ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND INSECURITY IN KENYA: A CASE OF MOLO IN NAKURU COUNTY: 1992-2008

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the Almighty God, my Creator, my only tower of strength, source of inspiration, knowledge, wisdom and understanding.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CIPEV   Commission Investigating Post ethnic conflicts

DP   Democratic Party

ECK   Electoral Commission of Kenya

EU   European Union

HRW   Human Rights Watch

ICC   International Criminal Court

IDPs   Internally Displaced Persons

IEBC   Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

IFES   International Foundation for Election System

IHL   International Humanitarian law

IPPG   Inter-Party Parliamentary Group

NCIC   National Cohesion and Integration Commission

TJRC   Trust, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission

GOK   Government of Kenya

NPFL   National Patriotic Front of Liberia

RUF   Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone

KANU   Kenya Africa National Union

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Conflict – This refers to a serious disagreement between two communities or groups. For example, the people in Nakuru disagreed during elections.

Conflict Resolution- describes the processes and methods that are employed in peaceful management of a conflict and the retribution approaches.

Conflict Transformation Theory – A social psychology and sociology model that looks at political, material, and social inequalities among social groups and critique various aspects through ideological conservatism and structural functionalism approach.

Election processes - Are vehicles through which political power is maintained or trailed and social differences are underscored by candidates and parties in campaigns for popular support as they tap profound vulnerabilities for violent interactions.

Electoral conflicts - Refers to the use of force on the electorate by state security forces in Molo Sub-County, or the eruption of armed antagonism between individuals or groups for reasons directly related to suffrage.

Greed - The lust for amassing wealth, an excessive desire to possess wealth, goods, or abstract things of value with the intention to keep it for one's self; an inappropriate expectation. However, greed is applied to a very excessive or rapacious desire and pursuit of wealth, status, and power.

Grievance - Existing complaints like issues on land ownership, unemployment and ethnicity.

Hate Speech – Utterances or remarks that stoke hatred and disdain against people of a different ethnic group.

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic conflicts and insecurity in Kenya have been a major source of conflicts since independence. Insecurity in Kenya have an ethnic dimension. The study focused on the causes, effects and interventions to ethnic conflicts and insecurity by the Kenya government and other stakeholders with reference to Molo Sub-County of Nakuru County, between 1992 and 2008. The specific objectives of the study were to analyzing the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008, assessing the level of instigation into ethnic conflicts and incitement by the political class, and how opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders react to the menace as well as determining the effectiveness of opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County. The study was guided by the theory of the plural society model advanced by Smith and Greed. The Grievance model of Collier and Paul was also applied in the study. The research uses both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to gather and analyze the required information. The presentation of the data uses descriptive approach and the presentation uses graphs, pie-charts, and frequency tables. Research ethics was observed strictly to avoid compromising the confidentiality of the respondents and studied work. Data were was collected using both primary and secondary approaches comprising of a sample of 385 respondents sampled from a survey population of 156,732 from Molo Sub-County, Nakuru County (2019 Kenya Population Council). Primary information was collected through interviews and administering questionnaires. Secondary data was gathered through examining relevant critical non- Governmental Organizations reports as well as government official files. The study participants were chosen using purposive sampling, random and snowballing sampling techniques. Secondary information was sourced from newspapers books, journals, and articles, from public and private college libraries and included thesis/projects and reports from the Kenya National Archives. Online sources were also be used. Some of the findings of the study indicated that, land in Molo sub-county is such a valuable resource that, it triggers inter-ethnic conflicts easily. Political instigations, incitements, negative ethnic stereotypes were also found as key social factors which influenced ethnic conflicts. Based on the results of this reseearch, the researcher recommended capacity building for the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders so as to give them the necessary peace building and conflict management skills to address land related inter-ethnic conflicts with ease. It was recommended that, Politicians who instigate ethnic conflicts should be prosecuted and made to compensate for the loses that are incurred during the conflicts. The different ethnic groups should be encouraged to have regular dialogues to reduce friction in the event of ethnic impasse as well has having peace agreements and sanctions to ensure social order among the communities to enhance ethnic cohesion. Finally, the Government should provide multiagency approaches which would enable the public to participate in community policing and other community safety initiatives.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the study objectives, the research questions, justification and significance of the study, the study scope, and the limitations of the study.

1.1 The Background of the Study

Ethnicity in Kenya has been a major source of conflicts which has been recognized internationally. According to Fishman (1977:6), ethnicity involves the individual self-identification that highlights cultural characteristics that make up the uniqueness of a group. As a label, ethnicity is a harmless term, limiting itself to feature-description. Wamwere (2003; 20) summarizes the term as a neutral description of 'a particular group'). In line with these views, it is plausible to argue that all human beings, historically or present, have belonged to one or other ethnic stock. Consequently, there is nothing negative in the application of this term in describing communities of people. This study however employed the same mechanisms in the area of Molo Sub County in relation to the current dynamics of insecurity.

Christie (1998) rightly observes that ethnic conflicts are a global phenomenon, and that they have been experienced in different societies in the course of human history. According to Carter, et al (2009) protracted ethnic conflicts have always tended to become violent. The authors give examples of such violent ethnic conflicts in the 20th century, with some on-gong in the early 21st century. The list includes the ethno-nationalist violent conflict of Northern Ireland (1968-1998); the Sinhalese-Tamil ethno-

religious conflict in Sri Lanka (1983-2009); the Pakistan-India conflict over the region of Kashmir (on-going since 1947).

Some of the most violent ethnic conflicts in modern times took place in Eastern Europe-the Balkan Peninsula-in the 1990s. Following the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1989; violent conflicts based on long-standing ethnic tensions erupted in the former state of Yugoslavia. It led to one of the cruelest instances of ethnic-cleansing in history. The point of contention was that the Serbs, constituting 31% of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, organized ethnic-cleansing pogroms. This aimed at replacing the multi-ethnic Bosnian society with Serb nationalist supremacy. This policy of attempted Serialization led to over 100,000 fatalities, and over 1.5 million internally displaced persons. The studies explain how ethnicity results to insecurity and links with this study.

Africa has perhaps the longest ethnic relations in the world. The continent hosts more than three thousand ethnic groups that have co-existed for thousands of years. There is need for a clear distinction between ethnic relations on the continent during the long pre-colonial period, and those during the colonial period which is hardly one and a half centuries old. Before colonialism ethnic groups in Africa lived in a state of mutual recognition and inter-dependence with one another. Communities exchanged foodstuffs and animals, and bartered many other items according to an unwritten law of demand and availability. Communities that shared borders would enter into marriage relationships. This does not mean that there were no conflicts in Africa. Human society, by its very nature, tends to be conflictual because of differences in culture and environment.

Activities like cattle rustling and the capture of women and children, as well as taking spoils, was part of normal life.

Some of the conflicts were violent, like in all human societies, and led to serious consequences. For instance, the Purko or pastoralist Maasai of Kenya got involved in a prolonged civil war with their Kwavi or sedentary brothers in the 18th and 19th centuries. This greatly weakened the greatest military power in pre-colonial Eastern Africa. It made it very easy for the British to establish colonialism in Kenya. In fact, the Maasai were reduced to mercenaries hired to spread British rule in present Kenya. The studies explain how well the traditional mechanisms which include the involving of ethnic warriors have been used to trigger violence in relation to the current study.

Today, negative ethnicity or tribalism is a major problem in African countries. It is the key reason for the many ethnic conflicts on the continent. In its present form, negative ethnicity is traceable to the establishment of colonial rule in Africa. According to renown Kenyan historian B.A. Ogot, the concept and ideology of tribalism was "a mental invention advanced by the colonialists with the intention of portraying or conveying the picture of communities without a history, culture, and government. It also allowed to justify the need to colonize the Africans" (quoted in Wamwere, 2003: 20).

The various colonial states and their systems of administration deliberately planted and nurtured the seeds of hatred and suspicion among various ethnic communities in the colonies. The ideology was to serve as an instrument of division and control. This was in furtherance of the protocols of the Berlin Conference on Africa in 1884/1885. According to Webster and Boahen (1970:219), the European powers at the partition table agreed

that no power should sell arms to any African group, lest they unite against the Europeans. Meanwhile the map of Africa was redrawn to form the various colonial states, instituting new boundaries in utter disregard of the African communities and the realities on the ground (Griffiths, 1986: 207).

This trend of dividing and pitting the African communities against one another virtually became official colonial policy; it exacerbated inequality in the sharing of political power and access to vital resources e.g., land, water and pasture. It watered the seeds of ethnic conflicts which matured in the post-colonial period, with devastating effects that are still being felt in the twenty-first century. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, most colonial states in Africa became independent. A major challenge to the nation-building project was the ethnic suspicion and hostility that came to the fore especially in respect of the leadership of the new nations. Political control of the state was interpreted in terms of ethnicity, contributing in some instances to severe ethnic disputes, since then, these conflicts have been at the Centre of issues such as socio-economic and political resource allocation and the attendant complains of marginalization, insecurity, ineffective governance, and generally poor citizen-state relationship.

Some of the obvious examples include: the ethnic conflicts in the DRC; the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) pitting the Ibo secessionist state of Biafra against the Federal Republic, which left over a million fatalities; and the Ethiopian state versus the Tigrinya separatists, which is on-going in 2021. The classic example, however, is the historical ethnic conflict in Rwanda among the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic communities. In 1994, this conflict exploded into a terrible display of violence, and whose outcome was the

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genocide of April-July 1994. This has gone down in as one of the bloodiest ethnic conflicts in history.

The Kenyan colonial administrators established native reserves that sought to settle different ethnic groups after confiscating their land. The reserves were crucial towards forming ethno-regional groups and identities and sub-counties, which were later formed after decolonization is still evident in the Kenyan political structures. The reserves became the home areas of the communities which were allocated such areas. The colonialists ensured that Kenyans working in the same settler lands could not have an identical identity beyond their respective ethnic groups. There were new policies established by the settlers between various African ethnic groups like Abagusii in Sotik and the Kipsigis. They included introducing identification cards (kipande) and separate residents for the Africans working in settler farms. These new policies were aimed at promoting division and rule. It also aimed to ensure that the interactions between the Africans were minimal. As a result, the policies were also critical in solidifying ethnic consciousness during colonial Kenya (Kakai, 2008: Wanjala, 2000).

The history of disputes between the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley points out the issue of land alienation that started during colonial times. In 1914, most of the Kikuyus in the Central Region lost their land to the white settlers, and they started living like squatters. Like the Akamba, Marakwet, Abagusii, Tuyen, and Nandi (Kanogo, 1987). During the 1960s, the relationship between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu became tense, and the district office at Molo received many applications for native arms from farmers, especially among the Kalenjins. The requests were honored following the

release of Jomo Kenyatta from prison in 1961 (Rutten, 2001: 552). The events meant that the Kelenjins were ready to fight the Kikuyus if their land claims were disregarded in the Rift Valley region. A similar situation was also reported in Narok between the Maasai and Kikuyu (KNA/DC/NKU/2/1/2- Sep.1961).

Another factor contributing to the strained ethnic relations between 1960 and 1963 can be linked to the activities of the constituencies and regional boundaries commission which started its operations in Nakuru in 1962. The entity obtained views concerning the regional boundaries from political parties and other interest groups. KANU wanted the new boundaries to follow the existing ones as stipulated by the provincial borders. The Moi's Kalenjin Political Alliance also had similar views (KNA/DC/NKU/2/1/2-Sep.1962). Over those years, the colonial government embarked on land allocation in settlement schemes. The British government gave more land to the Africans and allowed a smooth transfer of power to the Kenyans. They also aimed to promote stability after Kenya's independence.

Despite the resettlement efforts, there were conflicts between various ethnic groups between 1963 and 1992. Before the 1992 general polls, land-related disputes were witnessed in the Rift Valley. There were also other areas where similar challenges were reported, including Sondu in the former Nyanza Province, where Luo and Kipsigis engaged in severe violence. The Baku fought against the Saboat in the Western (Akiwumi, 1999:23- 24). However, these conflicts were not as violent as the ones witnessed in the Rift Valley region. It is vital to note that most of these conflicts were also political. The Sabaot and Kipsigis were supporters of President Moi and KANU,

while the Luo were inclined to politicians calling for multi-parties.

Similar violence was reported during the 1997 general elections. During this time, it was evident that ethnic dimensions contributed to violence. In other words, the issues were not just land disputes but ethnic violence. In Molo and the wider Nakuru County, it was evident that the violence was political. The violence was reported in three waves. The first one was between 1992 and 1993 and was mainly in Olenguruone Sub- County, while the second one (1997-1998) was reported in the Mauche, Lare, and Njoro locations of Nakuru. The third was reported from 2008 after the year's disputed presidential poll results and involved almost all the Nakuru district, including Molo.

Despite ethnicity as a cause of insecurity in many parts of the world and the country, there are limited studies on the role of ethnicity in matters of insecurity in Kenya. Lack of studies translated to a knowledge gap. The study, therefore, sought to address the data gap in the country and, more precisely, in Nakuru County. This makes us wonder whether ethnic conflicts in the Molo district (1992-2008) were due to grievances or other historical factors, hence the need for this empirical study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The term ethnicity is a label that describes the cultural features of a group or community. A universal descriptor has depicted different communities of the world throughout human history. The term is neutral and ideally does not carry any negative overtones. Unfortunately, however, whenever the concept of ethnicity has been manipulated by for political reasons, the result has always been the development of a false sense of or

consciousness which has been described as negative ethnicity or tribalism. The characteristic outcome of this false ideology has always been suspicion, fear, hatred, and even violent conflict in extreme cases. The consequences of such conflicts have involved displacement whole populations, illegal appropriation of the property of the victims, and fatalities on the targeted groups.

In Africa, negative ethnic consciousness was fanned by the colonial powers to divide and dominate African communities. At the dawn of independence ethnic differences escalated into ethnic conflicts associated with control of instruments of political power and of the economic resources. Political contests in the name of democratic elections have over the decades been reduced to games of ethnic control and dominance.

This study takes the Molo Sub-County in Nakuru County in the expansive Rift Valley region of Kenya to focus on the interplay of politics and land ownership, and how these resulted into violent ethnic conflicts with devastating socio-political and economic consequences that left ethnic bitterness and mistrust. The study starts with the attainment of independence in 1963, covering successive presidencies of Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Moi, and Mwai Kibaki. The period of 1992 and 2008, witnessed inter-clan conflicts among various Molo communities which were so intense. This resulted in much human and non-human disruption. In the solving of the multiple disputes, a resurgence of interest in native methods has been witnessed in recent years. The root cause of this violence was as a result of ethnic conflicts which triggered insecurity. It is in this regard that this study sought to interrogate the major impacts of ethnic disputes in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008, To determine the level of political instigation and

incitement to inter-ethnic conflicts by the political class in Molo Sub County and how opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders react to the menace and also to determine the effectiveness of opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County. The Molo community has such indicators of ethnic-related conflict.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 The General Objective

The general objective of the study was to assess the role played by opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i. To analyze the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008

ii. To determine the level of political instigation and incitement to inter-ethnic conflicts by the political class in Molo Sub County and how opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders react to the menace.

iii. To determine the effectiveness of opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County.

1.4 Research Questions

i. Can the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County be adequately analyzed and addressed?

ii. Are politicians involved in fueling ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County?

iii. Have opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders been active in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County from 1992 to 2008?

