

**CONSTRUCTION OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE THROUGH LAND AND
POLITICS IN MOLO CONSTITUENCY, NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA;
1990-2015**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This research project has been submitted for review with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family for the moral and spiritual support during the entire period of my studies.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo Constituency, Nakuru county, Kenya from the year 1990 to 2015. The Division is inhabited by several ethnic groups although the Agikuyu, the Kipsigis (a sub-group of the larger Kalenjin) and the Abagusii are the most populous. Since the introduction of multiparty in 1991, politics has been the major cause of ethnic violence in the area. The study was guided by four objectives; establish land use construct ethnic violence, establish use of politics to construct ethnic violence, examine the challenges of integrating various communities in Molo Constituency and explore specific peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony in the study locale. The study is predicated on fundamental premises that ethnic violence in the area has always been socially and politically motivated. The study utilized Instrumentalism and social construction theories to explain how violence is socially and politically constructed. The instrumentalist theory sees ethnicity as neither inherent in human nature nor intrinsically valuable. Ethnicity is perceived as a strategic basis for coalitions that are looking for a larger share of scarce economic or political power and so it is a device for restricting resources to a few individuals (Collier, 2002). The social construction theory perceives ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity that can be formed through various means including conquest, colonization or immigration (Wimmer, 2008). Ethnic groups are recognized to be social constructions with 'identifiable origins and histories of expansion and contraction, amalgamation and division (Posner, 2004). The two theories have been used to interrogate the construction of ethnic violence in Molo Constituency between the period 1990-2015. The study employed use descriptive research design and purposive sampling aimed at getting a sample in all the 4 Wards of Molo Constituency. These groups formed part of Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The researcher further used snowball sampling to the identified group to name others whom they knew for key interviews (KI). A sample size of 400 people was issued with questionnaires, upon which inferences were made concerning the entire population. The Study argues that politics of exclusion was the main determinant of the ethnic violence in Molo Constituency. It is therefore imperative for all politicians and other leaders to embrace politics of inclusion and cohesion across all communities both at local and national levels. Also most communities in Molo believe that their ancestral land has been misappropriated right from the colonial period and that the same trend has continued throughout the successive post-independence regimes to date. This historical land injustices ranges from the physical action to legal actions or restrictions on land. There was a general consensus among observers that in Molo Constituency and the larger Nakuru County, the violence was politically instigated. Three waves of violence affected the County; the first wave (1992-1993) the second wave covered the period 1997-1998 and third wave began in 2007 - 2008 following the controversial Presidential poll results. Data collected was analyzed and presented both quantitatively and qualitatively and the findings and recommendation of the study will be useful for the policy makers and future researchers.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry on Post Election
CA	County Administrator
CC	County Commissioner
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KI	Key Interviews
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Standards
LC	Land Committees
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NLC	National Land Commission
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of National Unity
PEV	Post Election Violence

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The struggle for ethnic groups' recognition, equality or autonomy within the framework of an existing territorial state, or for independence from such a state, is not a recent phenomenon. According to Scherer (1994), since 1950s ethno-nationalist conflict has become the most dominant form of mass political violence. The overwhelming majority of civil wars in the post-war era were fought in the name of ethno national autonomy or independence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Scherer (1994) further observes that since the 1950s, the number of ethnic violence continued to increase. The trend reached its peak between the years 1993-1994. Recent examples abound; the intransigence of ethno nationalist politics had led to catastrophe in Bosnia, East Timor, Czech, Slovakia, Serbia, Kosovo, Burundi, Eritrea, Somalia, D R Congo and South Sudan.

According to Ismayilov (2008), such struggles appeared in the aftermath of decolonization during the 1960s, within the successor states of the European empires in Africa and Asia. However, during the Cold War such struggles declined. The Cold War between the Soviet bloc and the US-led Western alliance created a sense of stability among the world population, because the most serious consideration was the possibility that an East-West confrontation would lead to nuclear war. Posen (1993) observes that the end of the Cold War has been accompanied by the emergence of nationalist, ethnic, and religious conflicts in Eurasia. Such conflicts re-emerged as a result of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Yugoslav Federation in the early 1990s. Within the borders of most of states there exist numerous ethnic, national, racial, linguistic or cultural groups. In other words, the majority of states are composed of more than one ethnic group. Sometimes these groups are not accepted as full members of this state or the nation, which it purports to be or presented, or who actually excluded from it. In such circumstance a number of ethnic groups demand more rights and recognition that leads in many cases to ethnic violence.

Kamal-Raj L. (2006), observes that colonization, is the one of the root cause of ethnic conflicts in Africa. Colonization of Africa and several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse culture were brought together under one country. To them, because of the mission of colonialism, most of these peoples were not well integrated into the new states.

Nnoli (2009) observes that, the post-colonial era in Africa witnessed manipulation and disintegration of ethnic identities and groups, thus making the state central to the dynamics of ethnicity. In Africa, since mid 1960s there has been prolonged and protracted ethnic-related political violence. Examples of such countries are Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Cote d'voire, Congo-Brazzaville, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger Republic, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, South Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Although, ethnic based violence has been noted in other places in the world today, Africa stands out as the continent with the most prevalent of the cases in the entire world as opined by Nnoli, (2009).

Looking at ethnicity from a historical perspective, Nwosu (1999) stated that the colonization of Africa and several other third world states ensured that peoples of diverse culture were brought together under one country. According to him, because of the mission of colonialism, most of these people were not well integrated into the new states. Instead, some of the imperial powers cashed in on the cultural divergence of these countries to ensure the examination of their objectives. He further said, "it is thus not surprising that years after colonialism, these states remained lowly integrated". This low level of integration has precipitated crises in many of the countries. This clearly depicts the situation in Kenya. Also, as expressed by Welsh (1996), violent and intractable internal conflicts in recent years in Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan are as a result of the failure of states in sub-Saharan Africa to cope with ethnicity. He examines the association of ethnic identities with the colonial period and the 'instrumentalist' contention that ethnicity was invented for political purposes. He notes both that the imperial powers in Africa did little to prepare the colonies for independence and also that, given the imperatives of the colonial system; it was unrealistic to expect them to do more.

