenyan political parties and alliances are generally ethnic associations and groupings with little to offer the county's population at large.

Although the Garre - Murule pact has been blamed for intensifying conflict between the Degodia and Garre, an FGD conversation with the youths revealed that the Murule only cooperate with the Garre for their own political survival for fearing that the Garre could eventually turn against them politically. The Garre are the majority in Mandera County hence for the Murule to gain, their cooperation with Garre is paramount (Youth, FGD, 2016).

4.3 Skewed Political representation in the County after the 2013

general elections

According to the Mandera County administrator interviewed, the devolved system of government in Mandera reinforced the conflict as resources such as business tenders and jobs increased with the onset of devolution (county administrator, KII, 2016). This due to ethnic exclusions in the County government as revealed in the preceding discussion. With six parliamentary seats available for contest, agitation for more political representation between clans intensified. The fact that the Garre captured the gubernatorial seat, the senate, the women rep; four parliamentary seats and majority of County assembly in 2013, the other communities notably the Degodia felt that they lost everything to the Garre. This agrees with Jubat (2016) who noted that major devolved political seats rotates around the dominant Garre clan with the minority clans left to the political periphery.

4.4 Social and Economic Exclusions after the 2013 General Elections

An elderly man interviewed narrated that lack of political representation at the county level meant economic exclusions with the Degodia feeling sidelined from employment opportunities (elderly man, O.I, 2016). Other respondents pointed out that provision of social services is based

on Clannism. This agrees with Hussein (2014) who noted that Clannism was used in the resource distribution and employment provision in Mandera County for a long time.

However, in a key informant interview, a County administrator revealed that generally provision of social amenities in Mandera County had a problem since the colonial period (County administrator, KII, 2016). In this way, the administrator noted that all communities living in the northern frontier district were negatively affected by the policies of marginalization of successive Kenya governments. His ideas agrees with other scholars such as Karongo (2008) who noted that the northern part of Kenya has been marginalized for a long period of time economically, socially and politically. However, despite all these, it emerged that economic exclusions and the clan syndrome which is at the core of the conflict continuously retards development such as road infrastructure, electrification, security, education and political cohesion (Munyendo, 2010). A county official interviewed noted that, In the last financial year, Mandera County received 10 billion Kenyan shillings. However, this money has been used to develop other parts of the county apart from Mandera north where the Degodia are the majority (county official, O.I, 2016).

However, disputing the argument of Degodia being marginalized a teacher interviewed refuted that the Degodia were denied county resources (Teacher, KII, 2016). A chief interviewed explained that both communities practice nomadic way of life, keeping large heads of domestic animals for their economic survival and the major concern was grazing land and originally education for their children was a second priority (Retired chief, KII, 2016). However, as drought continued to persist and diminishing livestock, the two communities realized the importance of education and are currently investing in their children's education. On the other hand, another respondent noted that; In the education sector, most schools are built in the Garre region and they benefit the most. The Degodia areas, have fewer school and the Garre fear competition from the Degodia if given an opportunity thus have to fight (clan elder, KII, 2016).

From the above remarks, it can be deduced that stereotyping is at the core of the so-called political and economic exclusions in the Garre Degodia conflict.

A focus group discussion brought out an important aspect that is contributing the conflict in Mandera as the unique lingual traits of the Garre. The respondents revealed that apart from speaking Somali, the Garre fluently speak somalised Borana, a language that other Somali

clans do not understand (women, FGD, 2016). This agrees with Hassan (2014) who noted that the Garre language is a somalised dialect of Borana. This raises suspicion among the Degodia and other clans concerning the Garre.

4.5 Impacts of the Exclusions

The conflict between the Garre and the Degodia resulted adverse political, economic and social effects such as loss of lives, destruction of resources and properties, increasing poverty; displacements and break down of families. Proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs) is a serious concern due to inter-clan conflicts. A shopkeeper interviewed noted that the conflicts affect children in a tremendous way (shopkeeper, O.I, 2016). She asserted that children are separated from their families, drop out of school and suffer psychologically due to the conflicts. These remarks are in agreement with those of Matuli (2015) who pointed out that inter-clan conflicts have devastating effects on children either indirectly or directly. The author further posits that violent conflicts in Mandera County lead to inaccessibility to education, health care and food insecurity among children who constitute the largest part of the vulnerable groups. For instance a Degodia woman once married in Garre remarked that when fighting broke out in 2007 she was

forced to return back to her family with the children (Degodia woman, O.I, 2016).