1.5 Research Premises/Assumption

i. Opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders played key role in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008.

ii. Opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders were effective in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008.

iii. Different stakeholders played various roles in strengthening the role played by Opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders in resolving land-related ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The role of Opinion leaders, Church leaders, administrators and elders in resolving land-related disputes which have been down played and not exploited by the government for a long time especially in Nakuru County. The main cause of ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County from 1992 to 2008 ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County has been ignored and surprisingly, the government has not been using their counsel as representatives of the society. The government fails to appreciate that, most issues affecting communities are handled at community level or between families. Not all conflicts reach the courts of justice as they would overwhelm the courts and have cost implications. There was therefore justification in picking Opinion leaders, Church leaders, administrators and elders in this study because this is a group of individuals who have both formal and informal mandate given by the community by virtue of being respected leaders. Court proceedings are expensive and time wasting and the leaders through alternative dispute resolution mechanism such as the role played by Njuri Ncheke of the Ameru people, Luo council of Elders, the Kamba Clans governing council of elders and Kaya elders among others have been commendable in solving land related ethnic conflicts.

Opinion leaders, Church leaders, administrators and elders in Molo Sub County have been involved in resolving ethnic conflicts many of which arise out of land related disputes. This justified the researcher's choice of these leaders in the study in order to unearth their involvement in preventing land related ethnic violence in the Sub-County. The main objective of the alternative dispute resolution mechanisms is to resolve land conflict in Kenya. Most of the studies that have been conducted have mainly focused on

the root cause and reconciliation of the communities while ignoring the role of leaders and especially elders in creating peace. Cherutich (2016) asserts that the role of elder hood in conflict management has restored sustainable peace in Molo Sub County and the neighboring Sub Counties. The researcher's study did not specifically focus exclusively on the role of elders in handling ethnic violence related conflicts in Molo Sub County but on their role as stakeholders in preventing ethnic violence and insecurity in the Sub County This study focused on to what extent, why and when Opinion leaders, Church leaders, administrators and elders are involved in resolving land-related ethnic conflicts which are associated with insecurity in Molo Sub County. This study was covered the period between 1992 and 2008 during which the Sub County was the epicenter of land-related ethnic conflict

In 1992, Molo Sub County experienced ethnic clashes, which were attributed to the hotly contested general election and land. This involved KANU and Democratic Party (DP) supporters. The clashes resulted in the demise of eight people and displacement of several people. The merciless killing of members of the Kikuyu Community forced Mwai Kibaki then in DP and DP MP Kimani to urge the Kikuyu tribesmen to arm themselves and indeed armed themselves and fought back. In the year, 2008 the most significant number of internally displaced people was experienced in Kenya due to post-election violence (Mulikuza, 2015). A number of past studies have urged the government of Kenya to exploit the role and importance of community grass root leaders in handling ethnic conflicts which have been blamed on politics as their primary cause (Bollig, 2010). The study was significant in that it examined the ways in which opinion leaders, Church leaders, administrators and elders` can play a major role in preventing ethnic conflicts.

The study will contribute to the intellectual knowledge for academic advancement in conflict resolution matters. The study recommended policies which can be adopted by the government and other organizations to support the leaders in preventing the ethnic conflicts.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research was study was undertaken in Molo Sub-County - Nakuru County, Kenya. The area was selected because off the recurrent conflicts which occur there. During these conflicts, ethnicity has been blamed to be the root causes of this violence intervene in solving them. The ever-recurring ethnic conflicts have occurred in Kenya in many forms particularly in Nakuru County (Muigua, 2014). Many ethnic conflicts take place between individual parties (for instance boundary conflicts between neighbors), inheritance conflicts in families, and conflict over the use of a given piece of land. The disputes are relatively led to insecurity. The study covered the period between 1992, to 2008. The year Molo Sub County experienced the worst ethnic clashes. The violence made it a priority to understand the root causes and dynamics of conflict related to ethnicity. Finally, the study content is centered on analyzing the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County between 1992 and 2008, determining the role played by politicians in instigating ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County and how opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders react to the menace including the determination of effectiveness of opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders in preventing land related ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County

for lasting peace in the Sub County. The study, therefore, looked at the ethnicity as a propagator of insecurity.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

This research study experienced many limitations as it was sensitive in nature. The Limitations were brought about by the nature of the insecurity which is based on ethnic differences, political influence on the conflicts and sometimes the personalities involved in igniting the conflicts. The limitations were overcome by reassuring the participants that the study was being carried out for academic purposes only and that no the information provided would be kept confidential. A second limitation was experienced by the researcher on the language which made it hard for researcher to communicate with the communities in the conflict area. The limitation was overcome by employing research assistants from the different communities living in Molo area. Most of the participants especially the elderly people were either semi-illiterate or literate. Our research tackled this constraint by interpreting the language since he was fluent in both English, Kiswahili, and one of the local dialects spoken in the region. The researcher also sought the assistance of a research assistant who was skilled in the local dialects.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL

MODEL

2.1 Introduction

The section highlights the review of different literature on land as a resource, land as a source of conflict and ways of the resolution, global, Africa, and Kenyan overview of the role of elders in resolving land-related disputes.

2.2 Review of Related Literature

This section focuses on the Land as a resource and a source of conflict, Political instigation and incitement, Political causes of ethnic conflicts, the role of opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts.

2.2.1 Social Causes of Ethnic conflict

The inter-tribal wars of 1991 to 1998 wreaked havoc on Molo Sub County. Native reserves were not present in the sub-county during colonial times. Because of this, many of its current population came to the area before the country's independence via various settlement programs. According to the Nakuru District's Annual Report for 1961, the Kikuyu community comprised more than half of the sub-county's population at the time. "Inter-tribal tensions escalated substantially as the year progressed," the study stated. After independence, the Kalenjin accumulated indigenous armaments in anticipation of a war with the Kikuyu and maybe the Luo for the sovereignty of their lands, particularly the upper Rift Valley and the Rift Valley region. Because of the growing hostility

between the two tribes, among the members of the Agricultural workers union, the Kikuyu refused to join arms with the Kalenjin to attack any other sides. It was a foregone conclusion that the Kikuyu were the primary target of the Kalenjin during the Molo sub-county hostilities. The Kikuyu and the Kalenjin had more or less become traditional enemies". However, this study focused on the ethnicity as a major cause of insecurity which was not exhaustively tackle.

The Molo sub-County clashes of 2008 had more or less similarities with the previous incidents of land-related and ethnic conflicts in the region in the sense that it could be predicted. Across section of Kenyans remain convinced that, the Violence and Exodus of innocent people among them women and children from the area could have been prevented. Even though election-related clashes are one of the major aspects that define the country's politics and poll results over the past twenty years, the extent and intensity of the disputes was unprecedented and the government cannot give reasonable cause why strategic measures including use of common conflict prevention tools such as conflict early warning and timely security agencies response were not used. There was a sense in which the victims saw this as structurally instigated ethnic violence. By early March in 2008, about 1,000 people had been killed, while an estimated 3,000 people had been displaced from their areas due to the violence. The clashes started after the announcement of Mwai Kibaki as the winner of the presidential poll that saw him retain his seat for the second term. The polls triggered the ethnic conflicts, and leading politicians who had started the clashes reached a point where they could not bring the disputes to an end because they could not control the marauding youth. People took advantage of the conflicts to loot and illegally occupy the empty land left by the fleeing

victims. The violence was politically based on the perception that the presidential poll announced by the ECK was disputed. The conflicts draw global focus leading to satellite mapping of the clashes and efforts by international humanitarian agencies and human rights organizations. Despite this, these agencies did not provide specific causes of the ethnic conflict and its insecurity in Kenya.

Instruments used to gather information on the troubled ethnic conflict areas included; spectroradiometer, which analyzed the issues through fires emitted when people touched each other's properties. The Fire Information processed the fire data from the clash areas for FIRMS (Resource Management System) based at the University of Maryland. FIRMS has generated fire data and maps that covered ethnic conflict areas from Kitale, Nakuru, Western, and Nyanza regions. The International Court of Justice used the maps during the prosecution of the Kenya case, among other instruments. Muigai, Githu (1995), Mutahi Patrick (2005), Oucho John (2002), National Christian Council of Kenya. The study helped the current research in identifying the areas affected by ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County.

Social issues are both cultural and historical factors that cause ethnic conflicts. Cultural domination, together with political suppression, is considered as another cause of conflict. Scholars have studied and argued to justify this cause. Allen (1994) holds that the advancement of ethnic conflicts and ethnicity cannot be analyzed via materialistic and economic outlooks alone. Analysts should consider the idea that variations in values, traditions, and associated suppression concerns play a critical role in ethnic disputes. Harris and Reilley (1998) argue that ethnic conflicts are caused by the "group/cultural

autonomy" among the minorities concerned about suppressing cultural assimilation by the larger groups. The idea can be seen through a political perspective where the dominant party may impose values, beliefs, and traditions upon the rest of the groups. That means that it suppresses the values, institutions, and language of other groups/parties (Hussein, 2004). This comes with the fear of assimilation by one group over the others. Social inequality describes a condition in which member of a society has varying amounts of power, prestige, and wealth.

Davis and Moore, argue that some aspects of social inequalities exist in all communities/ societies. This defines stratification in the society. Social inequality in Kenya is another cause of ethnic conflicts and negative ethnicity. Historical factors also matter a great deal and can be a source of ethnic conflict. Colonial arrangements such as by the Dutch, French, Belgian, Germans, and British put considerable efforts to trigger ethnic disputes in various regions where people from diverse ethnic nature live in peace. For this purpose, the British colonial government as earlier indicated used the divide and rule system which divided Kenyan local communities totally. The colonial era and the independent states that followed created "ethnic identities" among individuals and it was crucial towards determining the place of everyone within certain colonies. Assassinations of key leaders from one ethnic group also provided for the subsequent ethnic disputes in Kenya. The study above insinuates on the genesis of ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Thus, the current study will give more lights on the problem of study.

Collier, (2006) observes that a useful conceptual distinction in understanding the motivation for conflicts is that between greed and grievance. Collier, argued, instead that

the key to understanding why such wars erupt lay in greed and the quest for loot by rebel actors. The likelihood of greed-driven conflicts breaking out was particularly high. Further, Collier suggested that, a country that relied heavily on surplus of young unemployed and poorly educated men, experiencing a period of rapid economic decline are likely to engage in conflicts. The issue of unemployed youth being used in perpetuation of electoral conflicts is rampant in Molo Sub- County as this was due to their vulnerability. The implication is that countries with various forms of deprivation are prone to conflicts. He emphasizes that the real cause of most rebellions is not the loud discourse of grievance but the silent voice of greed. However, it is difficult to rule out greed even if the grievances are present and therefore, our study examined the possibility of this link to ethnic conflicts. The work above helped in focusing on the ethnic conflict as in the current study in Nakuru County.

2.2.2 Political Instigation and Incitement

Prior to independence Nakuru County, in which Molo Sub County falls, was among the most volatile regions concerning politics and land issues. Before 1962, the area boasted an estimated eleven quasi-political and full political registered societies. Most of these entities were based on tribal lines. The political climate following the advancement of multi-parties also had similar fate. The current situation means that the country has not changed much concerning their approach on tribal and political issues. A colonial government observation in their 1960 annual report to the effect that, that, "loyalty of Africans is shown by their attachment to their tribes and families than their political affiliations or membership to other organizations'. These sentiments seem to support the

polarity of Kenyan Politics. As general polls approach, political loyalty seems more and synonymous with tribal loyalty. In the post-independence Kenya political line –ups in Molo Sub County were between the Abaluhya/Kalenjin for KADU and Kikuyu/Luo for KANU and. Political instigation and incitement has been experienced in different times and especially during the elections. The statement that triggers ethnic conflict is made by the political class, on 22nd and 29th September, 1991, several political leaders from Rift valley were reported to have uttered these sentiments towards groups that supported multi-parties "attack and hit them and we are now done with the FORD politics as well as multiparty agenda and the National Democratic Party. These utterances and use of unsavory language among politicians who are seem as the opinion shapers is linked to conflicts since it stirs up communities. The above study relied on the general conflict with no specific cause of insecurity. It is in this regard that this study sought to look at ethnicity as a major cause of conflicts in Nakuru County.

2.2.2 Political Causes of Ethnic Conflicts

Keen (2000) on Incentives and disincentives for conflicts, argues that, although elites have often amassed considerable personal wealth, they have frequently presided over states that lack the means for effective and disciplined counterinsurgency (not least because available revenues have been siphoned into private pockets). In these circumstances, and particularly in Africa, we have seen elites repeatedly recruiting civilians into unpaid or underpaid armies or militias. Such recruitment has typically, but not always, been along ethnic lines. Some combination of fear, need, and greed created willingness to be mobilized for conflicts among this civilian population. Keen's

contributions were considered for interrogation in Molo Sub-county where organized gangs had been mobilized to cause mayhem in every election year. This study was however done to accommodate the current area of study and that's why the research was done to locate the local problem faced by the people.

Further, Keen argues that civil conflicts in most developing countries should not be written off as simply "irrational." For him, they constitute more than a breakdown of social order. They are an economic exploitation by segments of the elite whose aspiration has been obstructed by competing elites. Kaplan (2000) supports this position when he says that most rebel movements in Africa –the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF) have no clear political agenda, as their leaders are more business executives than political leaders. These borders are on greed as the main contributor in economic exploitation. The above study stipulated the role of rebels in causing insecurity while the current study looks at the ethnicity in creating insecurity.

William Tordoff (1993), on Government and Politics in Africa, states that success of political leaders in winning popular backing depends upon the trust which they inspire and ultimately on their ability to obtain material benefits for their faction in the form of government jobs or loans, a school or clinic, a road or electric supply. In this case, "we are dealing with a kind of patronage politics, with economic resources used as a political tool to enable the leadership to buy support for their policies. Since political and bureaucratic leaders may also appeal to ethnic identities to fulfill their ambitions, the practice of politicizing ethnic identities becomes one cause among many causes of ethno-

political conflicts. By appealing to ethnic identities and loyalties, political leaders urge people to keep allegiance to those who safeguard ethnic interests. The way of persuading people to support politicians tends to appeal to the traditional methodologies of supporting the traditional chiefs. Ordinary people feel that such politicians are about to restore the traditional political systems. This information is very relevant to the current study.

However, a number of political leaders, under the cover of African cultures, apply principles of manipulation and predation to serve their own interests. The consequence of using these methodologies is that ethnic groups are trained to acquire an attitude of concentrating on winning favors and fighting for the limited national resources. Their participation in public affairs is reduced to a game of advocating ethnic interests rather than building structures that can guarantee equal participation, justice, and development for all. The current study concentrated in interrogating such linkages.

Gurr (1970) on the civil war in Sierra Leone cannot really be understood without comprehending the deep sense of anger at lack of good government and educational opportunities (the significance of the latter suggesting a problem with taking lack of education as a proxy for grievance). In this overall context of grievance - greed and other factors have undoubtedly played a role. The failure of the state to provide economic security was matched by a failure to provide physical security. In this case, appropriate economic guidelines and policies were non-existent. However, this coupled with wide spread insecurity in almost all the sectors brought the civil war to the climax. However, it is not clear whether the idea of relative deprivation has been used either to measure

fairness, inequality, social justice, or to explain grievance, social hostility or aggression.