Kazah-Toure (2000), observes that the spread of a mighty wave of ethnic tensions and conflicts threatens national unity and harmonious inter-ethnic relations. He stated further that elsewhere on the African continent, violent and bloody conflicts are more often assuming inter-ethnic and inter-ethno/ religious proportions. The fear of domination, which developed in the minds of minority groups, coupled with inter-ethnic suspicions among the majority groups has always led to ethnic violence in pursuit of ethnic interests or self preservation.

In Kenya, Yieke (2010) observes that in multi-ethnic communities, ethnicity or ethnic identity is an additional variable in socio economic development over and above those normally present in the more homogenous communities. The role of ethnicity in development can be negative or positive, that it can also be a problem or potentially rewarding depending how different ethnic identities coexist. It is rewarding when ethnic diversity is used to complement each other rather than compete each other. Oucho (2002) in his book, Undercurrent of ethnic violence in Kenya, has identified political instigation and scarce resources as some of the causes of communal violence among populations living in close proximity to each other in Kenya.

Oucho (2002) notes "Apart from Nairobi and Rift Valley provinces, all other Kenyan provinces hold one dominant ethnic group or culturally similar groups". Diversity of ethnic communities and the struggle for power and resources by the main ethnic communities is to blame. Cheserek (2004) observes that conflicts in North Rift region of Kenya are thought to be part and parcel of culture and livelihood of resident communities. Conflicts between Pokots and Marakwets communities are deemed to be resource based resulting from pasture and water and by extension cattle ownership.

According to Nakuru County Peace Accord(2011), some of the causes of ethnic violence in Nakuru and by extension Molo Constituency, have deep historical and socio-economic roots, reflected in differing degrees in specific localities. Nakuru County Peace Accord (2011) notes that, whilst not every situation is identical, common features have included different traditions of pastoralism and agricultural farming, patterns of settlement, land ownership, and economic development generally, sharing of many natural resources, including pastures and rivers. Competition over the use of

resources has produced claims that have been difficult to reconcile.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Armed conflict with its assault on people and institutions and its invariably debilitating aftermath, is the epitome of "development in reverse" (World Bank, 2003). Conflict blunts, and subsequently unravels years of hard-worn economic and social development. Armed ethnic conflict has become a problem persistent in the Rift Valley region. It has become a recurrent feature of life especially during election times, leading to much suffering among affected populations through infringement of the fundamental civil liberties of the victims, hence undermining national cohesion. Therefore it is imperative that diverse ethnic communities need to live together harmoniously so as to achieve socio-economic and political prosperity by complimenting each other's diversity. Machel (2001), noted that most of the studies carried out on causes of armed ethnic violence have been carried outside Kenya with little effort being made to identify local constructions of ethnic violence through land and politics in specific areas like Molo Constituency which has experienced consistent ethnic violence despite numerous peace building strategies by different actors.

In an effort to achieve this, after every wave of violence, the Kenyan government established Police Posts manned by the Administration Police (AP) in several parts of the Constituency so as to keep peace in the area. Consequently, the Ministry of State for Special Programmes launched *Operation Rudi Nyumbani* (Return Home) and the related operations *Tujenge Pamoja* (Build Together) and *Ujirani Mwema* (Good Neighbourliness) with the aim of integrating different communities (Njoroge, 2012). The government has also used the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to reconcile ethnic groups living in the larger Nakuru County. Despite these efforts peace between different ethnic communities living in Molo Constituency has always been elusive. The study sought to examine construction of ethnic violence in Molo Constituency so as come up with specific peace building strategies for the study locale so as to achieve sustainable peace.

1.3 General objectives of the study

The general objective of the study was to establish the construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo constituency, Nakuru County, Kenya.

1.4 Specific objectives of the study

The study was to achieve the following specific objectives:

- i. Determine how community landowners use land to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency.
- ii. Establish why politicians use politics to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency.
- iii. Identify the challenges of integrating various communities in Molo Constituency.
- iv. Explore specific peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony in the study locale.

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following Research Questions:

- i. In which ways do the community land owners use land to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?
- ii. Why do politicians use politics to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?
- iii. What are the challenges facing the integration of various communities in Molo Constituency?
- iv. What are the specific peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony in the study locale?

1.6 Premises

The study was carried out based on the following premises:

- i. Land ownership is the major cause of violence in Molo Constituency.
- ii. Ethnic violence in Molo Constituency has always been due to political motivation.
- iii. There are specific community based peace building and reconciliation strategies that can be adopted to ensure inter-ethnic harmony.

1.7 Justification and Significance of the Study

Although there exist much literature on ethnic violence in Molo Constituency of Nakuru County in Kenya, how the actors construct violence using land and politics has not been given scholarly attention. Violence in the area occurs every election year, that is, after every five years. It is therefore imperative to interrogate the social-economic and political aspects and how actors use them to construct violence in Molo Constituency taking cognizant that we are about to go for elections.

Findings and recommendations will add new knowledge to the existing literature on ethnic violence for academic purposes. Also it will help governments' policy makers, community workers and residents of the study area to address the issues raised towards peace building in Molo Constituency and other areas with similar challenges.