In an interview with an M-pesa attendant, it was revealed that the Degodia and Garre conflicts led to feelings of insecurity among the citizenry, and especially business operators suffering huge losses as conflicts occurs (Mpesa attendant, O.I, 2016). This concurs with relief web report of (2014), which noted that the North Eastern Kenya inter-clan conflicts affects populations and instill feelings of insecurity, fear and tensions. The report further indicated that there are massive displacements among the population leading to sufferings such as inaccessibility to clean water supply, health care services, sanitation, and hygiene. A hotelier interviewed pointed out that since 2013 when the conflicts between Garre and the Degodia re-erupted, many people were displaced (hotelier, O.I, 2016). This remark concurs with that of EUTF (2016) which noted that the conflicts between the two clans proceeded until mid-2014 leading to massive displacement of people.

A hawker interviewed revealed that the displacements have led internal displaced camps (hawker, O.I, 2016). In this regard, EUTF (2016) pointed out that in Rhamu there exists internally displaced persons' camp with over eighteen thousand households. In an oral interview with a hawker in Mandera town, it was revealed that the inter-clan fighting

drove away trade and there was less business in the town (hawker, O.I, 2016). This agrees with Mburu (2005) who noted that during the conflict, traders were driven out of business. The author further noted that there were some winners and the losers in this trade. For instance, in areas where the Garre dominated, only the business of the Garre traders were going on while in the areas where the Degodia were the majority only the business of the Degodia clans men flourished. In this regard Hassan (2014) noted that this conflict had even made the busy livestock market at the Somali border at Bur Hache to almost collapse. Asserting this, UNDP report of (2010) noted that this conflict directly blocked livestock sale routes across the Somali border hence making prices of goods expensive.

A shopkeeper in an oral interview pointed out that the conflicts have led to increasing drought in the region. This is due to competition of scarce resources such as pastures and land (shopkeeper, O.I, 2016). These remarks agrees with a report by FAO (2011) which asserted that the conflicts in Mandera triangle led to vulnerability to drought as a result of resource-based conflicts. Alio (2012) further noted that this conflict resulted in increased insecurity in Mandera County. In addition, an Mpesa attendant interviewed noted that the violent conflicts led to loss of human life and disruption of socio-economic activities that resulted

suspicion and mistrust between the warring clans (Mpesa attendant, O.I, 2016). As a result of lost lives, economic hardships sets in with high levels of malnutrition and starvation among children. In addition, the inter-ethnic armed conflicts in northern Kenya led in unprecedented dependency syndrome on relief food (Practicalaction, 2016). Efforts by the security forces to eliminate conflict led to more suffering in Mandera County as the corrupt government security agencies controls, weakened the indigenous conflicts' management methods and general indifference by the government to a politically and economically marginalized communities have all contributed to the miserable condition of the Mandera population (Mburu, 2005).

4.6 Conclusion

From the above discussions it is noted that devolved governments have amplified the conflict with the Degodia feeling politically marginalized since the Garre dominates in political positions. With this political and economic exclusions in the county is cited as one of the factors propelling the conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the dynamics of the conflict between the Degodia and the Garre. This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and the recommendations based on the research findings.

5.2 Summary and conclusions

The major focus of this study was to examine the dynamics in the Degodia and the Garre conflicts in Mandera County in the period 2008-2013. Mandera County was very essential to this study since the county reported several cases of clan conflicts. Additionally, the county hosts the major clans under discussions in this study.

In chapter one the background upon which this study was contextualised was given. From the background, it was noted that the dynamics in the Garre and Degodia conflict in the period 2008 – 2013 had not received an indepth scholarly attention. In the same chapter the objectives, premises and the questions that guided this study were clearly outlined and explained. Further, the justification and significance of the study coupled with the scope and the limitation of the study were given.