Allen (1994) argues that the conceptions of 'ethnic group' in the post-colonial period have been changed by the former colonial policies, formal education and politicization of tribes. Ethnicity is not bad in itself, because it is the recognition of a people's right to be different from others. However, when such recognition is accompanied by exclusion of everybody else from that group and a view that anybody who does not belong to that group is culturally inferior (Musau, 2007), there is cause for concern. Allen's explanation on issues of ethnicity did not bring out clearly how ethnicity has contributed to ethnic conflicts and especially in Molo sub-county. The work above did not focus on how ethnicity contributed to ethnic violence as the current study in Nakuru County.

Machira (2010), in his book *Armed Conflict and the Law*, observes that since 1992 Kenya general elections have been characterized by sporadic conflicts and ethnic conflicts which he attributed to lack of free and fair elections. According to him, the elections were marred with massive manipulations from all quarters struggling to ensure political dominance and power. However, he fails to relate the failure on any government institution neither does he clearly highlights the root cause of such terminal conflicts but the current study will. Machira also failed to clarify whether the electoral conflicts were due to grievances among the political parties or other factors.

Lederach (1997) in *Building Peace* advances that, in identity conflict, individuals in opposing factions seek out communal alliance based on ethnicity, language, religion and tribal alliance in pursuit of access to natural resources, territory, security and ultimately to political power. On the same, other scholars such as (Bardhan, 1997) suggest that from

a general perspective international experience has shown that in situations where (ethnic) groups distrust each other and are afraid of being victimized, this fear might drive them to resort to conflicts first in a preemptive move to minimize damage. One of the ways of weakening political opposition is by deflecting the discontent of one ethnic group by turning their frustrations against another ethnic group. Nevertheless, they did not specify how the power of grievance or other factors contributing to conflicts covertly influenced ethnicity. Further, Bardhan puts forward that ethnic conflicts are often the result of the decline of meditating institutions such as political parties as a forum of democratic negotiations and the lack of pre-existing credible commitments across groups. Therefore, this study was used to evaluate how the failures of such institutions have been used to perpetuate conflicts while hiding behind the cover of ethnic grievance. The current study looks at how ethnicity triggers ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County.

Holloway and Stedman (2002) observe that, economic conditions create the risk of conflicts. Some societies had repeated conflicts, not because of the cumulative legacy of the desire for vengeance but because war is profitable for some groups. Economic factors are particularly acute when they are associated with patterns of discrimination between groups. The perception by some groups that there are strong unequal economic opportunities and access to resources, as well as vast differences in standards of living between groups, will greatly contribute to a sense of grievance. However, Holloway's argument on recurring conflicts did not come up with the modalities for averting the repeated conflicts, which might have been caused by other factors.

John Githongo, (2006) the former Kenyan anticorruption tsar, identifies land, power and access asymmetries planted by colonialists and perpetuated by decades of unscrupulous and myopic political leadership, as the roots of societal and ethnic tension. However, he vests the actual perpetrators of conflicts with little agency. The citizens who engaged in the violent episodes are projected almost as automatons responding to the social (power) arrangements they have inherited in the course of history. Githongo gives an account of the main cause of this trend in relation to election and conflicts. His article was used to trace the existence of this colonial bias on land and power as having set unfortunate precedence in Molo Sub-County. This information is very relevant to the current study.

Frey (1991) on the other hand, observes that, actors using conflicts for political purpose and gains are those in power or their agents and that state instigated conflicts is aimed at preventing changes in the status quo. He further points out that the strategy of instigators of state sponsored conflicts is to inspire the target population with terror by means of random acts of conflicts. Moreover, a government that lacks a popular mandate tends to resort to conflicts in an attempt to bolster support. Frey did not justify how the Government alone is solely to blame for conflicts, as it must have opposing forces and therefore left out other actors. This study sought to dwell into the causes of insecurity in Nakuru County.

Similarly, Nnoli (1989) argues that, once a group takes over state power, it organizes itself and society in such a way as to perpetuate its control of power and use it to pursue its group's interest. To a large extent it is perceived that ethnic sentiments and identity were manipulated for political ends in the ethnic conflicts in Kenya. However, Nnoli's

study was used for further interrogation and provision of useful information on the study on election conflict. Therefore, the current study will focus on the ethnicity as the core element of during and after elections.

Misra Amalendu (2008) in Politics *of Civil Wars: Conflict, Intervention, and Resolution* undertook an ambitious project to explain the initiation, process, escalation, termination, and recurrence of conflicts. He concludes with a warning that poor, autocratic states with massive regional imbalances and corrupt leaders are most likely to fall victim to civil wars. However, Misra does not come out clearly to state whether this conflict is due to grievance or other factors and therefore, our study examined the possibility of this link.

Hegre et al (2001) on his part, pointed out that, the risk of conflict is lower in both well-established democracies and autocracies perhaps because of greater state capacity. This may be attributed to the existence of the two extremes in terms of freedom in all senses on one side and tyranny and dictatorship on the other. However, this claim therefore, gave some direction to this study as it was used to form some basis whether the weak social contract contributed to the continued growth of electoral conflicts. Nevertheless, Hegre failed to address the situation of the countries which do not belong to either of the two categories, Kenya being an example.

Dreyton (1995) in his book suggests that the emergence of political pluralism has engendered the polarization of particularistic groupings as political parties crystallize, mostly on the basis of ethnic and regional interests rather than common ideology or political principles. Nevertheless, Kenya had previously maintained a remarkable modicum of peace and stability despite changes in its political system and recurrent

crises in neighboring countries. Therefore, as much as Dreyton's argument had some truth, it was just an escape for greedy politicians surviving under the blame of political pluralism. The above study was relevant in this research as it explains how politicians are involved in orchestrating ethnic conflicts.

Gerard Prunier instead of concentrating on the seriousness of the 1994 Rwanda genocide argues that the genocide militias *'Interahamwe'* and '*Impuzamugambi*' were recruited from low-class and middle class young people. The interpretation here is that it is easier to manipulate these groups of people into conflicts, as they are very vulnerable and ready to be hired even at small fee. He failed to show that, these militias had a cultural setting. Prunier's work looked at a politically instigated conflict that involved one ethnic group but failed to point out that, even two social classes which over history have developed their differences could arrive at ethnic hatred like the one that took place in Rwanda. One of the ways of weakening political opposition is by deflecting the discontent of one ethnic group by turning their frustrations against another ethnic group (Keen, 2000).

Although Okoth and Ogot (2008) advance their view that, the phenomenon of electoral and political conflicts in Africa has traditionally been explained in terms of ethnic hatred, this may not be the truth in all cases. They also suggest that electoral conflicts are caused by contest over state resources in context that is devoid of effective political institutions. Political competitions in Africa tend to assume vertical rather than horizontal dimensions leading to the apparent high rate of political conflicts in the continent. Therefore, skewed approaches to resource allocation in the face of low levels of political institutionalization constitute the paradigm within which political conflicts in Kenya may be explained, as it

is going to be established in the current study in Nakuru County.

2.2.3 The Role of Opinion Leaders, Church Leaders, and Elders in Preventing Ethnic Conflicts

Elders, opinion, and church leaders play a crucial role in the resolution of ethnic conflicts. The success of these people is based on the norms, social and cultural values, the processes used, and their beliefs. These aspects define how these groups are accepted within their communities. People may choose to abide by elders' decisions if they see the wisdom in their choices (Mohammed, 2013). In most societies, the prestige of people increases as they grow old. Therefore, the belief exists in Kenya, where the community members look upon the elders for advice concerning ethnic conflicts. Elders who take a role in communal ceremonies and dispute resolution should demonstrate good social standing. The seniority of the elders makes them almost indispensable in the lives of the rest of the community members. As a result, communities look upon them for various reasons, including dispute resolution.

Elders have high authority, and traditions require community members to honor and respect them both in their presence and absence. Respect for parents, elders, ancestors, community members, and the environment is paramount and is cherished with Africans' traditions, taboos, and customs. In a book entitled "Facing Mount Kenya" by Jomo Kenyatta, people could not change boundaries set by the Kikuyu people due to the fear that the rest of the community members would curse them. Boundary plants like trees and lilies were planted by the community members, served as critical demarcation marks, and were respected. If any of such trees died, the neighbors participated in replacing

them, and in case they disagreed on its previous location, they sought help from the elders.

Spiritual healers and seers, traditional healers, herbalists, and diviners also had a vital role in dispute resolution. According to the book, elders had a critical role in harmonizing activities among different groups among both the living and the departed. The mediators were respected for their wisdom and seniority. These people became experts in dispute resolution and played a critical role in the well-being of their communities. They acted as an essential element in promoting togetherness within their communities and fostered a sense of living as a community. As discussed, the role of these leaders is thus critical in understanding the contribution of opinion and community leaders in addressing ethnic disputes in Nakuru County.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This study utilized Greed Grievance Theory. The proponents of greed- grievance theory are Paul Collier and Hoeffler (2004). Their study argued that rivals in conflicts are motivated by a desire to better their situation and perform an informal cost-benefit analysis in examining if the rewards of joining a rebellion are greater than not joining. In this case the benefits derived from organizing conflicts or motivations of greed must pay well for the organizers. Collier and Hoeffler advanced their case that civil wars stem from the greedy behavior of a rebel group in organizing an insurgency against the Government. In Molo Sub-county, politicians employed the hungry, unemployed and vulnerable youths paying meager handouts to unleash terror and mayhem on poor locals every electioneering period. The theory thus provides two variables greed and grievances that could be intertwined the main motivating factor in a conflict situation. Whereas

grievance would provide legitimate course of conflicts as it is assumed that the result could be positive for the larger society, greed is not. Specifically the grievance if addressed would lead to development of the society. Understanding the possible grievances that could have contributed to ethnic conflicts was thus a concern of this study.

Greed and grievance is a powerful framework for understanding the determinants of violent civil conflict as advanced by Collier and Hoeffler (1998, 2004). They contend that violent conflicts may either result from "grievances", for example related to economic inequality, discrimination, or political exclusion, or from the "greed" of opportunistic, political entrepreneurs, who organize conflicts if this provides the shortest way to power and wealth. In cross-country analyses of the onset and duration of civil wars, Collier and Hoeffler find that factors most obviously related to greed are more robustly correlated with the incidence of civil war than factors most obviously related to grievance. This study attempts to interpret the ethnic conflict in Molo using this framework.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

This section explains the variable according to the research topic and the objective. It relays the dependent, independent and the intervening variable. The study utilized the alternative hypothesis. The independent variable observed the role of opinion leaders, church elders and community elders in resolving ethnic conflicts i.e. resolving boundary disputes, marking boundaries, bringing people together, gathering information on disputes in resolving land conflicts which included; resolving boundary disputes, marking boundaries, bringing people together and gathering information on disputes.

The intervening variable looked at the roles of the existing Institutions which included Government, Religious, Non-governmental and Legal framework that are used by the independent variable to yield the results. Lastly, the dependent variable comprised of the effectiveness of community elders that was measured in terms of the outcome. They included; Successful dialogue, Peaceful co-existence and Land-related conflict resolution.

Independent variables   **Intervening variables**   **Dependent variables**

Role of opinion leaders, church elders and community elders in resolving ethnic conflicts
-resolving boundary disputes
-marking   boundaries
-bringing people together
-gathering information on disputes

Role of other institutions
- Government
- Religious
- Non-governmental
- Legal framework

Role of political class in instigating violence
- incitement
- ethnic profiling
- funding militia

Role of youth in insecurity
- looting
- instilling fear
- Occupying empty lands
- Tool for incitement

Effectiveness of Community Elders
- Successful dialogue
- Peaceful co-existence
- Land-related conflict resolution

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This particular section comprises of the research design, a description of the study area, the target population, sampling techniques and sample size determination, instruments of data collection, pretesting, validity and reliability of the data collection instruments, data collection techniques and procedures, data analysis, presentation and interpretation, and ethical considerations in the study. The study adopted both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

3.2 Research Design

The study used descriptive survey research design. Descriptive survey research design was chosen because it integrated the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. It is also effectively addressed the research problem, constituted the blueprint for collection, and analysis of data. The Study design approach was essential for a study on people's views and attitudes on social issues. The survey majorly focused on describing, reading, analyzing, and interpreting conditions as they existed. The study also described, investigated, and explained the respondent's attitudes and perception of opinion leaders, church leaders, administrators and elders in land-related conflict management in Molo Sub County from 1992 to 2008. The research design was, therefore, appropriate for this study. The plan was also flexible as it allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data with ease.

3.3 The Study Area

The study was carried out in Molo Sub-County of Nakuru County, Kenya. Molo Sub-County is located at coordinates 0. 2471° S, 35.7374°0´E. The sub-County covers an approximate 478.79 square kilometers. The Sub-County borders Rongai and Njoro Sub-Counties to the East and Baringo County to the North. Molo Sub-County has a population of 156,732 people spread in its eight (8) Wards, Mariashoni, Molo, Elburgon, Turi, Tinet, Kaptagich, Amalo, and Keringet (National Census, 2019). The population mainly practices farming and pastoralism. The period of 1992 to 2008 witnessed widespread ethnic violence among various Molo Sub County communities. The main cause of these conflicts has been as a result of resources fueled by political activities. Most of the communities within the Sub County depend on farming and that is why land plays key role in the conflicts. This has always resulted into human and non-human disruption. The major concern of the area residents is the sporadic land- related skirmishes which occurred during every election cycle. Molo Sub-County was selected for this study because it is remained the epicenter of the land-related ethnic conflicts particularly among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Communities.

3.4 Target Population

The target population of the survey was the people of Molo Sub-County who included the area opinion leaders, Church leaders and elders. The Sub County has an estimated population of people 156,732 and this included over 600 opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders, who were part of the target population in the study (Kenya National census 2019). The target population of the study therefore was

determined at 600 entities to represent the community under study. A target population of 600 was therefore considered sufficient to represent the study.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size in the study was determined using Krejcie and Morgan (1970) formula for sample size determination. According to Krejcie and Morgan, a good maximum sample size is usually around 10% of the target population as long as this does not exceed 1000. For instance, in a population of 5000, 10% would be 500. A sample of 385 out of 156,732 was therefore chosen for this study.

3.6 Sampling Techniques

The study used two methods of sampling thus purposive and snowballing techniques. Purposive sampling was used as it allowed units of the sample to be selected through the convenience of the researcher and irrespective of whether they are representative of the population or not. The technique allowed the researcher to use cases that have the required information concerning the objectives of the study. In the snowball sampling technique, the respondents voluntarily assisted the researcher in identifying other potential participants with the specific range of information that the researcher was interested in, e.g. locating the opinion leaders, Church leaders and influential elders. The researcher chose purposive and snowballing techniques of sampling because the target population was large and spread in vast areas. Also, qualitative researches such as this required that the researcher took the most accessible or the one that the researcher could spend the most time with. The two techniques enabled the researcher to achieve this. The

study, therefore, purposively helped to select the study area as well as leaders from each of the eighty wards of the Sub-County for the questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and in-depth interviews. The eighty wards were; Mariashoni, Molo, Elburgon, Turi, Tinet, Kaptagich, Amalo, and Keringet. Members of all these groups gave sufficient information on the study subject.