1.8 Scope and Limitations

This study was conducted in Molo Constituency. The area was chosen because it has had a history of aggravated incidences of armed ethnic conflict from 1991 to 2008. It also represents a good ethnic mix of the Kikuyu, the Kalenjin, Kisii, Ogiek, Luo, Luhya and other ethnic groups. The focus of the study was the period between 1990 - 2015. The choice of year 2015 is important in that concrete measures to address ethnicity in Kenya have been in place since 2008 post elections violence (PEV). The study restricted itself to the construction of ethnic violence(through land and politics) in Molo Constituency.

The study was limited by the sensitivity of the subject to the respondents. In this regard, respondents were assured that it was an academic research, and the confidentiality of the information they gave will only be used for academic purposes only. The researcher experienced some challenges in terms of language barrier; he mitigated the matter by having research assistants who were well versed with the local languages.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed in this section highlights land allocation issues, the role played by politicians in constructing ethnic violence, challenges of bringing various communities to live cohesively. It also includes theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

2.1.1 Land as a Local Construction of ethnic violence at community level

Bruce (2013) in his research in his research noted that land pervasively underpins human activity that it usually plays some role during war and civil violence. Land-related issues figure into many violent disputes around the world. Ongoing communal violence in Nigeria and Sudan is tied to competition over scarce fertile land and poor resource governance. Disputes over access to land and valuable mineral resources drove wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the nearly 25-year war in Sri Lanka was fought over geographic claims to an ethnic homeland for the country's minority population. Understanding the role land plays in the conflicts resolution of so many nations can help policymakers develop strategies to ease tensions among groups, limit conflict, and potentially avoid violence and the poverty trap that comes from cyclical violence (Collier et al., 2003). Failure to address these bedrock issues may increase the likelihood of conflict and perpetuate poverty. Land is the object of competition in a number of potentially overlapping ways; as an economic asset, as a connection with identity and social legitimacy, and as political territory. Competition over land and its resources is at the center of the nexus between land and conflict. Competition can occur between any number and type of identity groups, whether based on ethnicity, religion, class, gender, or generation. When that competition involves groups of people, rather than individuals, the risk of larger-scale violence increases. Some conflicts grow directly out of competition for land, but land is often not the sole cause of conflict; other factors, such as ethnic or religious tensions or political marginalization contribute to conflict (Baranyi and Weitzner, 2001).

According to Deininger (2003), competition and conflict over land are increasing because of a confluence of factors: many rural-based families need to draw more from their land even in the face of declining inputs; entrenched and pensioned off civil servants and other workers look to family and other land as a source of food and/or cash cropping; governments and environmentalists seek to demarcate conservation areas; and internal and external groups intensify their exploitation of valuable resources from/in/under the land (minerals, trees, wildlife, crops, water).

Plateau (1998), observes that land is increasingly becoming a source of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, where land access had traditionally been characterized as relatively egalitarian. Mamdani (1996) connects the Hutu-Tutsi conflict of Rwanda in 1994 with the administrative policies of Belgium colonialism. His argument is that the colonial policy of divide and rule has continued to haunt the postcolonial states in Africa. Local land conflicts can erupt into large-scale civil strife and political movements (Daudelin, 2002). Some underlying factors, such as population pressure, agricultural commercialization, and urbanization, have contributed to the increasing number of land conflicts, and the current land tenure systems in Africa may not be well-equipped to resolve such conflicts (Hesse, 2004). In many African countries, formal institutions for land administration were often simply superimposed on traditional structures without a clear delineation of responsibilities and competencies, implying that they lack both outreach and social legitimacy (Deininger,2003).

Retracing the history of ethnic conflict especially between the Agikuyu and the Kalenjin in the Rift Valley, historians and policy analysts contend that land alienation during the colonial period is responsible for the current land related conflicts in the region. By 1914, many of the Agikuyu who lost their land in Central Province had migrated to the White Highlands where they lived and worked as squatters. There were squatters from other ethnic groups whose land had similarly been appropriated by the colonial administration. Such groups included the Abagusii, Akamba, Nandi, Kipsigis, Marakwet and Tugen (Kanogo, 1987).

By early 1960s, relations between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin grew tense. Within the then Nakuru District, District officers at Molo and Njoro received large numbers of applications, from farmers for native arms permits for their employees, all Kalenjin. The requests were made after the return of Jomo Kenyatta to Gatundu (his rural home) from prison in August 1961 (Rutten, 2001). This implies that the Kalenjin were prepared to fight the Kikuyu incase Kenyatta would wish to disregard their claims to land in the Rift Valley. In Mau Narok, the situation was the same as the Maasai opposed Kikuyu settlement in the area (KNA/DC/NKU/2/1/2- Sep. 1961).

With regard to the genesis of inter-ethnic suspicions in the larger Nakuru County, Furedi(1989) demonstrates that land issues were not given sufficient attention in the negotiations for Kenya's independence from Britain. The former White Highlands in the Rift Valley attracted the attention of both Africans and Settlers. Among the Africans, the Maasai and the Kalenjin were apprehensive of massive migration of larger ethnic groups like the Agikuyu into the Rift Valley- a region they considered to have been taken away from them by the British. Furedi(1989) notes that the tensions over land in Nakuru County led to ethnic clashes in Nakuru Town in January 1961. Besides providing such insights into inter-ethnic relations just before independence, the work by Furedi enriches our study because he mentions that due to these tensions over land, a radical group of ex *Mau Mau* fighters known as the Kenya Land and Freedom Army (KLFA) emerged in Nakuru. The KLFA was an exclusive Kikuyu organization whose aim was to ensure that land did not pass over to the "wrong hands" such as the loyalists who had fought alongside the British, the settlers or any other group that would prevent Kikuyu residence in the Rift Valley.