In the same chapter review of the already existing scholarly works on clan conflicts was given. The review identified several gaps that this study sought to fill. Additionally, in the same chapter the theoretical framework that guided this study was given. Additionally, the research methodology was clearly outlined and the researcher provided an explanation to every aspect of the methodology.

In chapter two, the study begun by providing the characteristics of the respondents in terms of age, sex, ethnicity and occupation. The respondents were drawn from different sexes, age groups, occupations and clans. This helped to avoid biasness in data collection.

Additionally the history of the Garre and Degodia was given. It was noted that the Garre and Degodia are clans from the Somali ethnic group. These clans are found in three countries, which include Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia thus making the Garre - Degodia conflict in Manderla to take an international dimension. Additionally both clans are seen to adhere to Islamic religion although aspects of syncretism are reported among the Garre. These two clans are nomads thus conflicts over grazing land and water points are inevitable especially during the dry season. From the history of these two clans it was noted that historically the two clans have had sour relation thus the conflict between the two can be traced back to events in their history.

The drivers of conflict between the two clans were also discussed in the same chapter. It was noted that although the current conflict between the Garre and the Degodia begun in 2007, the hostility between the two clans could be traced back to the pre-colonial period and other historical events that have shaped the county. Generally, land was seen to be the major cause of the dispute between two clans leading to the fight over grazing land, pastures and water points. This resource competition has led others migrating to towns in search of new opportunities and alternative means of livelihoods. With the new competition over economic opportunities, political power emerges with each clans fighting to have a larger share of political power. Conflicts then erupt and what was economic in nature take a new face and becomes politically instigated. Accordingly, other factors such as economic and political exclusions only serve as secondary causes of the Garre Degodia conflict while land is the primary driver. This then proved the first premise on the study that various factors have informed the conflict between the Garre and Degodia in the period 2007-2010 as true. The current conflict is political in nature meaning that the conflict dynamic has changed from pasture, land and water to political resource competition.

In the same chapter, it was noted that both clan elders, politicians, successful business people, women and youths are actors in this conflict.

Additionally, it was revealed that the current conflict employ the use of sophisticated modern guns mostly obtained from Somalia, Ethiopia and from corrupt police officers. The impact of the conflicts were also discussed both economically, politically and socially.

In chapter three, the impacts of the Garre - Murule pact on the Garre - Degodia conflict was discussed. It was noted that the pact in a way served to intensify the hostility between the two clans. However, it is important to note that although the Murule support the Garre politically, they have never taken arms to fight against the Degodia in favor of the Garre. This proved the second premise of the study that the agreement between Murule and Garre contributed to the Garre - Degodia conflict as true.

In chapter four the implications of the devolved governments on the conflict was also discussed. It was revealed that that devolved governments have amplified the conflict with the Degodia feeling politically marginalized since the Garre dominates political positions such as governor's post, senator, women representative and parliamentary seats. With this, therefore, political and economic exclusions in the county is cited as the factors propelling the conflicts. This then proved the third premise of the study, that devolved

governments increased the conflict between the Garre and Degodia as true.

5.2 Recommendations

If the conflict between the Degodia and the Garre are to be solved, concerted efforts need be put in place at the national, regional and the local level to resolve disputes and enhance peace building in the county. To enhance sustainable peace between the two clans in Mandera County, there is need for a multiple but sustained and complementary efforts by the two levels of government with localized solutions.

More public participation in an inclusive peace building processes is highly desirable to build confidence, trust, community actualization and sense of recognition by all ethnic groups in Mandera with equal opportunities for social – political and economic development will be paramount. The strategies used by the government to solve conflicts in this region should support local capacities for peace deals including using traditional methods for conflicts' resolutions such as the Somali elder system, religious rituals; long tested norms and practices found within the warring communities. Equitable distribution of resources in the areas of political representation, employment opportunities at the devolved units, spread of social development projects in the county such

as drilling of boreholes, construction of dams, schools and infrastructure such as roads, ICT and airstrips in a fairly manner will promote peace between the two communities. Furthermore, any mediation efforts need to enhance civic education programs which focus on the rights and responsibilities of the citizens. All this will help to foster multi-clan and non-violent avenues advancing community interests.