The study, therefore, used a sample size of 386 respondents for the questionnaires, eight groups for the FGDs, and 16 participants for in- depth interviews. As noted above, every ward produced one FGD comprising of opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders. On the other hand, 16 respondents who were selected through the snowball technique participated in in-depth interviews. The respondents comprised of elders, some ordinary citizens, and opinion leaders. The sample size of 16 participants for in-depth interviews was arrived at based on the saturation principle. Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 summarize how the sample sizes were picked.

Table 3.1: Sampling Frame

S/No.	Ward	Total population	% Total study Population	Total No. Sampled
1	Mariashoni	14, 070	100	20
2	Molo	48,690	100	69
3	Elburgon	49,074	100	70
4	Turi	28,750	100	41
5	Tinet	44,068	100	63
6	Kaptagich	29,595	100	42
7	Amalo	23,822	100	34
8	Keringet	32,931	100	47
Total		**271,000**	**800**	**386**

Table 3.2: Sample Size for the FGDs

Authority   - 2019 National Census.

Ward	No of Groups
Mariashoni	1
Molo	1
Elburgon	1
Turi	1
Tinet	1
Kaptagich	1
Amalo	1
Keringet	1
Total	**8**

Table 3.3: Sample Size for the In-depth Interviews

Category of Groups	No.
Security officers	2
Administrators	3
Kikuyu Religious leaders	2
Kalenjin Elders	3
Kamba opinion leader	2
Gusii opinion leader	1
Teacher	1
Turkana Elder	1
Business lady	1
Total	**16**

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

The researcher used semi-structured questionnaires, interview schedules for conducting in-depth interviews a (IDIs and Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) guides. The researcher utilized semi-structured questionnaires because they enable the interviewer to ask a few predefined questions as they wish and as per their interview plans. Semi-structured questionnaires were also chosen since they allowed the researcher to collect data within

the convenience of the respondents. It enabled collecting information using clustering in-depth schedules and FGDs guides since they are ideal for the collection of qualitative data. Similarly, the researcher used Focused group discussions since they allowed him to understand the study dynamics through the interaction and understanding of the opinions of the people. The FGDs helped the researcher to ask for clarifications and reframe questions to understand the issues fully.

The data collected through FGDs saved time since the researcher was able to interact with many people at once and get the right information. Secondary sources of data were also used to collect the data using an intensive review of the literature. The choice of secondary data in the survey was due to the fact that the researcher was able to obtain the information at his convenient and appropriate time. Secondary data also enabled the researcher to make inferences based on the findings of other researchers. Secondary data provides a reliable reservoir for research works.

3.7.1 Validity

The researcher considered in the very earliest stages of the study, how he was to collect his data. In this regard, he made good reference of the 4 known types of validity, thus Construct, Content, face and Criterion to help him protect his data collection instruments. Indeed validity is the state of being legally or officially binding or acceptable Hamed Taherdoost (2016) and Oluwatayo (2012).

3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability check was done using Cronbach Alpha Coefficient Tests for Reliability in the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS). The inputs for the tests were drawn from the pretests. According to the reliability tests result which are higher than 0.75 indicates good reliability. The tests, therefore, were done to ensure that the study tools produced consistent results before the data collection.

3.8 Data Collection Techniques and Procedures

Data was collected using primary and secondary methods. The researcher held discussions with FGDs and also Target informers. The researcher obtained the required permission from the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, the County Commissioner's office, Nakuru and National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Permission to access primary data from the offices of individuals, state and non-state actors was also sought. The researcher then booked appointments with the concerned custodians of primary data, the groups and the interviewees. The specific data collection techniques and procedures are as discussed below;

3.8.1 Secondary Data

The secondary data for this study was collected from different online sources among them; Kenyatta University Library, published findings from other scholars, including unpublished data sources. Published data were available in various publications of the National and county governments, various publications of foreign governments and

international organizations, books, magazines, newspapers, reports by research scholars and universities. The sources of unpublished data included letters, minutes of peace meetings, peace training manuals, and unpublished works by scholars and researchers. The data collection method and technique fitted the study because it enabled the researcher to get data at his own convenient time. The documented data was then critically examined and analyzed.

3.8.2 Semi-Structured Questionnaires

The researcher used trained research assistant who administered to respondents pretested semi-structured questionnaires. The administration of these questionnaires involved translating them into the local language since they were written in English. The questionnaires extracted information such as the socio-demographics of the respondents. There was another section on the role of community leaders in solving land-based conflicts. Lastly, there were other sections on ways of strengthening mechanisms of community leaders and their effectiveness in managing conflicts. The tool was selected due to its suitability in collecting quantitative data and the fact that it allowed the researcher to survey while seeking clarifications. The tool also enabled the researcher to ask questions in line with the study topic to understand it clearly.

3.8.3 Focus Group Discussion

The researcher used this method of data collection because it enabled him to explore the views of the participants and to generate answers to issues, which could have been more difficult in face-to-face interviews. The researcher selected sixteen FGDs for the

interview. The method was also suitable for gathering of information from both illiterate and semi-literate respondents. This approach reduced the amount of time as it generally yielded detailed qualitative information from a relatively large number of discussants assembled in one place. The FGD were selected from the study population through the help of area National Government Administration officers, civil society organizations, faith based organizations and non-governmental organizations representatives. The FGDs comprised of 8 to 12 members according to Edward Fern (1982) who describes this as a popular research tool. The FGDs were conducted at the local chiefs' offices by the lead researcher who introduced the topics and then allowed the members to seek clarification. A note taker wrote down important comments and recordings were done and later transcribed to ensure that no information was left out.

3.8.4 In-depth Interviews (IDI)

The researcher managed to conduct all the 16 interviews as planned earlier planned. For the sake of convenience of the respondents, he used both formal and informal approaches. Formal structures were used because the researcher felt that it created a more relaxed atmosphere for the respondents who in turn participated freely. The in-depth interview was selected because the approach provides much more detailed information than what is readily available. It helped it to clarify the reliability of the information gathered through the focus group discussion and secondary data analysis. The technique was useful in checking in-depth knowledge that could not have been found in other methods particularly among the illiterates or semi-illiterate respondents. Similarly, the techniques created confidence on the part of the respondents, and indeed that enabled

more reliable, valid, and objective results. Finally, the approach opened up the respondents who initially appeared reserved, conservative, and secretive.

3.9 Data Analysis

The researcher used quantitative approach to enter data into the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS version 22.0) after cleaning it. Data analysis was then done using descriptive statistics. For the qualitative data from FGDs and IDIs, the study adopted thematic analysis. The process involved classifying information on various categories of responses for each objective from the respondents. The data was then interpreted and presented based on these categories and themes.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting the study, the researcher sought approval from the Kenyatta University Graduate School. A permit to conduct the research was also obtained from the National Council for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) who in turn informed the Nakuru County Commissioner, the Nakuru County Director of education as well as the respective sub counties of the same. Informed consent was sought before responding to the questionnaires. To ensure adherence to ethical issues, the researcher obtained verbal approval from the respondents. The participants were also informed of the study objectives, methods, and the relevance of the study. The participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality by coding their voices, and no one was coerced into participating in the study. The researcher ensured that all respondents were treated with respect and their privacy was observed. The researcher provided the respondents with his contacts for ease of communication and consultation.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background information, socio-demographics of the respondents, gender of the respondents, age of the respondents, education level, the results of the study conducted in Molo sub-county as per the objectives of the study and finally It summarizes the role of opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County.

4.2 The Background Information

This section entailed socio-demographics of the respondents, gender of the respondents' age of the respondents and education level.

4.2.1 Socio-Demographics of the Respondents

The respondents were drawn from eight wards in Molo sub-county, and their respective numbers are as discussed in chapter three. A total of 385 respondents responded to questionnaires.

4.2.2 Gender of the Respondents

The respondents were all from Molo sub-county who were above 18 years. 386 respondents were sampled since they were expected to be aware on the role of opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in addressing ethnic conflicts in the sub County. The findings indicated that the majority of the interviewees were females

comprising 200 while minority was males comprising 185. The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents are as shown in Figure 4.1.
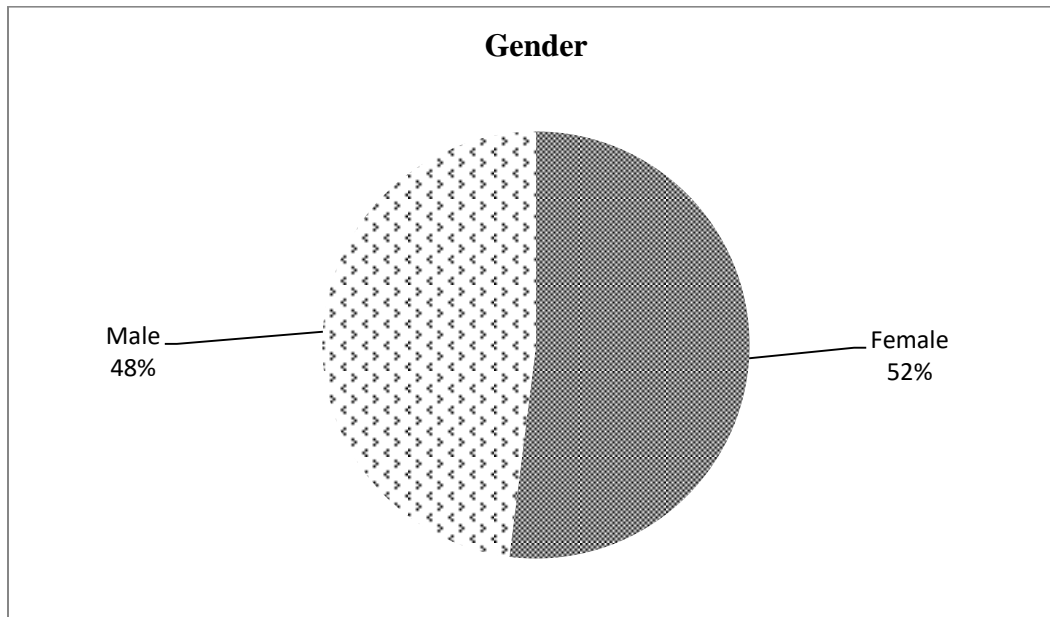
Figure 4.2: Gender of the Respondents

The findings on the gender concur with other studies. Kariuki (2015) and Bond (2014) who carried out similar studies in Kenya noted that in the household-based surveys particularly in rural settings, a high number of the respondents is likely to be female. Females are usually left at home to take care of the children and to do house chores. Berger (2003) in his study in Northern Kenya also noted that in many semi-nomadic sets up, men are less likely to spend their day at home since they go to the fields to take care of livestock. The sampled residents participated in the study actively and explained their positions clearly on the role played by opinion leaders, Church leaders, local administrators and elders in addressing ethnic conflicts.

4.2.3 Age of the Respondents

80

70   71 years, at home.

60   60 years at home.

50   50 years, not found at home.

40   40 yrs. Not found at home.

30   Not at home

20   Not at home.

10

0
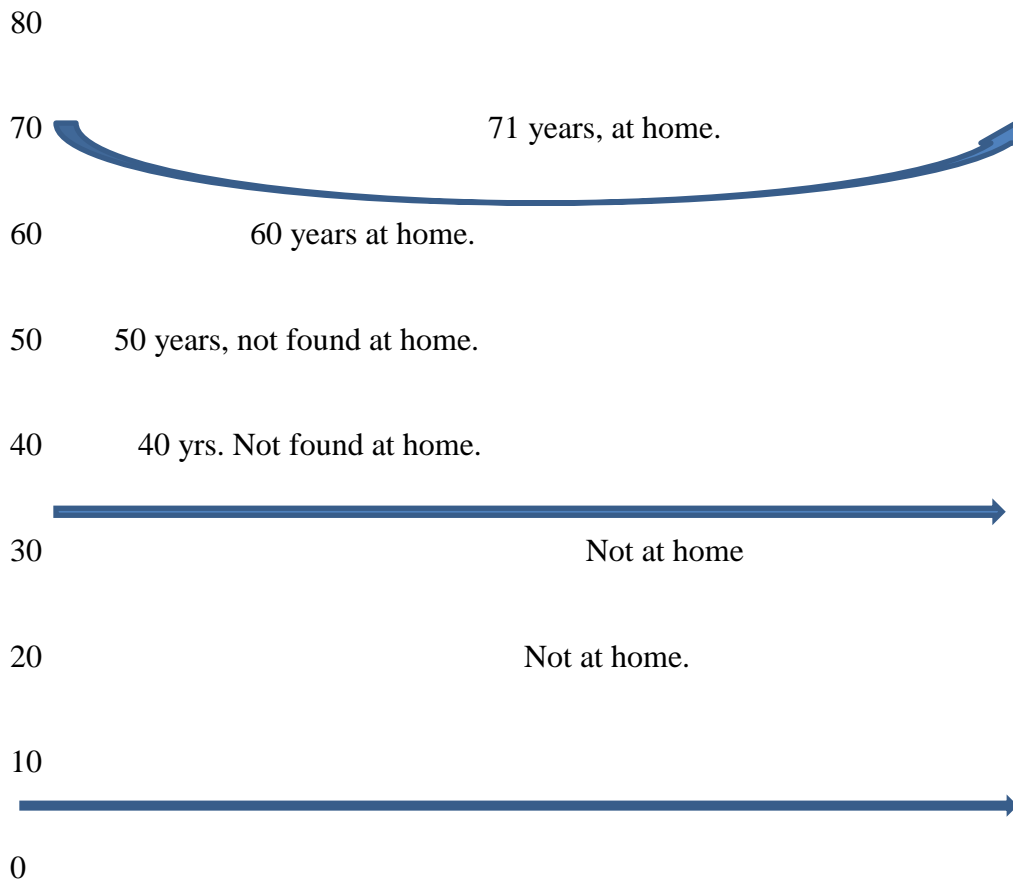
Figure 4.3: Age of the Respondents

On the age group of the respondents, a majority of the respondents were in the age bracket of 40 to 50 years and 60 to 71.

The results of the age group demonstrate that, the middle groups who stay in the homes handling domestic chores were available for data collection. The younger age is mostly in schools according to the findings by Abuso (1980). Chepman & Kagaha (2009) in their study found out that young people were not available at the rural area since they were seeking for employment in urban centers. The case was depicted in this study. The

study concurred with Kariuki (2015) observation that majority of people living in rural areas are people of the age above 50 years who have either retired, or have ventured into businesses and agriculture near their rural homes. The variations can be as a result of the nature of the study population given that the current study was carried out in areas with diverse groups. The findings indicated that the age of respondents showed that most of those who participated in the study were the middle and older group who tend to remain at home mostly doing farming while the younger residents either go to school or are away from home due to other activities. The findings concur with the results from this study since people of 18 to 28 years were not available during the data collection process. Chepman & Kagaha (2009) found out that young people are either in schools or in urban areas where they look for employment.