Njoroge (2012) notes that stereotypes such as *madoadoa*(spots), *sangara*(weeds) and *nyamuciaruguru*(animals from the West) are often used to describe "enemy" ethnic groups.

The literature reviewed indicates that there exist plenty of studies on the topic under consideration. However, specific community based constructions to the inter-ethnic conflicts ought to be given much more attention due to difference in context as well as construction themselves.

2.1.2 Politicians and tribal leaders constructing ethnic violence

Wimmer (2002), contends that, an ethnic category is politically relevant if at least one significant political actor claims to represent the interests of that group in the national political arena, or if members of an ethnic category are systematically and intentionally discriminated against in the domain of public politics. We do not distinguish between degrees of representation of political actors who claim to speak for an ethnic group, nor do we code the heterogeneity of political positions voiced by leaders claiming to represent the same community (Brubaker 2004).

Branch (2011), argues that ethnic intolerance in Kenya increased after the assassination of Thomas Joseph Mboya, a Luo and an influential Minister on July 5 1969. As a sign of increased intolerance, on July 17 1969, a group of armed Kalenjin youths from Turbo in the Rift Valley beat up two of their Kikuyu counterparts, in other parts of the Rift Valley Kikuyu farmers were harassed by Kalenjin youths.

Branch (2011), also observes that the *majimbo*(ethnic regionalism) debate was revived in 1990 to ensure that President Daniel Arap Moi and the Kenya African National Union (KANU) remained in power. This would be achieved by using violence against ethnic groups in the Rift Valley that were likely to vote for the opposition in the elections of 1992. Such ethnic groups included the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and the Kisii.

Wamwere (2008) observes that aspirants to political office harp on the high value attached to land to woo a support base, often deliberately or craftily inciting communities against each other over land ownership. For instance the 1992 and 1997 conflicts in Kenya were motivated by the ruling party Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) to remain in power following incitement by politicians and political parties formed along tribal lines with great devastation on the country's resources.

Wamwere(2008) looks at the role of negative ethnicity in fanning ethnic violence. He blames this on the way politics has been organized in postcolonial Kenya; along ethnic lines. He views ethnic conflicts as a struggle between political elites camouflaged as an ethnic struggle for resources. Branch (2011) contextualizes the year 1969 as a turning point in ethnic relations in the Rift Valley province. This review is relevant to the case under study because ethnic violence in Molo Constituency has been occurring during

electioneering period. The literature shows the connection that there is a between politics and ethnic violence.

2.1.3 Challenges of inter-ethnic co-existence.

Focusing on the role of elites in ethnic conflicts, Adedeji (1999) observes that a conflict started by elites can engulf entire ethnic groups. He notes that conflicts occur because elites, especially the political class frame their personal interests and ambitions in ethnic terms. Hence, a personal struggle for power is disguised as an ethnic struggle for survival in a hostile political space. The work also points out that stereotypes and ethnic labels are manufactured so as to dehumanize and expel unwanted ethnic groups from certain areas. These myths are reinforced by the notions of “insiders” and “outsiders”. In Kenya, the rise of Mungiki in the period 1992-2008 has been phenomenal. The Kikuyu who were displaced in Molo, Olenguruone, Laikipia and elsewhere in the 1992 and 1997 were mobilized by leaders who sought to defend Kikuyu interests such as land in the Rift Valley (Olengoywo, 2010). Such leaders included Ndura Waruinge and Maina Njenga (Gecaga, 2007). The group was formed in 1995 by Maina Njenga who claimed to have had a vision in which *Ngai*(God) commanded him to liberate the Agikuyu from all forms of oppression.

Although unemployment is not unique to Kenya alone, two decades of intermittent ethnic conflicts in the area has compounded the challenges faced by youth in Molo Constituency. Due to this, they are unable to compete against their contemporaries in other parts of the country. Moreover, as noted by Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (CIPEV, 2008) many of them moved into towns. Desperation has made them available for hire by politicians bent on using violence to win elections. Besides, they have become easy recruits by ethnic militias and vigilante groups.

According to Maxon(1986)the idea of individualized land was foreign to most Kenyan people before colonization because land was regarded as communal. Disputes regarding rights and ownership claims arose as former tenants and those who lost their land in Central Province moved into Rift Valley. The conflicts escalated when Moi’s Government in an effort to consolidate political base, issued forest land to the Kalenjin who evicted the Kikuyu who had been settled there during the Kenyatta’s government.

Masakhalia (2011) observes that underdevelopment within the ranks of ethnic groups of Kenya is attributed to lack of access to political power. With such an attitude towards political leadership, a General Election in Kenya provides an opportunity for enigmatic ethnic power struggles. A loss in the election implies that the entire ethnic group will be excluded from enjoying state largesse and patronage until a friendlier regime comes to power. Consequently, elections create anxiety not only for individual candidates but also for their ethnic groups. It is worth noting that the fear of political and economic marginalization resulting from election results is also common within the same ethnic group.

It is therefore evident from the above review that ethnic violence is a manifestation of both land and political question. The body of literature on ethnic conflicts in Africa and the world in general has grown tremendously especially after the end of the Cold War in 1990. However, in the Kenyan context, construction of such ethnic violence in specific areas such as Molo Constituency remains scanty. This indicates that there is an academic gap that needs to be addressed.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Ethnic conflict is defined as conflict where at least one group defines its goals exclusively in ethnic terms and in which the fault-line of confrontation is one of ethnic variation, (Cordell K., 2010). Ethnic conflict, a highly contested phenomenon, has been a part of international politics throughout history and is still a common form of contemporary armed conflict around the world (Nguyen, 2010). The causes of ethnic conflicts are densely debated by scholars across disciplines. This study considered two major theories of ethnic conflict namely, instrumentalism and constructivism. Each of these theories have specific assumptions regarding the origin of ethnic identities, and following from this they reflect different causes of ethnic conflict.