Both the National and County governments should invest in the region and improve infrastructure such as all weather roads, electricity in urban centres and information technology communication. Modernized educational institutions with a bias towards vocational training and skills based learning to offer the youth job opportunities.

Improved health services with proper manpower and equipment at the public facilities will reduce people's frustrations, enhance peace and harmony and reduce cost of travelling while looking for better medication in far cities like Nairobi. Currently government health facilities are ill staffed and poorly equipped resulting many patients travelling to Garrissa and Nairobi for specialized health services.

There is need to address land issues to solve the conflict and provide administrative laws to manage grazing land for proper and sustainable use. Equal political representation of all clans in the county government will help in solving the conflict since this will eliminate economic and

political exclusions. Additionally, provision of education in the northern part of Kenya and economic development of the region will be very pivotal in solving the clan conflicts witnessed in the region and the Garre and Degodia are not an expectation.

There is need for coordination of national and county peace building architectures and initiatives with those at the regional level for instance CEWARN and the Kenyan military intervention in Somalia (AMISOM) to help in peace building.

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b) Oral sources

These are transcriptions made by the researcher in the study site in December 2015 and January 2016. The materials include key informant interviews, focus discussion groups and individual narratives. They are organized according to the individuals providing the information. However, for security and privacy purposes, the names of the respondents are not given.

ORAL INTERVIEWS

PARTICIPANT	AGE	DATE	PLACE
A Clan elder	70	25/10/2016	Rhamu
An elderly woman	65	28/10/2016	Mandera town
An elderly woman	60	30/10/2016	Mandera North constituency
Youth	28	13/11/2016	Rhamu
A county official	50	15/11/2016	Mandera town
An elderly man	68	1/11/2016	Guba

A Shopkeeper	40	15/11/2016	Mandera town
A woman	45	18/11/2016	Olla
M-pesa attendant	30	2/11/2016	Rhamu
Hotelier	35	27/10/2016	Markaman
A hawker	27	30/10/2016	Mandera town

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

PARTICIPANT	PLACE	DATE
Clan elders	Rhamu	15/11/2016
Youths	Mandera town	10/11/2016
Youths	Markaman	12/11/2016
Elderly women	Guba	25/10/2016
Clan elders	Banisa	28/11/2016
Former chiefs	Mandera town	30/11/2016
Elderly men	Mandera North	26/11/2016

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Participant	Age	Date	Place
Clan elder	72	26/10/2016	Guba
Clan elder	78	30/10/2016	Mandera central
Elderly mna	65	28/10/2016	Mandera town
Elderly man	62	29/10/2016	Rhamu
Sheikh	65	27/10/2016	Rhamu Dimtu
Clan elder	38	2/11/2016	Rhamu
Elderly woman	65	3/11/2016	Mandera town
Sheik	75	25/10/2016	Banisa
County administrator	68	4/11/2016	Markaman
Clan elder	68	15/11/2016	Mandera town
Retired chief	66	13/11/2016	Olla
Elderly man	45	10/11/2016	Mandera town
County administrator	77	5/11/2016	Rhamu
Elderly woman	79	8/11/2016	Mandera North
Banker	38	5/11/2016	Mandera town
Clan elder	57	8/11/2016	Mandera town

County administrator	60	15/11/2016	Rhamu
Medical practitioner	45	12/11/2016	Mandera town
County administrator	38	11/11/2016	Banisa
Teacher	50	10/11/2016	Rhamu
Retired chief	78	1/11/2016	Mandera town
Religious leader	70	10/11/2016	Markaman
Clan elder	65	15/11/2016	Mandera town
A business man	45	12/11/2016	Guba
Former chief	67	3/11/2016	Mandera town
Security officer	40	30/10/2016	Mandera north
Security officer	38	1/11/2016	Mandera town
Woman leader	42	8/11/2016	Guba
Retired police	70	7/11/2016	Mandera town
Retired police		6/11/2016	Rhamu
Clan elder		5/11/2016	Mandera town
County administrator		3/11/2016	Markamani