4.3 Education Level

4.3.1 Respondents by Education Level

15% - No formal Education

53% - Primary

22% - Secondary

10% - College/University

Respondents

College/University 10% — No formal education 15% — Secondary 22% — Primary 53%
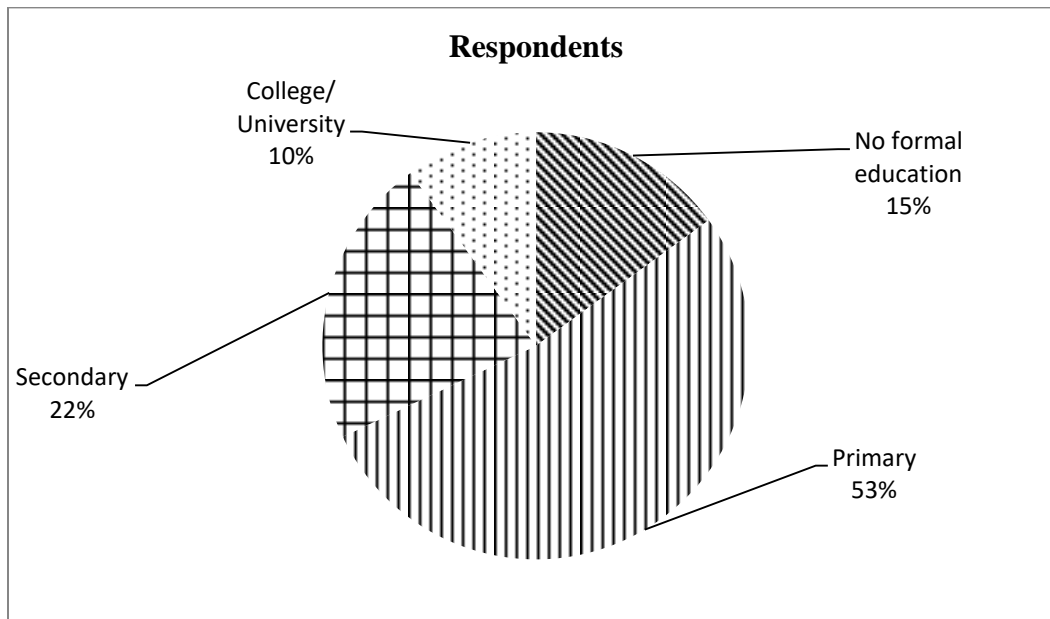
Figure 4.4: Education Level of the Respondents

4.3.2 Education Level of Respondents

The study found that the education level of the respondents concurs with Bond (2014) who carried out a study in Laikipia County of Kenya and observed that a majority of the rural population had attained primary qualification as their highest education level. However, the study does not concur with Berger (2003) who carried out a study in Northern Kenya and observed that a high number of the rural population had attained secondary education. The difference can be explained by the variations of the study area as well as the prevalent clashes which hinder learning. The nomadic people in the area may also have contributed to the low education qualifications as observed by Chapman & Kagaha (2009) and Bolling (2010) in studies carried out in Uganda and Western Kenya respectively. These studies observed that the nomadic communities are yet to adopt education due to their migratory way of life. These studies administered questionnaires

among the participants in their homes and utilized a simple random sampling technique. The majority were Kikuyus, Kalenjins, Luos, Meru, and Luhya.

4.3.3 The Role Played by Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders in Preventing Land Related Ethnic Conflicts in Molo Sub-County between 1992 and 2008

This section addresses objective three of the study and   presented data on the level of agreement on the tasks performed   by these leaders. This fact was supported by data presented on the level of agreement on their involvement in resolving land-related conflicts in the sub-county. The leaders who represent different ethnic communities, intervene and resolve land conflicts, political conflicts, ethnic differences, conflicts related to customs, marriages and illegally acquired land conflicts. They attributed their success in handling these matters to the respect they command from the communities.

During the study, the researcher used a sample of 385 respondents out who, 180 (47 %) strongly agreed on the role played by the leaders, 120 (31%) supported the leaders' role, 45 (12%) were not sure and 40 (10%) remained none committal. Some of the respondents whose response was low concerning the role of the elders can be explained from the political point of view. In Kenya, politics is organized around ethnic loyalty and covers all ethnic groups. Some conflicts which have political implications are difficult to resolve outside the political structures hence it was noted that during elections political disputes are not resolvable at village or sub-County level due to political influence and interests. Most of the conflicts in Molo sub-County occur because-ethnic differences between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities. This started during the Moi era when politics targeted those opposed to the leadership of the day. This political angle affected the economic

activities in Molo sub-county and the entire Rift Valley. Since Moi's time, the Kikuyu and Kalenjin political leaders have found political tolerance as a way of ensuring peace and harmony among the two communities. During 2013 and 2017 there was political cooperation between the two communities which helped them to ease tensions between their ethnic communities living in Molo sub-County. This was demonstrated during the study period in Elburgon and Tinet wards whereupon, during FGDs it was possible to hold discussions with residents from different ethnic groups which essentially confirmed that, negative ethnicity could be transformed into peace.

FGD 1 (11/06/2019) in this study stated that,

> *"There were differences between ethnic groups living in the Rift Valley before 1991, and the differences became more pronounced after Kenya reintroduced multi-party politics in 1991. At the end of 1992, election campaigns were launched amidst the tense situation in the region. Some places have experienced unprecedented violence".*

4.3.4 The Level of Agreement on the Role of Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders in Resolving Land-Related Conflicts in Molo Sub-County 1992 to 2008

The respondents who participated in this study included 180 Kikuyu, 120 Kalenjin 45 Kisii and 40 Luhya elders out of a sample of 385. Out of the respondents, 47% (180) strongly agreed that, elders in the area have the capacity to resolve land related conflicts, while 31% (120) agreed, 12% (45) were not sure but partly supported the idea and 10% (40) chose to be none committal.

4.3.5 Capacity of Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders in dealing with politically instigated land related ethnic conflicts.

The respondents who participated in this study included 170 Kikuyu, 130 Kalenjin, 50 Kisii and 35 Luhya Opinion leaders and Elders out of a sample of 385.., 44% of the respondents strongly disagreed on the capacity of the opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders to resolve politically instigated land related ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County, while 34% of them agreed that, the leaders have the capacity to resolve the disputes which they attributed to the respect that they are accorded by different ethnic communities in the Sub County and the fact that, they are viewed as impartial. 13% of the respondents were not sure of the capability of the leaders in addressing politically instigated land related ethnic conflicts. in the Sub County. Equally, 9% of the respondents remained non-committal.

One of the Kalenjin elders (ID1 3 10/06/2020) pointed out; "Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can handle politically instigated land related ethnic conflicts among their communities".

Table 4.1: The Level of Agreement on the Role of Elders in Resolving Land-Related Conflicts in Molo Sub-County

Valid	Sampled	Percentage	Valid percentage
Strongly disagreed	170	44.1	44
Agreed	130	33.7	34
Not sure	50	12.9	13
Non-committal	35	9	9
Total	**385**	**99.7**	**100**

In this inquiry, the research had 170 Kikuyu, 130 Kalenjin, 50 Luhya and 35 Luo respondents out of a sample of 385 who he used to establish the level of agreement on the role of the Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Local Elders in handling land related ethnic conflicts. In the course of the investigations, 44% of the respondents strongly agreed that, the leaders do commendable work in handling land related Cases. 34% of them agreed on the important role that is played by the elders in handling land related conflicts, while   13 % of the respondents appeared unsure of the leaders role and 9% remained none committal.

4.3.6 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Local elders are able to Resolve Disputes over Allegedly Illegally Acquired land among Different Ethnic Communities in Molo Sub County

The respondents who participated in this inquiry included 120 Kikuyu, 140 Kalenjin, 65 Kisii 5 Kamba, 25 Luos, and 30 Luhyas out of a sample of 385. In this regard, 31% of the respondents strongly disagreed that, the opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders are able to resolve alleged illegally acquired land which is one of the main causes of land related ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub County, while 35% were of the view that, the leaders   are respected and impartial communities' representatives who have handled disputed land cases among the communities in Molo Sub County for several years. 36 % of the respondents appreciated the role played by the elders while 17%   appeared unaware of their role. unaware of the capacity of the leaders in handling land disputes among different communities living in Molo Sub County. 16 % of the respondents

remained non-committal on the competency of the leaders to handle land related disputes.

A Kisii Opinion leader commented as follows; (ID1 6 10/06/2020):

> *"Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can handle illegally acquired land among their communities because they command a lot of respect among their people".*

4.3.7 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and elders are able to Resolve Disputes over Land among Different Ethnic Communities in Molo Sub County

The study participants in the research included 150 people from the Kikuyu tribe, 98 Kalenjins, 52 Luhyas, and 85 people from the Kisii tribe. The analysis observed that 39% strongly suggested that elders, church leaders, and opinion leaders were critical in resolving various types of conflicts, including land disputes. Another 25% of the participants expressed their confidence that elders, opinion leaders, and church leaders handle their matters satisfactorily, while 22% were uncertain concerning these groups and their abilities to address conflicts. Fourteen percent (14%) of the respondents were non-committal in commenting on the competency of the leaders in handling land-related disputes among the residents of Molo Sub County. One of the Kamba opinion leaders was quoted commenting as follows; (ID1 10 15/06/2020):

> *Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can handle land disputes among their people because over the past years, they have witnessed how these matters easily trigger ethnic conflicts.*

4.3.7 Effectiveness of Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders in Handling Ethnic Based Skirmishes which are Experienced during every Election Cycle in Molo Sub County

Respondents in this inquiry included 30 Kisii, 88 Kikuyu, 72 Kalenjin, 39 Luo and 20 Kamba. The table below indicates 39% of the respondents strongly disagreed over the effectiveness of the opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders in addressing land related ethnic conflicts. Twenty five percent (25%) of the respondents however agreed that, the leaders' played key role in resolving land related ethnic conflicts. Twenty two percent (22%) of the respondents appeared unsure of the effectiveness of the leaders in handling the land cases while 14% were non-committal.

4.3.8 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders from both Kalenjin and Kikuyu Communities usually hold Regular Meeting to Discuss Matters relating to Conflict in Molo Sub County

This inquiry comprised various ethnic groups, including 129 people from the Kikuyu community; 136 were Kalenjins, 37 were Kisii, 38 were Luo, 20 were Masai, and 25 were Kamba. Thirty-four percent (34%) strongly disagreed that elders, church leaders, and opinion leaders from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities often hold regular discussions concerning matters that influence the association between their respective communities, including land conflicts in Molo areas. Thirty-five percent (35%) of the participants agree that community and opinion leaders play a critical role in resolving land-use conflicts in Molo-Sub-County. They argued that these leaders had played a significant role in the stability of communities living in the area by addressing frequent

land disputes. Ten percent (10%) of the participants were uncertain concerning the effectiveness of the leaders in addressing land-related conflicts and creating harmony and peace among communities living in the sub-county. Another 22% of the participants were non-committal. During one of the focused group discussions (IDI: 12.15/06/2020), one of the Masaai elders stated the following:

> *"If Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can conduct peace meetings regularly this can lessen suspicion among their communities and continue living harmoniously"*

4.3.9 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Communities can only Resolve Land Matters Affecting their communities

In this inquiry, 127 Kikuyus, 111 Kalenjin, 39 Luo, 48 Luhya, 32 Masai, 8 Turkana and 20 Kambas agreed to participate. 33% of the respondents strongly disagreed that, opinion leaders, church leaders and elders from the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities in Molo Subcounty can only resolve land matters affecting their communities.. The respondents argued that, this was a biased position. 29% of the respondents totally agreed that, the leaders can only handle land matters among their people and that was why peace and harmony among the two communities have been evasive for a long time. ; (ID1 11 18 /06/2020): a luo businessman commented as follows;

> *"If Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can conduct peace meetings regularly this can lessen suspicion among their communities and continue living harmoniously"*

4.3.10 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders from both the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Communities work with government Officials in Resolving Conflicts which can Trigger Ethnic Differences and Conflicts

Respondents in this inquiry were 156 Kikuyu, 168 Kalenjin, 13 Luo, 19 Kamba, 14 Masai, and 15 Luhya. The findings were as follows; 41% of the respondents strongly disagreed that, opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders from both the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Communities work with government officials in resolving ethnic conflicts among their respective communities which trigger ethnic differences and conflicts. However 44% of them agreed that the leaders regularly met with not only government officials but also with other stakeholders to resolve any potential differences among different ethnic groups in Molo sub County which can result to ethnic conflicts. 3% of the respondents apparently were not sure, while 12% were non-committal. (IDI 17. 18 /06/2020) a Kikuyu pastor who participated in a FGD commented as follows,

> *"If Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can conduct peace meetings regularly this can lessen suspicion among their communities and continue living harmoniously".*

4.3.11 Opinion leaders, Church leaders and Elders should be supported by both the National Government and the County Government of Nakuru in Resolving Land-Related Issues

Those who took part in this inquiry included 142 Kikuyu, 145 Kalenjin, 17 Kamba, 45 Luo, 7 Luhya and 29 Masai. Table 4.11 below indicates that 37% of the respondents strongly disagreed that, Opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators, and elders should be supported by both the National Government and the County government of Nakuru in building their capacity to Resolve Land-Related Issues. They were of the view that, over time, the leaders have acquired experience of handling civil matters through the use of alternative disputes resolution mechanisms. 38% of the respondents agreed that,

the leaders need the support of both the National government and the county government of Nakuru particularly to train them regularly on the best use of alternative disputes resolution mechanisms and other conflict management skills. However, 4% of the respondents appeared unaware of these important aspects while 21% remained non-committal. ; (ID1 11 18 /06/2020) a Masai elder commented as follows;

> *"If Kalenjin and Kikuyu community leaders can be supported by the government in building their capacity for conflict management, they can be better placed to handle ethnic based conflicts among the two communities and this would improve their relationship".*

According to the findings, traditional dispute resolution mechanism had successfully been used as a tool in addressing several land related ethnic disputes particularly among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities. This was reflected in the way the opinion leaders, local administrators, church leaders and local leaders, were able to solve land related conflicts among their communities in Molo sub County.

(FGD 8 21/07/2020 commented that, 'leaders in Molo sub County should set peace agreement accords to regulate the conduct of members of different communities involved in matters such as land disputes which quite often result to ethnic conflicts and that, there should be sanctions to this effect".

 (FGD 11 22/06/2020) argued that, 'We as responsible clergy we should ensure that, we work with the government in identifying thorny resource sharing issues to avoid incidents. These sanctions can be implemented after mediation and arbitrations which are common ways in addressing disputes have failed. Opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in Molo sub County can have their capacity building sessions in

order to equip them with the necessary skills to enable them handle land related disputes well.

FGD 13 22/06/2020 supported this argument. 'In addition, we engage the parties in conflict by bringing them together to iron out their differences and in this way, we have managed to solve many emotive land dispute cases.

From the findings, it can be observed that opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders effectively regulate negotiations on matters which may lead to the escalation of serious inter-ethnic conflicts. It was learnt through the FGDs that, sometimes these leaders use sanctions to ensure that there is collective responsibility among all the community members. These measures are only meant to ensure that the disputants understand and take responsibility for their mistakes. The Elders are the major parties that coordinate and implement peace initiatives in Molo Sub County that are tailored to promote peace and harmony in the area. From the study findings, it was observed that opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders form a formidable social institution that enhances peace. According to FGDs and IDIs, activities such as sporting promote social integration processes that play significant role in the integration of the communities which foster peace. The elders, government agencies, and other stakeholders organize sports within Molo sub County to ensure that community members come together and thus promote peace. Different communities appreciated the significant roles played by the local leaders in promoting peace and tranquility such as handling of disputes related to land. The study findings concur with those of Hagmann (2006) who notes that indigenous dispute resolution mechanisms in many African

communities play an integral role in preventing and managing cases of land-related conflicts. The findings also agree with Alemie & Mandefro (2018) who argue that elders enhance traditional dispute resolution mechanism through the use of values, practices, and approaches that are anchored on the traditions and customs of the communities.