2.2.1 Instrumentalism theory

The instrumentalist theory sees ethnicity as neither inherent in human nature nor intrinsically valuable. Ethnicity is perceived as a strategic basis for coalitions that are looking for a larger share of scarce economic or political power and so it is a device for restricting resources to a few individuals (Collier, 2002). The instrumentalist theory argues that it is rational for parties to organize along ethnic lines depending on the benefit it brings to them. Given that many ethnic conflicts and civil wars happen in relation to opportunities for primary commodity predation (Collier, 2002), argues that greed is stronger than grievance as a strong cause of ethnic conflict. Consequently, ethnic conflict arises among rational agents over scarce resources driven by the aims of political leaders for political or economic gains or a deliberate manipulation based on a rational decision to incite or encourage ethnic violence (Chandra, 2004). Ethnic conflict is therefore the result of actor's rational activity of widespread interest such as prosperity, power and security. Beyond the explanation of the role of elite manipulation in ethnic wars, the utility of this theory lies also in explaining why some ethnically fragmented societies choose to fight or chose to cooperate rather than fight. This decision, it is argued, depends on the cost and benefit calculations that groups make and so when the cost of cooperation is more than the perceived benefits, ethnic conflicts tend to be unavoidable (Walter, 1997).

Instrumentalism also explains why some people take part in ethnic violence even when they are not personally convinced but follow the crowd. In line with this Hardin (1995) argues that ethnic mobilization is a coordination game in which it is rational to cooperate as long as you see others cooperating. Similarly, Collier (2002) argue that the opportunity costs of participation in a rebellion are low and the benefits in terms of having a share in the loot are often quite substantial. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo is often described mainly as a product of elite manipulation, state failure and illegal exploitation of mineral resources (Autesserre, 2012). The implication of this narrative on resolution of this conflict has been a narrow focus on strategies of state building and reconstruction while paying inadequate attention to the divergence of basic identity which Connor (1994) rightly argues, manifests itself in the 'us-them' syndrome. More so, if all behavior in ethnic conflict is explained at the individual level as dominated by desire for individualistic material gains of a few elites, how do the

atrocities, of the members of these ethnic groups, like rape, genocide, torture contribute to these gains? It is argued that war rape is sometimes a political instrument to intimidate, humiliate and degrade the 'enemy' as experienced in the case of the Serbs during the Bosnian war whose aim of raping Bosnian Muslim women was to produce little 'Chetniks' (Weitsman, 2008) or the Rwanda case where genocide was described as a political strategy by the elite to buy one groups loyalty by allowing the extermination of the other (Verwimp, 2003).

The theory is relevant to the study because competition for land resources, has led to ethnic rivalries which is one of the root causes of ethnic conflicts in Molo Constituency. The theory will guide the researcher in that ethnic violence in Molo Constituency could be as a result of actor's rational activity of widespread interest such as prosperity, power and security. Beyond the explanation of the role of elite manipulation in ethnic wars, the utility of this theory lies also in explaining why some ethnically fragmented societies choose to fight in preservation of their collective interests.

2.2.2 Social Construction theory

The assumption of this theory is that society has a historically constructed master cleavage and narrative and that people identify themselves as a social category distinguished by rules of membership, characteristics or behavior. Language, history, symbols and culture, for constructivists, is significant in instigating and sustaining ethnic rivalry. Ethnicity is thus flexible, subjective and changes with inter-ethnic interaction and its purpose is to reinforce and perpetuate social differences for specific goals. Ethnic conflict is the product of concrete historical processes and these influences in history affect relations between ethnic groups causing hostility between them.

The social construction theory perceives ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity that can be formed through various means including conquest, colonization or immigration (Wimmer,2008). Ethnic groups are recognized to be social constructions with 'identifiable origins and histories of expansion and contraction, amalgamation and division'(Posner, 2004). They are fluid and originate within a set of social, economic and political processes (Chandra, 2001).Constructivists argue that

each society has a historically constructed master cleavage and narrative that political entrepreneurs can manipulate (Brass, 2003). Constructivists take identity to be a social category distinguished by rules of membership, characteristics (perceived as typical) or behavior expected in certain circumstances (Fearon, 2000). They argue that these social categories are not natural, inevitable or unchanging because it is not genes but the internal logic of social discourses that drives identity construction and condition individual's identities with particular groups (Ferejohn, 1991). They draw attention to the historical construction and maintenance of exclusive identities by colonial and post-colonial ruling elites for political and social control (Jackson, 2002). The role of language, history, symbols and culture, for constructivists, is significant in instigating and sustaining ethnic rivalry (Kaufman, 2001).

Ethnicity is thus flexible, subjective and changes with inter-ethnic interaction and its purpose is to reinforce and perpetuate social differences for specific goals (Jemma, 2006). Ethnic conflict, consequently, is the product of concrete historical processes and these influences in history affect relations between ethnic groups causing hostility between them, thus explaining the politicization of ethnic identities. Weir (2012) observes that ethnic hostilities are caused by a combination of factors, evolving over time and creating a conducive environment for violence. The conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh between Azerbaijan and Armenia that began in the late 1980's is commonly described through constructivist lenses (Kuburas, 2011).