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Age:

Gender:

1. What was the relationship between the Degodia and the Garre in the:

a) Pre-colonial era

b) Colonial era

c) Post-colonial era

2. Is there any conflict between the Degodia and the Garres communities? If yes when did this conflict start?

3. According to you, what are some of the causes of this conflict between the two communities?

4. Have the two communities ever engaged in civil war. If yes which wars?

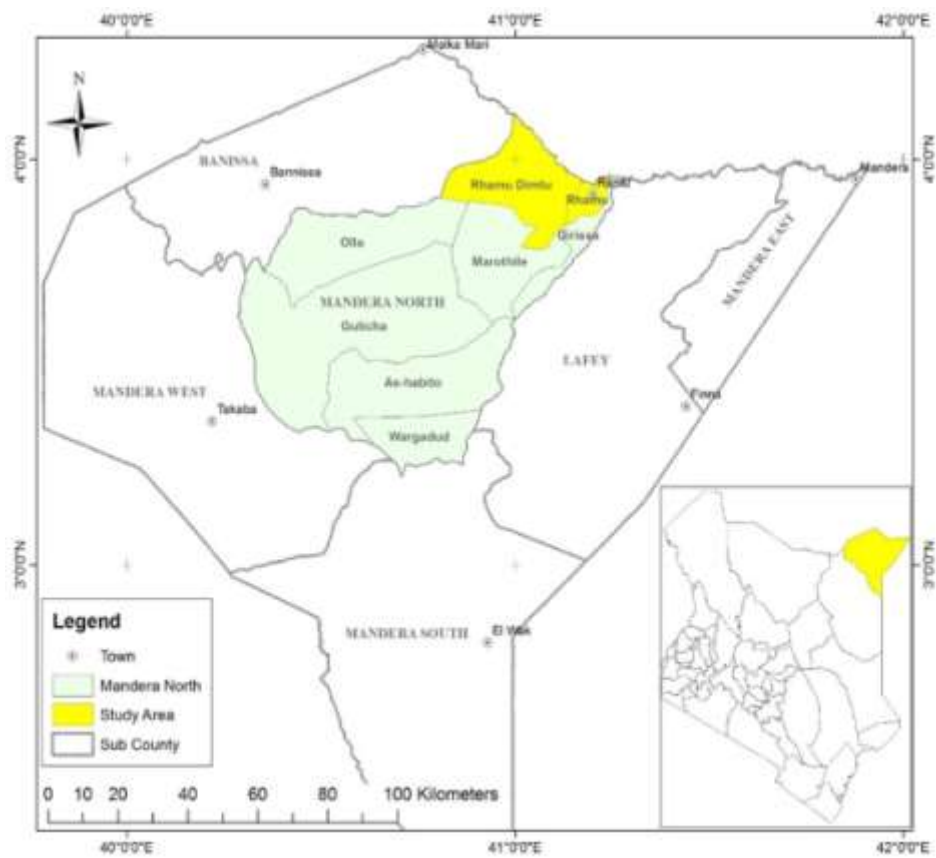
5. What are some of the impacts of the conflict between the two communities?

6. What intervention has the government put in place to help the two communities?

APPENDIX 2: STUDY TIMELINE

ACTIVITY	TIME
Proposal writing	May, 2016
Proposal defense	August, 2016
Collect data	October , 2016
Data analysis	November , 2016
Project writing	December , 2016
Project submission	January ,2016
Graduation	July 2017

APPENDIX 3: STUDY MAP



Source: Boundaries: IEBC, survey of Kenya 2011

APPENDIX 4: RESEARCH PERMIT



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying Please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P. O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. NACOSTI/P/16/65382/14398

Date:
24th October, 2016

Muktar Ali Abdi
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Dynamics of inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and the Garre of Mandera County 2008-2015*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Mandera County for the period ending 24th October, 2017.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Mandera 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.


BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Mandera County.

The County Director of Education
Mandera County.