4.4 The Historical Background of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya

Exploitation and violence in Kenya were the central norms during colonial rule. However, the British Army Officers of the 1950s believed that the law would be bent to their favor under colonial rule (Bennett, 2013). Amidst all this, the British rule significantly impacted how they wanted Kenyans to behave in their favor and how they wanted to rule Kenyans. Despite this, former British administrators in Kenya argue that their actions were motivated by a desire to help the country. One British soldier, David Smith, sees British presence in Kenya as essential and beneficial to the country's people. Smith (2005) states that the British were not hasty in their early choice of being involved in Kenya. However, their involvement in Kenya had three significant grounds (Smith, 2005, 27). He further explained the objectives of the British that included abolishing the slave trade across Africa, preventing the Germans from having claimed the Kenyan territory as there, and improving the development of East Africa, including its infrastructure (Smith, 2005, 30-41).

On the flip side, however, smith deems the British good and does not demean their motives in Africa. Apart from their slave trade brutality, he oversees the British own slave maltreatment and is hugely involved in the slave trade. He further explains that the British had the significant intentions of using the Sultan's support to develop East Africa

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but did not consider the diversity presently in East Africa directed by a myriad of monarchs and not just the Sultan. Furthermore, the objectives of Britain were further from solely being economical.

Independence and Mau Mau

As colonialism continued, there was a rise in rebellion and unrest across Africa. The Mau Mau Rebellion is possibly the most well-known of these uprisings in Kenya. Many discussions regarding the Mau Mau have been present in Kenya; these discussions have tried to deduce the origin and the ethics of the Mau Mau combatants. There appears to have been a dispute about land title among the parties. Although the validity of these statements is contested, they are widely accepted. David Smith went further to write that the British ensured that no single piece of land was taken from their original owners as long as they could prove that they were the original owners and had been doing plantations on the farm at the time and those whose land was taken were fully compensated (Smith 2005). Nonetheless, Caroline Elkins writes in Imperial Reckoning: "The colonial labor policy used the method of rule and divide, a lot of African had no options but to seek survival and labor on the European fields due to lack of lands where they come from" (Elkins, 2005, 15). Because of this tyranny, Mau Mau was born. Politically, Mau Mau had a significant impact at the time and continues to do so today. A key role in postcolonial power dynamics was played, according to Macharia and Kanyua, by an economic, cultural, and political organization called the Mau Mau (Macharia & Kanyua, 2006, 131-132). The primary indication of prosperity was and still is land ownership in Kenya. Due to having taken sides with the British over the Kikuyu,

individuals with power and wealth were wary of witnessing the Kikuyu become mighty (Macharia & Kanyua, 2006, 133).

Ethnicity's Individuality Because tiny communities were forced to combine and integrate with larger, more organized groups due to changing dynamics, ethnic tensions and conflicts were an integral part of the nation-building process" (Falola, Doron, & Okpeh, 2013, 2). There has been an increase in "inter-elite squabbles for political domination, and control of state resources" across the board as a result of colonialism's use of ethnic tension as a political tool (Falola, Doron, & Okpeh, 2013, 2). The extent to which this has contributed to the continent's present problems is debatable among academics. For example, J. O'Connel argues in his book "The Inevitability of Instability" that instability on the continent is inescapable due to colonialism and how it ended (181-182). According to Falola et al., politicians may help by encouraging people to adopt "national identification as their primary identity," rather than ethnicity, as their primary identifier (Falola, Doron, & Okpeh, 2013 3-4).

The elections in Kenya held in 2007 sparked a wave of violence that claimed the lives of more than 1,000 people (Lynch, 2011, 2). The effects of 2007 post-election violence are still evident till now, meaning that the decisions that were made to embark on that path were meant to affected future generations. In Kenya, today's ethnic and political strife, the colonial past of the Mau Mau, and subsequent uprisings in the 1950s are exacerbating already-existing tensions. A case of crimes against humanity was brought against Uhuru Kenyatta by the International Criminal Court. Because of a lack of evidence, the charges were withdrawn. His administration, however, has refused to send it up (BBC, 2014). The

questions of how he was still able to retain power despite his continuous abuse of human rights puzzled many. However, the answer was obvious: his relatively strong affiliations with the Kikuyu and Kenya's lack of racial reconciliation. Map 1 shows Kenya divided by ethnicity, while Figure 2 shows the country's vote preferences. These numbers show that voting is based on ethnicity.

The administration of Uhuru Kenyatta is not exceptional. "Political parties...tend to be identified with specific ethnic groupings in Kenya, the Kenyan politics have demonstrated significant ethnic voting patterns in their competitive elections (Lynch, 2011, 2). The political, ethical implications in Kenya have far been a concern since the independence the country attained in 1961 and Uhuru's Kenyatta's father, Jomo Kenyatta, was elected the country's president (BBC, 2015). Following the assassination of Tom Mboya, Jomo Kenyatta outlawed other political parties, causing ethnic tensions. Daniel Moi took over as President after Jomo Kenyatta died in 1978. Under Daniel Moi's administration, 2,000 people were murdered in ethnic conflict in Kenya in 1992. He served as president until 2002, when Mwai Kibaki was elected. Uhuru Kenyatta took over as President in 2013.

Violence and ethnicity have been key factors in Kenyan politics for the past 55 years, according to the overview above. This is due to the manor ramifications of ethnic politics in Kenya has implied upon its citizens. Ethnic politics, colonialism, and violence are all entwined in the case of the 2007 elections in Haiti. The Kikuyu and the Kalenjin were the major parties involved in the outbreak of violence (Lynch, 2011, 2). As a result of colonization, the Kalenjin are a relatively new ethnic group (Lynch, 2011, 3). When it

comes to building and politicizing a Kalenjin coalition, "the underlying incentive was (and still is) a confluence of dread of loss and possibility for gain," says Lynch (Lynch, 2011, 6). Even if other ethnic groups existed before colonialism, the yearning for ethnic unification in politics appears to remain the same. If someone from the same cultural or ethnic group comes to prominence, everyone in that group benefits. Initially, there were a number of minor Kalenjin factions that allied together for political purposes (Lynch, 2011, 4-5). Ethnic violence is still a problem in Africa, and it is frequently tied to politics (Ruvalcaba & Peterson, 2016). Politicians that prioritize "national" problems over "ethnic" and "sectional" ones may hold the key to overcoming the illusory ethnic identities formed by colonialism (Falola, Doron, & Okpeh, 2013, 4).

Table 4.2: Factors most likely to Cause Ethnic Conflicts

Valid	Factors	Respondents	Percentage	Actual percentage.
Strongly agreed	Political	100	25.9	26
Agreed	Land	95	24.6	25
Unaware	Cultural	92	23.8	24
None committal	Resources	98	25.4	25
Total		**385**	**99.7**	**100**

Table 4.2, indicated that political factors were most likely to cause ethnic conflicts followed by land-based factors at 25%. 24% of the respondents stated that, they were not aware that, cultural factors could cause ethnic conflicts, while the rest remained non-committal. Molo sub County has always been are associated with incitement and ethnic stereotypes that hamper harmonious relationship between different ethnic communities in the area. Such incitements create animosity leading to conflict. An opinion leader reacted angrily that, the land belongs to them or their parents who bought it. According to Gitonga, a community leader from Molo, the main cause of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area have been land related.

He said:

> 'Some of those who originated from Nakuru told us to go back to our mother land where we came from. (O.I. 4/03/2018).

Joseph, a religious leader from Kuresoi supported that believe as he said:

> 'They said historically, they were the rightful owners of the land and have come to steal their resources; the elections were only used as a pretext for ethnic

tension. (O.I. 5/03/2018). Annabell, an opinion leader from Elburgon said the conflicts of 2007 and 2008 were pre-arranged even before the election results were announced. She revealed: *This was hard because I was born in Elburgon. My parents bought this land; therefore, this land is legally mine. I cannot go at all where else, I will also defend my land I will fight back with everything I have. (O.I. 6/03/2018).*

The excerpts suggested that members from different ethnic communities in Molo Sub County constructed historical disputes over land to justify ethnic conflicts. This could be an indication that due to the conflicts over land ownership, peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic groups had been affected over the past years. That finding agreed with Wamwere (2008) who said that aspirants to political office bank a lot on land to woo support from their people by deliberately or craftily inciting them against each other over land ownership. For instance, the 1992 and 1997 conflicts in Molo Sub County and Kenya generally were triggered by the Kenya's ruling party's ambitions to remain in control after the incitement from different leaders whose parties were made along tribal lines. There was also an increased devastation of land as one of the most crucial resources in the country (Wamwere, 2008). The World Bank (2005) supported the researcher's assumption that the post-election violence of 2008 could have a key role to play in conflict prevention in that, the loss of many lives and destruction of property still remain in the memories of many especially the young generation. The researcher recommends that the lessons learnt be taught to the young people in schools. The World Bank (2005) further state that it is the young generation who stand to benefit from the memories of the 2008 post-election violence to shape their attitude and accommodative more positive change.

The Table 4.11 show 25% of the respondents strongly agreed that, political instigation and incitement contribute largely to inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-County while 27% agreed that, the political class in the sub County cannot escape responsibility for inciting their different ethnic communities into ethnic conflicts especially during the general election period. 22% of the respondents were expressively unaware while 26% of them remained uncertain.

Table 4.3: Political Instigation and Incitement Contribute Largely to Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Molo Sub-County

Valid	Factors	Respondents	Percentage	Actual percentage.
Strongly agreed	Nature of politics.	95	24.6	25
Agreed	Marginalizing	105	27.2	27
Unaware	Divisive	85	22.0	22
	None committal.	100	25.9	26
Total		**385**	**99.7**	**100**

The first objective of this study was to analyze the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County and therefore, it was necessary to obtain the requisite data. In this regard, the following respondents comprising of 155 Kikuyu, 112 Kalenjin, 15 Masai, 21 Kamba, 36 Luhya, 29 Luo and 18 Kisii was used as indicated in Table 4.12 shows that 40 % of the respondents were of the view that, Land rivalry in Molo sub County contributed to inter-ethnic conflicts while 29% blamed economic inequality for the same. 4% of the respondents argued that, youth unemployment contributed to ethnic conflicts, pointing out that, unemployed youth were easily hired to cause insecurity in the sub County especially during the general elections. 5% of the respondents argued that

tribalism played a key role in contributing to ethnic conflicts while 21% attributed inter-ethnic conflicts to cattle rustling. Cattle rustling are a common phenomenon in Molo sub County. FGDs supported the respondents' views that, impunity on the side of the government had fueled the conflicts. Eight religious leaders and elders echoed the respondents observations that impunity on the side of the government had caused people to fight as they felt justice had not been carried out in regard to the earlier atrocities committed by the perpetrators of violence.

Table 4.4: Respondents' views that Impunity on the side of the Government had fueled the Conflicts

Factors	Participants.	Percentage	Actual percentage
Land Rivalry	155	40.2	40
Economic inequality	112	29.0	29
Youth unemployment	15	3.8	4
Tribalism	21	5.4	5
Cattle rustling	82	21.2	21
Total	**385**	**99.6**	**99**

The second objective to the study dwelt on the level of political instigation and incitement into inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County and how opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders react to the menace. This gives a clear picture of the role of politics in instigating ethnic conflicts and insecurity in Molo Sub County: 385 respondents participated in this inquiry and the results are as indicated. 25% of the respondents strongly agreed that, political instigation and incitement contribute largely to inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-County while 27% agreed that, the political

class in the Sub County cannot escape responsibility for inciting their different ethnic communities into ethnic conflicts especially during the general election period. 22% of the respondents were expressively unaware while 26% of them were none-committal. These results agree with Fratkin (1994), who argued that politicians may stoke ethnic conflicts by either failing to intervene or by spreading propaganda that undermines the relationships between different ethnic communities. Ethnicity parse, in the absence of Politicization does not cause conflicts. In many cases, it is the politicians or the political class who influence the behavior of their supporters and more specifically their ethnic communities. Interviews by opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders from Kamwaura Kuresoi, and Molo township blamed politicians for political incitement of the communities. Four religious leaders from Turi, Sachangwani, and Maraishoni areas similarly accused politicians of conducting themselves as tribal leaders' inciters. FGD's from Turi condemned the political class for the land related ethnic conflicts in the sub County. Further discussions with respondents revealed that politicians fueled conflicts by inciting different communities against each other in order to garner votes during regime transitions. The respondents said that, during government transitions the politicians engaged in name calling. They condemned other tribes and engaged in ethnic hatred. During the interviews, one luo religious leader from Kuresoi said:

> *'There was political poisoning of the minds of communities through hate speeches by politicians so that they could take advantage of the conflict to acquire more votes. (O.I. 7/03/2020).*

To support the findings, Kimani an opinion leader from Kamwaura also said that politicians were the main planners for inter-ethnic conflicts. Extracts from the teachers questionnaires' also revealed that politicians were behind the ethnic conflicts. The

following is an example of a report from the writings of John, a teacher from Molo town primary school who wrote that some politicians refused to agree with the presidential results of 2007, and formed ethnic based groups to torch others houses. He also wrote that politicians always came every election year to stir trouble among the different ethnic groups. FGDs from Elburgon and Molo Township revealed that politicians influenced people to torch houses that belonged to their perceived enemies. Jane, a parent from Elburgon revealed:-

> *'Before elections, we are all friends but when the elections are on the way, we start fighting. We are told the other group is our enemy. Then they leave. We should stop the fighting because are the ones who suffer as our children do not attend schools'' (O.2. 8/03/2018).*

From the above results, there was an indication that, community members viewed incitement by politicians as anti-development and contributed to lack of peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic communities Molo sub-County. According to Blumar & Buttlan (2008) from the literature reviewed Peace education help to instill a culture of peace.

The researcher probed more from the respondents as to whether there were other local constructions of inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-County. Head teachers from Kuresoi, Molo and Njoro wards brought out the theme of deep rooted jealousy that ran over decades over economic empowerment of one community over others as another local construction of ethnic conflict in Molo sub-County. Seven Teachers from Kuresoi, Molo and Njoro in the open ended questionnaires' condemned deep rooted jealousy especially between the Kalenjins and Kikuyu communities over land as a cause of ethnic conflict among them. The FGD's of parents from the divisions of Kuresoi, Molo, and Njoro also

held the view that, deep rooted jealousy that ran over decades among different ethnic groups living in Molo sub County was a major cause of ethnic conflict. Three church leaders from Kuresoi, Molo and Njoro also brought out deep rooted jealousy as a cause of ethnic conflict in the sub County. Similarly, nine opinion leaders and religious leaders from Kapkembo, Kihingo and Gichobo areas also revealed that deep rooted jealousy among different ethnic groups in Molo sub County particularly between the Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities disrupted ethnic peaceful coexistence. Further probing by the researcher disclosed that, the suspicion by some ethnic communities' members that, they were better placed economically than others caused unnecessary ethnic tensions which led to attempts to suppress the so called advantaged ethnic communities leading to 'retaliation.