This is plausible in that it provides an important historical context and explains a central issue in this conflict that is the influence of the Soviet Union and nation-building policies of the 20th Century, which contributed to political and economic grievances among their irredentist minorities in the Caucasus (Kuburas, 2011). However, by using maps and border definitions alone to justify territorial claims, analysts ignore the importance of the primordial claims to territory ownership that establishes 'historic legitimacy based on the ancestral tenure' of a given ethnic group (Astourian, 1994) thus ignoring the significant role that hatreds, distrust and suspicion played in shaping and sustaining this conflict. As Kaufman (2001) rightly observes, 'the most dangerous symbols used in ethnic wars are myths that justify political domination over particular territory, which may have been lost in the past and myths of past atrocities that can be used to justify fears of future genocide'. Similarly, Toft (2003) argues that the primary

determinant of ethnic wars is whether state and potential secessionist minorities see their particular claims over territory as divisible or indivisible. Even if ethnic identities are constructed, they could also become internalized and institutionalized in a way that they acquire deep meaning for that group and produce the same emotions that primordial identities would because ethnic groups tend to share a persisting sense of common interests and identity based on these shared historical experiences, valued cultural traits, beliefs, religion, language and shared territory/homeland (Smith, 1993).

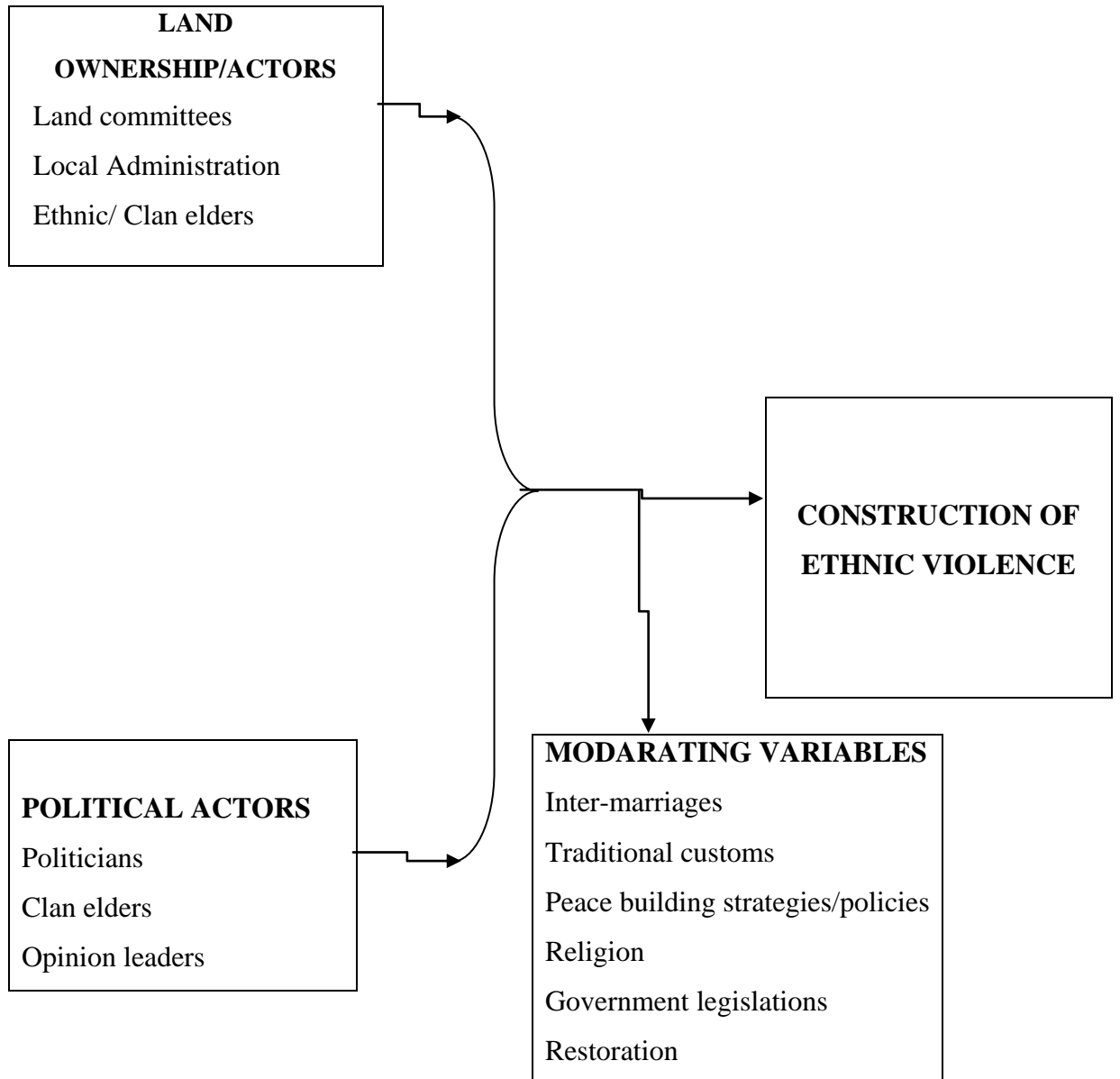
Explanatory power of this theory therefore lies in its ability to draw on multiple dimensions, reflecting both underlying and proximate causes of ethnic conflict and exposing the role of agency within these historical processes showing how the interests of actors, the socio-economic and political environment interact to produce ethnic violence. Constructivism does not however explain why communities with similar historical processes and structural features commonly associated with conflict do not produce similar conflict histories. For instance, Botswana, described as ‘Africa’s haven of ethnic peace and harmony’ (Mulinge, 2008) is a weak state like its neighbor Zimbabwe, heterogeneous also and yet has not had the same conflict history that Zimbabwe has had. Again, comprehensive as the constructivist theory may seem, it doesn’t account for the timing of the outbreak of conflict (Jackson, 2004). Why do the conflicts erupt at a particular point in these historical processes? Knowing this could help aid prevention.

The theory assisted the researcher to relate violence with the historical land settlement and the political processes in Molo Constituency which is the product of concrete historical processes and these influences in history may have affected relations between ethnic groups causing hostility between them.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Independent Variables

Dependent Variable



Source: Author (2017)

The study conceptualize violence is depended on deprivation land resources and political instigation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter covered the research design, location of the study, the target population, sampling design and procedure, sample population, strategies that the researcher used to collect data from the field, the methods of analyzing these data and presenting them in a way that will be understood, and lastly the ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used descriptive research design since this design allows the researcher to carry the study without affecting the flow of work. This was preferred because it is concerned with answering questions such as who, how, what, which, when and how much. Thus determining the frequency in which something occurred for its association to something else with specific predictions of facts and characteristics concerning individual groups or situations. A descriptive study was carefully designed to ensure complete description of the situation, making sure that there is minimum bias in the collection of data and to reduce errors in interpreting the data collected.

3.2 Site of the Study

The study was carried out in Molo Constituency, Nakuru County (approx. 478.9 sq. Kms) because it is one of the areas which has experienced the worst ethnic violence in Kenya. It borders Mau Forest to the north. The population is about 124,338 people majority being Agikuyu, Kipsigis, Abagusii and the Ogiek ethnic communities (KNBS,2009). Molo Constituency has 4 Wards namely; Molo, Turi, Elburgon, and Mariashoni. After Kenya's independence in 1963, people from different ethnic groups moved into the area. Majority of them were attracted by the fertile soils for the growing of pyrethrum, potatoes, wheat, kales, sunflowers and dairy farming. Indeed, Molo Constituency was among the few areas declared security operation zones under the Preservation of Public Security Act by President Daniel Arap Moi on September 2 1993 (Akiwumi report, 1999).

3.3 Target Population

The target population for the researcher was approximately 124,338 people of Molo Constituency (KNBS, 2009). Within this population, the researcher focussed on Household Heads, County Administrators, Land Committees and Security Agents.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample size

Due to a large population involved, the researcher used Purposive sampling aimed at getting a sample with the desired characteristics concerning inter-ethnic violence, mostly land committees, opinion leaders, elders, farmers, administrators and religious leaders in all the 13 Wards of Molo Constituency. These groups formed part of Focus Group Discussions (FGD). Then the researcher further used snowball sampling from the identified groups to name others whom they knew as having the required characteristics until the researcher got the number of cases he required to form key informants for key interviews (KI). The researcher then considered a sample size of 400 people who were issued with questionnaires, upon which inferences were made concerning the entire population.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

The researcher first used Questionnaires, followed by FGD Guide during Focus Group Discussion and lastly, the interviews Guide. Both primary and secondary data collection methods were used. The researcher used Focus Group Discussions using a FGD Guide; the FGD identified Key Informants who were issued with questionnaires. Then interviews were done to corroborate the Questionnaires. Open-ended and close-ended questions were used. Open-ended questions enabled the respondents to give adequate presentation of answers to the questions asked, while close-ended questions helped to keep the questionnaires to a reasonable presentation and therefore encouraging responses and validity in terms of representatives of the returns with its alternative structure.

3.6 Data Validity and Reliability

The researcher subjected the questionnaires to validity and reliability using pilot test to ascertain whether the questions were relevant and if it could measure what it ought to measure. Validity was ensured by having objective questions included in the questionnaire. After framing Questionnaires and Interview Guides the researcher tried it out on a small sample of about 10 Opinion Leaders in the adjacent Rongai Constituency, an area with similar problems in order to ascertain whether the questions were measuring what they were supposed to measure, if the wordings were clear and provoke responses. If the respondents understood in the same way then the research instruments were reliable. Validity was ensured by having objective questions included in the questionnaire. After a pilot test, the researcher confirmed that the questionnaires, FGD Guide and the interview Guide were objective.

3.7 Data collection procedure

The researcher first obtained a research authorization from Graduate School, research permit from NACOSTI, County Commissioner, County Director of Education and lastly Sub County Commissioner. Thereafter distribution of questionnaires was done by the researcher with the help of a research assistant before undertaking face to face FGDs and Key Interviews.

3.8 Data Analysis and presentation

Researchers reduced accumulated data to a manageable size, developing summaries, looking for patterns, and applying statistical techniques. Scaled responses on questionnaires and experimental instruments often require the analyst to derive various functions, as well as to explore relationships among variables. After collecting data, the researcher cleaned it in order to determine incomplete, inaccurate, irrelevant or unreasonable data and then improve the quality through correction of detected errors and omissions. The data collected from the sample population was analyzed using inferential statistics. This method ensured that the data from the sample represented the entire population and helped to assess the relationship between independent and dependent variables. This process assisted the researcher to determine the relationship of the individual variables. Data was presented qualitatively using pie charts, tables and

bar charts and also quantitatively. Findings of the researcher was presented qualitatively.

3. 9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained consent from the respondents for the conduct of interviews and the administration of questionnaires. The respondents were also informed of the study objectives, methods and relevance. The researcher identified ethical and moral dilemmas prior to carrying out the research study in order to protect all participants from potential harm. They were assured of confidentiality and no person was forced into participating in the study. At the same time, the researcher ensured that all respondents were treated with respect and their privacy observed. The researcher provided the respondents with his contacts in case they wanted to contact him in future. In order to conform to the standards of conduct of the various government ministries, a research permits was obtained. The study commenced after the approval to conduct the research had been obtained from these relevant authorities, starting with the University, NACOSTI, County Commissioner of Nakuru County, and Molo Sub-County Commissioner.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presented and discussed the analysis of data collected from the respondents by the researcher. Data presented is based on the research objectives using pie-charts, tables and bar graphs.