> *'The attacks were very idiotic and meant to drive out the targeted groups from their farms, weaken them economically, cause them to suffer psychologically and traumatize them as reported by* Jonathan a religious leader from Njoro. *(O.5. 7/03/2020).*

4.4.1 Influence of Political Factors on Ethnic Conflicts

The second objective of this study was to determine the level of political instigation and incitement to ethnic conflicts. To achieve this objective the respondents were required to give their opinion on the factors, which were most likely to cause ethnic conflicts. Table 4.13 below shows that 38% of the respondents strongly agreed that, Political influence contributed immensely on ethnic conflicts. Incitement by the political class spread like bush fire, while 36% held the same view. However, 7% and 18% respectively offered no constructive observation the inquiry.

Table 4.5: Influence of Political factors on Ethnic Conflicts

Valid	Responses	%	Actual %
Strongly agreed	147	38.1	38
Agreed	139	36.1	36
Not Sure	28	7.2	7
None committal	71	18.4	18

4.4.2 Correlation between Political Factors and Ethnic Conflicts

There was a robust association between ethnic and political factors ($r = 0.86$, $p < 0.05$). As a result, we reject the hypothesis and agree that ethnic conflicts are influenced by politics ($p<0.005$). The findings are supported by the formation of many parties in the country after the 1992 general election, which resulted in the eviction of people from their homes based on their political affiliations (Baxter, 1997).

The findings of the study were also in agreement with those of Fratkin (1994), who found out that politicians can easily stoke conflicts by either failing to intervene on an impending impasse or by spreading propaganda which undermines amicable coexistence among different ethnic groups in a region. The findings of the study too were in tandem with those of Dida (2012) who found out that politicians are characterized by mistrust and partisan approaches in intervention of conflicts between different ethnic groups. Finally, the study's findings were in agreement with the findings of Baxter (1997), whose works found out that the ethnic conflicts that marred Kenya during the onset of multiparty era; which was marked by massacre and forceful evictions of populations was partly as a result of incitements and stereotypes from politicians. The activities of politicians have in most cases aided in hampering peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups residing in a common geographical region.

4.4.3 The Social Impact on Ethnic Conflicts in Molo Sub-County

The last objective for this study was to determine the effectiveness of opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County. To achieve this objective the researcher required the respondents to indicate their opinion on the usefulness of the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrator and elders from different ethnic communities on securing peace and harmony in the sub County. The Table 4.14 revealed that 37% of the respondents supported the good work that the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrator and elders do in promoting peace and harmony among the residents of Molo sub County while 35% supported their hard work in resolving the land related disputes in the area. 18% of the respondents were also honest in stating that, they were not sure of the work done by the elders.

Table 4.6: The Social Impact on Ethnic Conflicts in Molo sub-County

Valid	Responses	%	Actual %
Strongly agreed	141	36.6	37
Agreed	134	34.8	35
Not sure	71	18.4	18.
None committal	39	10.1	10
Total	**385**	**99.9**	**100**

4.4.4 Land & Government

The issue of land in Kenya is quite emotive and exhibits. Kenyans sometimes encounter real issues structural violence and examples to this is evidenced by the long and protracted cases of land disputes that remain unresolved for many years yet the government is in a position to offer solutions. People with relatives in government are unethically given or allowed to use land, at the expense of other tribes. This is the reason

why Kikuyu and Kalenjins communities in Molo sub County who have been in government and benefitted from land among other resources quite often find themselves in conflict with each other defending their land. In 2008 when Mwai Kibaki was in power he directed for the removal of the Kalenjins from the Mau Forest but the Kalenjins who were then enjoying the Luo/Kalenjin political alliance, lobbied Odinga as Prime Minister and resisted the executive order.

4.4.5 Ethnicity and Ethnic Animosity

The respondents cited negative ethnicity as one of the major triggers of cyclic post-election violence in Molo Sub county. Any perceived election malpractice is enough to transforms into ethnic violence in Molo and this is because ethnic hatred carries with it perceived discrimination, injustices and inequality in the allocation of resources among the different ethnic groups (mainly the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin).

4.4.6 Economic and Political Inequality

The political situation in Kenya is based on "the winner takes all" since independence. As a result, the big tribes have dominated the politics and act superior and control the access political and economic resources of the country. Molo sub County is no different. Economic and political inequalities were some of the major causes of the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya and truly Molo sub County was the epicenter of the ugly ethnic conflicts. It was generally perceived that Kikuyu and Central Region had been enjoying more of the economic and political resources of Kenya before and after independence at the expense of other regions or ethnic groups. These sentiments worked

against the Kikuyu community in Molo sub County who ended up losing many innocent lives and properties. The skirmishes fitted mostly the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin with Luos siding with Kalenjins at that time.

4.5 The Effect of Post-Election Violence of 2007-2008 in Molo Sub County

During the skirmishes, people were displaced in Molo sub-County due to direct violence or fear. They shifted from their homes to new areas, and businesses were no longer protected. Most of them went to safe places like police stations, churches, administrative centers, and urban areas, where they sought protection from the authorities. Later on, they were moved to camps while others shifted to live with their relatives far away. There was massive interruption regarding the utilization of social, educational, and healthcare services. For instance, it was noted that most community members living with HIV/AIDS could not access health services and medication which adversely affected their health.

4.5.1 Reduced Agricultural Productivity

The post-election disputes affected the agricultural activities in the region, including delaying preparation of the land, planting, routine management of farms, and harvesting. It also affected livestock production, and most of the residents were exposed to unsustainable agricultural practices. The research observed that most SMEs in the region closed down following the disruptions and negatively affected the people's livelihoods.

4.5.2 Lost Jobs and Opportunities for Growth in Molo Sub County

Most people chose to stay away from areas with a high prevalence of conflicts like Kuresoi, Turi, Kamwaura, and Elburgon. Most of the enterprises in those areas were closed down, and as a result, people lost opportunities and jobs. There was also a severe decline in business activities which affected jobs, and in many cases, there was total closure of production.

4.5.3 Social Disorder

Most of the businesses do well in areas with harmony and social cohesion among the community members. The post-election violence-affected social cohesion and led to discrimination and bias based on affiliations to their communities and political parties. People were treated as per their parties and tribes, and there were increased cases of stereotyping and negative perceptions, which affected communal relationships.

4.6 Peace Building and Reconciliation Strategies

Whereas the government effort in implementing; peace building and reconciliation strategies in Molo Sub County remains a thorny matter. There are no single solution for handling ethnic conflicts and the challenge of nationhood. Policies and strategies and many initiatives have been put in place but the more this is done, other challenges emerge. Policy guidelines such as Political socialization have been tried in order to enable the people to acquire knowledge, skills, and dispositions that equip them to participate as responsible members of ethnic groups. These skills create social order and empower citizens for political participation and national integration which are essential

indicators of stability and nationhood. Dialogue between people has resulted to the opening up, clarifying and solving of important issues. This in turn tends to do away with the unfounded perceptions or misperceptions between the ethnic communities in Molo Sub County.

4.7 The Role of the Media

Various forms of the media have been used to campaign for nationhood. This includes the electronic media, television stations, radio stations, bill boards, newspapers and also books. Vernacular radio stations have spread or taught the people of the basic civil information and advantages that come about with nationhood. The media with facts has played an integral part in sensitizing the public on the issues at hand regarding ethnicity and the ways forward. The media also acts as an 'eagle's eye' and highlights the possibilities of conflicts from where relevant strategies are put in place to deal with the situation before it erupts into violent conflicts. Media campaigns for nationhood and activities to curb or manage inter-ethnic conflicts have played a key role in deescalating inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County.

4.8 The Role of the Rule of Law

The Kenyan constitution appreciates the reality of ethnicity and how ethnicity can be misused. In this regard, relevant policy guidelines have been put in place to curb negative ethnicity in Kenya. Some of the relevant constitutional provisions to guard this include:-

Language: Article 7 (3) of the constitution of Kenya acknowledges that while the official and national languages are English and Kiswahili respectively, there is recognition, that,

these can be used negatively as tools to advance ethnic animosity. This has happened in Molo Sub County, where the political class has used language to incite their communities against one another. Caution should be made therefore to guard against misuse of language in the sub County especially social media. *The foundation and ideology of political parties*: Article 91, (1-2) provides that political parties must be kept away from having an ethnic basis. This provides for leaders to encourage the formation of national parties based on ideologies and policies that transcend the ethnic conglomeration. Political parties should be used as instruments of public education as opposed to being used as instruments of political propaganda.

4.9 Fair Distribution of Resources

The Kenyan constitution has strategies for equitable distribution of resources through devolution. However accountability in the State 47 Counties has been wanting. Many governors have been prosecuted for misuse of public resources but this has not worked as deterrence because of political patronage. The Constitution has established a National Cohesion and Integration Commission which play a key role in promoting national cohesiveness. The commission investigates and recommends on the measures to be taken but many see it as a toothless institution. Kenyans have faith in the establishment of the Trust, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) which they hope that once fully operationalized will address historical injustices and the culture of impunity in various places in the Country such as Molo sub County where ethnic conflicts remain the order of the day during the general elections.

4.9.1 Education

Education brings social order. Educated people are able to fight against negative ethnicity and promote peace building initiatives for the development of their people. Through education, young people are taught national hood lessons to be patriotic and this has the potential to avert the danger of inter-ethnic animosity. Education fosters positive attitudes among the people and builds on concepts such as interdependence, social justice, equitable distribution, informed decision making, conflicts and conflict resolution, ethnicity, democracy, human rights and many other basic issues of importance.

4.9.2 National Sports and Cultural Events

Sporting activities such as football and athletics among the schools in Molo sub County have continued to narrow inter-ethnic boundaries among different communities in the Sub County. Sports have no boundaries and do not discriminate against anybody. Sporting activities in Molo sub County attract youth from all ethnic groups who participate without any reservation. Indeed, this is one of the strategies that both the National government and the County government of Nakuru have used to bring youth from different ethnic communities together within the sub County.

4.9.3 The Role of Cultural Events in Molo Sub County

Cultural events tend to suppress negative cultural perceptions and misperceptions which result to conflict. The National government and the County government of Nakuru have used cultural events as a tool to dismantle negative ethnic solidarity among the different ethnic groups in Molo sub County. Sporting and cultural events should continue being used as critical components in the National peace building architecture.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary, conclusions, and recommendations that were made from the study.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The general objective of the study was to assess the role played by opinion leaders, Church leaders, Security agents, administrators and elders in preventing ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County. The first objective of the study was to analyze the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County between 1992 and 2008 and indeed 25% of the respondents strongly agreed that, political instigation and incitement contributed largely to inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-county while 27% agreed that, the political class in the sub County could not escape the responsibility for inciting their different ethnic communities into ethnic conflicts especially during the general election period. 22% of the respondents were expressively unaware while 26% of them remained non-committal. These results agreed with Fratkin (1994), who argued that politicians may stoke ethnic conflicts by either failing to intervene or by spreading propaganda that undermines the relationships between different ethnic communities. Ethnicity parse, in the absence of politicization does not cause conflicts. In many cases, it is the politicians or the political class who influence the behavior of their supporters and more specifically their ethnic communities.

In the second objective, the researcher sought to understand and determine the level of political instigation and incitement to inter-ethnic conflicts by the political class in Molo sub County and how the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders reacted to the menace. In this regard, 40 % of the respondents were of the view that, politically instigated Land rivalry in Molo sub County contributed to inter-ethnic conflicts while 29% blamed economic inequality for the same. 4% of the respondents argued that, youth unemployment contributed to ethnic conflicts, pointing out that, unemployed youth were easily hired to cause insecurity in the sub County especially through incitement by politicians during the general elections. 5% of the respondents argued that tribalism played a key role in contributing to ethnic conflicts while 21% attributed inter-ethnic conflicts to cattle rustling. Cattle rustling is a common phenomenon in Molo sub County.

In the third objective, the researcher dwelt specifically on the effectiveness of the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing inter-ethnic conflicts. In this inquiry, 39% of the respondents strongly disagreed on the effectiveness of the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in addressing land related ethnic conflicts. 25% of the respondents supported the idea that, the leaders' play a key role in resolving land related ethnic conflicts. 22% of the respondents appeared unsure of the effectiveness of the leaders in handling the land cases while 14% were non-committal. Similarly, 41% of the respondents strongly disagreed that, opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders from both the Kikuyu and Kalenjin

Communities work with government officials in resolving ethnic conflicts among their respective communities which have the potential to trigger ethnic differences and conflicts. 44% of them agreed that the leaders regularly met with not only government officials but also with other stakeholders to resolve any potential differences among different ethnic groups in Molo sub County which can result to ethnic conflicts. 3% of the respondents apparently were not sure, while 12% were non-committal. With regard to objective two, 26% of the respondents affirmed that, political factors were most likely to cause ethnic conflicts followed by land based factors at 25%. 24% of the respondents stated that, they were not aware that, cultural factors could cause ethnic conflicts, while the rest remained non-committal. Molo sub County has always been are associated with incitement and ethnic stereotypes that hamper harmonious relationship between different ethnic communities in the area. Such incitements create animosity leading to conflict.

5.3 Concussion

The investigator attained the overall objective of understanding and appreciating the dynamics of ethnic conflicts and insecurity in Molo sub-County from 1992 to 2008. He underscored the essentialness of the study which unearthed the causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County, the extent to which political instigation and incitement affect political, social and economic stability of Molo sub County.

On specific objective one, the study observed the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County between 1992 and 2008. The most major causes was political instigation and incitement contributed largely to inter-ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-County especially during the general election.

On specific objective two, the study also noted that economic inequality i.e. Youth unemployment and tribalism contributed to ethnic conflicts. The study pointed out that, unemployed youth were easily hired to cause insecurity in the sub County especially through incitement by politicians during the general elections. The study also revealed that tribalism played a key role in contributing to ethnic conflicts to the community living Molo Sub-County.

On the specific objective three, the study observed that the researcher dwelt specifically on the effectiveness of the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders in preventing inter-ethnic conflicts. In this inquiry, 39% of the respondents strongly disagreed on the effectiveness of the opinion leaders, church leaders' local administrators and elders in addressing land related ethnic conflicts. 25% of the respondents supported the idea that, the leaders' play a key role in resolving land related ethnic conflicts. 22% of the respondents appeared unsure of the effectiveness of the leaders in handling the land cases while 14% were non-committal.

5.4 Recommendation

In relation to specific objective one of the studies, the researcher recommends for a Government multi agency coordination approach that would incorporate the opinion leaders, church leaders, and elders in Molo sub-County in addressing inter-ethnic conflicts. This would deal with all land related disputes and other cases of inter-ethnic nature in the sub County. The study also observed that the incorporation of the opinion leaders, church elders and community elders in addressing inter-ethnic conflicts was satisfactory.

In relation to objective two, the researcher sought to understand and determine the level of political instigation and incitement to inter-ethnic conflicts by the political class in Molo sub County and how the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders reacted to the menace. In this regard, 40 % of the respondents were of the view that, politically instigated Land rivalry in Molo sub County contributed to inter-ethnic conflicts while 29% blamed economic inequality for the same. 4% of the respondents argued that, youth unemployment contributed to ethnic conflicts, pointing out that, unemployed youth were easily hired to cause insecurity in the sub County especially through incitement by politicians during the general elections. 5% of the respondents argued that tribalism played a key role in contributing to ethnic conflicts while 21% attributed inter-ethnic conflicts to cattle rustling. Cattle rustling is a common phenomenon in Molo sub County. The study also observed that the level of political instigation and incitement to inter-ethnic conflicts by the political class in Molo sub County and how the opinion leaders, church leaders, local administrators and elders reacted to the menace was satisfactory.

On specific objective three, the study also noted that economic inequality i.e. Youth unemployment and tribalism contributed to ethnic conflicts. The study pointed out that, unemployed youth were easily hired to cause insecurity in the sub County especially through incitement by politicians during the general elections. The study also observed that the problem of unemployment to the youth as a major cause of ethnic conflict was satisfactory according to the communities residing in Rongai sub-County.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Study

i. This research focuses *on the major causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo sub County between 1992 and 2008*. In the process of conducting the research, the researcher found that, in addition to *the ethnicity*, *the political instigation and incitement* was very strong. Therefore, this should be investigated in other studies in the same sub-county or in any other *sub-county prone to ethnic related* conflict.

ii. *This study also found that ethnicity,* as a resource was the main *integral cause of conflict* in *Molo* sub-County. *The relevant political institutions must resort to peaceful campaigns rather than ethnic profiling to end ethnic*-related conflicts. In this case, it is recommended to further study of *non*-violent *political campaigns* to *end ethnic-related conflicts in Molo* and any places in Kenya where land-related conflicts are common.

iii. It should also be noted that this study shows that the main *causes of ethnic related conflict in Molo* sub-County are land and politics. This means that the residents of the sub-County largely depend on land resources and political incentives for their livelihood. It is therefore essential that these people adopt alternative livelihoods so that land and political issues are no longer life-and-death issues. This requires research on alternative determinants of people's adoption of alternative livelihoods in *Molo* sub-County to suggest ways to improve adoption.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Research Budget

ITEM	COST PER UNIT	TOTAL
Printing	4000	20000
Research Assistants	2 @ 2000 per day 30 days	120000
Transcription & Translation	2000 * 30	60000
Research permit	3000	3000
Airtime and Internet	3000	10000
Transport	3000	50000
TOTAL		**263000**

Appendix II: Time Plan

WEEK	1	2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-11	12-13	14-16	17-18
Writing concept paper	▨								
Meting the supervisor		▨							
Writing project paper			▨						
Making correction on project paper				▨					
Defense					▨				
Data collection						▨			
Data analysis and presentation							▨		
Finalizing the project								▨	
Binding final project									▨

Appendix III: Questionnaires and Interviews Schedule

Welcome to this session and feel free. The main purpose of this interview is clearly and sincerely for the purpose of a course l am undertaking and seeks to establish the truth on certain security matters of which you are an important person. Any information you volunteer was treated with the confidentiality it deserves.

Instructions

   i.   *Any information offered was handled with a lot of confidentiality and used only for the study purpose.*

  ii.   *The questions are in two parts.*

PART ONE: Questions that deal with personal information.

PART TWO: Deals with knowledge on issues of 1992-2008 ethnic conflicts in Molo sub-County, social, cultural factors and solution seeking behavior.

  iii.   *Tick (√) or insert your response in the space provided.*

PART ONE: SOCIO –DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Age

    a) 18-27   ( )

    b) 28-37   ( )

    c) 38-47   ( )

    d) 48 and above   ( )

2. Sex

    a) Male   ( )

b) Female   ( )

3. Marital Status

a) Single   ( )

b) Married   ( )

c) Divorced   ( )

d) Others (Specify) ……………………………………………………

4. Religion

a) Christian

b) Muslim

c) Hindu

d) Others (Specify) ……………………………………………..…………….

5. Level of Education

a) Primary   ( )

b) Secondary ( )

c) College   ( )

d) University   ( )

6. Employment Status

a) Employed   ( )

b) Business   ( )

c) Casual   ( )

d) Others (Specify) ……………………………………………………

7. How long have you lived/worked in this Molo Sub-County?

    a) Less than 5years   ( )

    b) More than 5years   ( )

    c) Not working   ( )

PART TWO: LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ON 1992, 1997, 2002 AND 2007 ethnic conflicts, SOCIAL, CULTURAL FACTORS AND SOLUTION SEEKING BEHAVIOR

8. Have you experienced any case of conflicts in any electioneering years?

    a) YES ( )

    b) NO   ( )

9. If yes, what kind of conflicts?

    a) Case of Arson?   ( )

    b) Case of murder?   ( )

    c) Destroying of property?   ( )

    d) Other specify……………………………………………………………….

10. Personally, how do you rate the magnitude of ethnic conflicts since 1992 in terms of disruptions, injuries and death?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

11. What do you suggest are the main factors that contributed to ethnic conflicts between 1992-2008 in Nakuru Town?

	PEV CAUSES	(√) OR (X)
1	Political Utterances	
2	Historical Injustices	
3	Land Issues	
4	Rigged Elections	
5	Ethnicity	
6	Unemployment	
7	Lust For Power	
8	Personal Gain	
9	Economic Deprivation	
10	Religion	
11	Other Factors	

12. What were the trigger factors that contributed to ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub-county?

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

13. What is your general perception of the 1992-2008 ethnic conflicts in Molo Sub-County?

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

14. In your opinion was interest for power a major factor contributing to conflicts in Molo Sub-County? Please explain

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

15. Has the perceived trigger factors for the conflicts been addressed?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

16. What role did the political leadership play in instigating the Election Conflicts?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

17. Is it right to conclude that political utterances and hate speech by leaders and politicians were some of the key factors that acted as a catalyst for the frequent ethnic conflicts? Comment.

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

18. Were the ethnic conflicts just by accident or by design?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

19. Do you think there are grievance(s) that existed before the election conflicts? Comment

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

20. State the main actors and parties to the conflicts?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

21. What were the weapons commonly used in perpetration of ethnic conflicts in this Molo Sub-County?

   a) Pistols   ( )

   b) Guns   ( )

   c) Machetes and Clubs ( )

   d) Bows and Arrows   ( )

22. What were the reactions of the security agents to these conflicts?

   a) Concerned and Impartial   ( )

   b) Never concerned and Partial ( )

23. What is your observation on the performance of the security agents in terms of impartiality and honesty?

....

....

24. How do you perceive the performance of the legal department including the police in reaction to ethnic conflicts (1992-2008)?

   a) Effective   ( )

   b) Very poor   ( )

25. Explain (Q24)…………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………

26. Was there any kind of assistance from the Government, especially for the IDPs?

a) Yes   ( )

b) No   ( )

27. Apart from the Government, were there other Governmental and Non-Governmental organizations that assisted the affected people?

a) Yes   ( )

b) No   ( )

28. Do you think the government was committed in ending the conflicts?

……………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

29. What do you suggest as the way forward to avoid a repeat of such conflicts in the near future?

....

....

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ADMINISTRATORS, YOUTH, WOMEN AND BUSINESS OWNERS WITHIN MOLO SUB-COUNTY

1. How many ethnic conflicts did you witness? Which Years?

2. In which part of the Molo sub-County were you living during the said elections?

3. Briefly, describe the conflicts?

4. Mention the mostly affected communities during the electoral conflicts in this Molo sub-County?

5. Were there ethnically designed groupings during these electoral conflicts since1992?

6. How do you comment on the general organization of the antagonist groups?

7. Were the existing gangs organized along ethnic consideration or political grouping?

8. What do you feel were the contributory factors to the electoral conflicts in this Molo sub-County since 1992?

9. What is your rating of the reaction of the security forces in Molo Sub-County in relation to electoral conflicts? (On 1-10scale)

10. What do you think about conflicts during elections? Has the government taken any action to stop such conflicts in 1992, 1997, 2002 and2007/2008?

11. Do you feel there is cordial relationship between different communities in this Molo sub-County?

12. From your own experience, how do you term the trend of the electoral conflicts since 1992?

13. Do you agree that there were other existing grievances that escalated the conflicts since 1992? Explain.

14. What were the main types of arms used during the electoral conflicts between 1992- 2008?

15. How do you advise one who wants to settle or operate business in this Molo Sub-county?

16. Most politicians give promises while on campaign trails, do they fulfill these promises?

17. If yes, is it beneficial to the general members of this Molo Sub-County?

18. Molo sub-County is a cosmopolitan area, Are the politicians voted on development progress?

19. How different are the four General Elections of 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007?

20. The Government controls the state security machinery, How do you see the hand of the government in the ethnic conflicts since 1992 (1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007)

21. How has electoral conflicts since 1992 affected this Molo sub-County? (1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007)

Appendix IV: Key Informants

Name	Date	Place
John	3/03/2018).	Molo town
Gitonga	4/03/2018).	Kamwaura trading Centre
Joseph	5/03/2018)	Elburgon
Annabell	6/03/2018	Turi
Otieno	7/03/2018).	Molo town
Jane	8/03/2018).	North turi
Jonathan	9/03/2018).	South Turi

Appendix V: NACOSTI Research Authorization

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

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/46582/22192**

Date: **9th April, 2018**

James Ikumbu Ngului
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Ethnic violence in Molo Sub County, Nakuru County Kenya.(1963-2008),"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nakuru County** for the period ending **9th April, 2019.**

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

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nakuru County.

The County Director of Education
Nakuru County.

Appendix VI: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. JAMES IKUMBU NGULUI
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-200
Nairobi,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nakuru County*

on the topic: *ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN MOLO SUB COUNTY,NAKURU COUNTY KENYA.(1963-2008).*

for the period ending:
9th April,2019

....
**Applicant's
Signature**

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/46582/22192
Date Of Issue : 9th April,2018
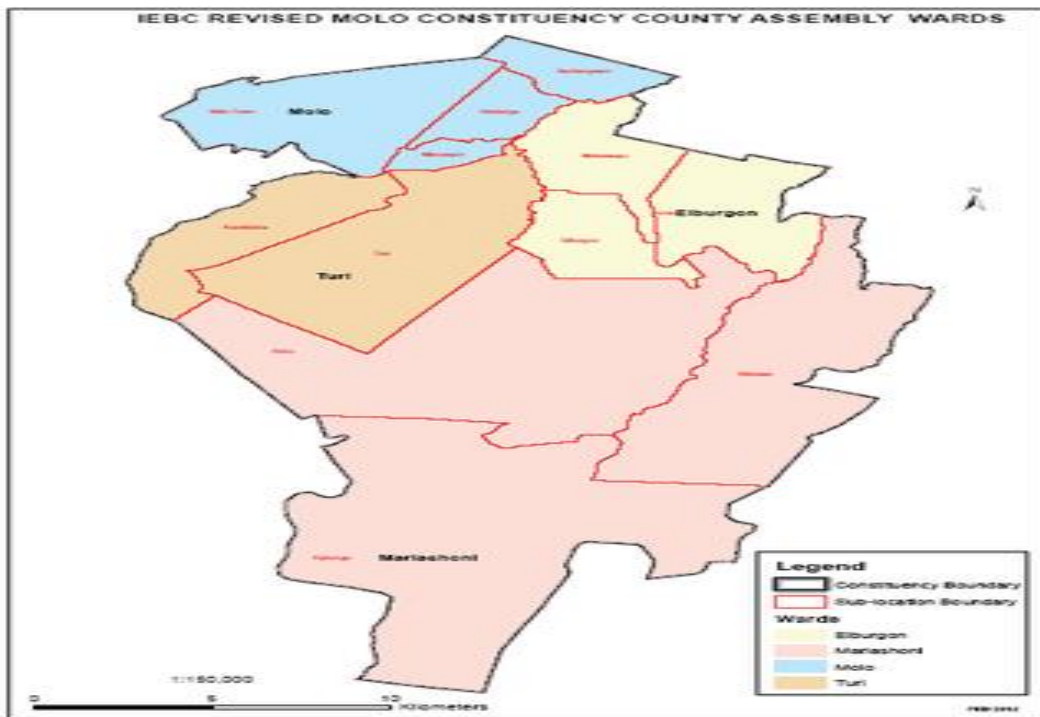Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

....
**Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**

Appendix VII: Map of Nakuru County Showing Rongai Sub-County

Source: https://assembly.nakuru.go.ke/web/about-assembly/nakuru-county-on-the-map/
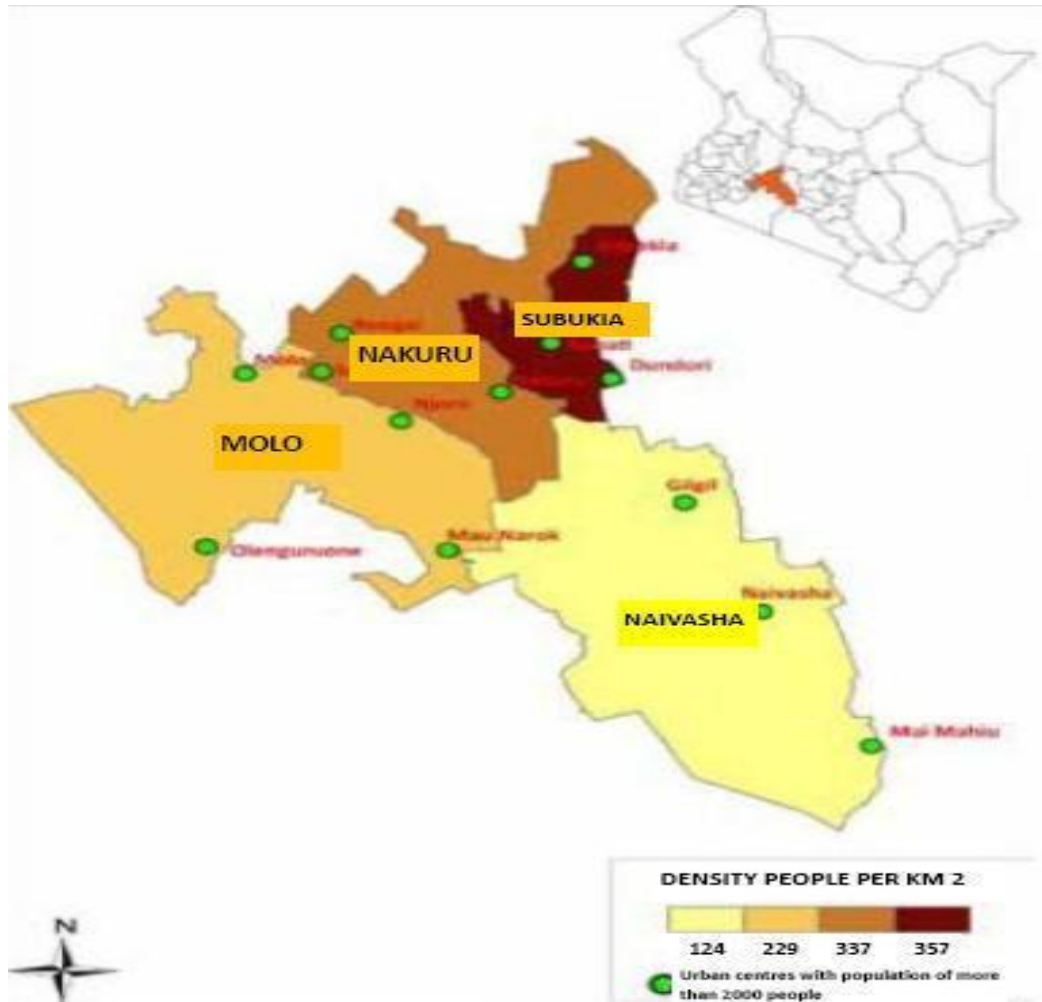
Appendix IX: Map of Molo Sub-County

Source: https://scontent.fnbo2-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.18169