4.1 Presentation of Findings

4.2.1 Response Rate

Table 1: Response Rate

Categories	Frequency	Percentages
Response	304	76
Non Response	96	24
Total	400	100

Source: Author (2017)

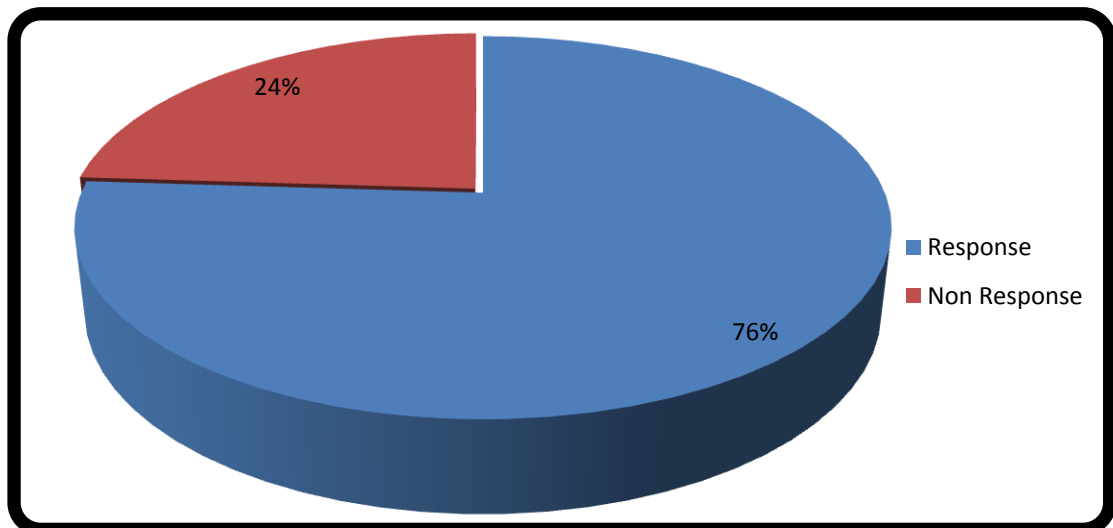


Figure 1: Response Rate

Source: Author (2017)

As seen in both table 1 and figure 1 above, the researcher sampled a total of 400 respondents. Out of the total 400 respondents, 304 responded by filling the questionnaires and returning them. This represents a percentage of 76%. The non respondents were represented by 24%. The response rate was deemed adequate and sufficient by the researcher for purposes of data analysis.

4.2.2 Gender of Respondents

Table 2: Gender of Respondents

Categories	Frequency	Percentages
Men	237	78
Women	67	22
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

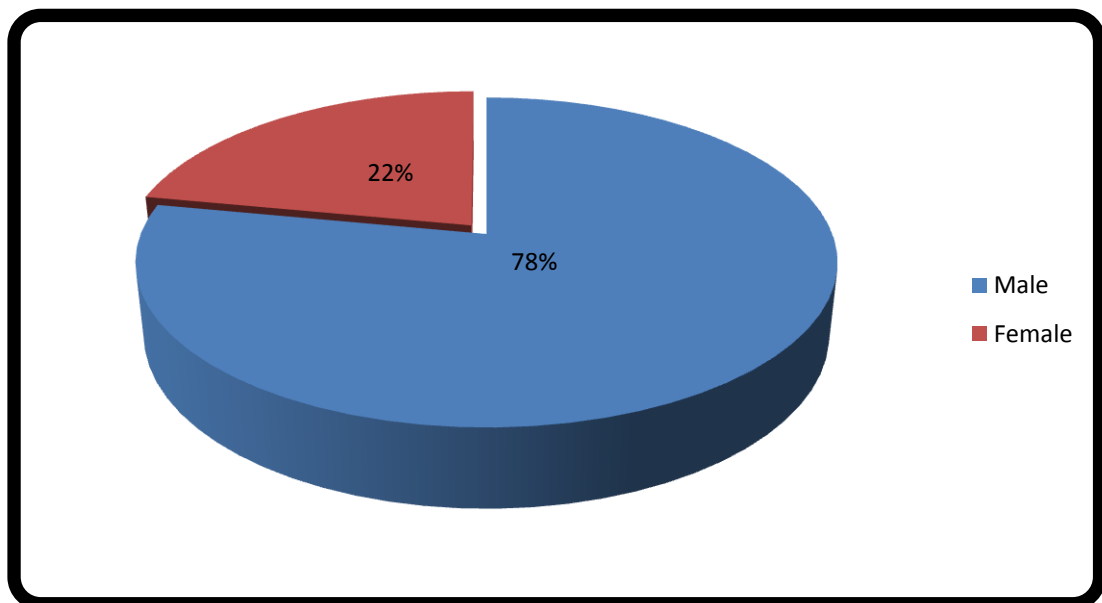


Figure 2: Gender of Respondents

Source: Author (2017)

Both table 2 and figure 2 above shows that 78% the respondents were male while 22% were female. This indicates that the majority of the responses in each of the categories in the study area were males. The number of male respondents was adequate for the

researcher because the literature reviewed confirmed that actors of ethnic violence are mainly young men with the blessings of their respective community elders and politicians. Among the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin, it is only circumcised men who can wage war against communal enemies. Ethnic based vigilante and militia groups were embraced as alternative routes to secure communal interests. Also the study area is still a patriarchal society and all matters political, socio-economic and cultural that affects the communities within the study area are mostly controlled by male. Therefore the inputs of male respondents helped the researcher to analyze the data.

4.2.3 Ethnicity of the Respondents

Table 3: Ethnicity of the Respondents

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentages
Kikuyu	106	32
Kipsigis	81	25
Kisii	30	9
Ogiek	26	8
Luhya	24	7
Luo	19	6
Others	18	5
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

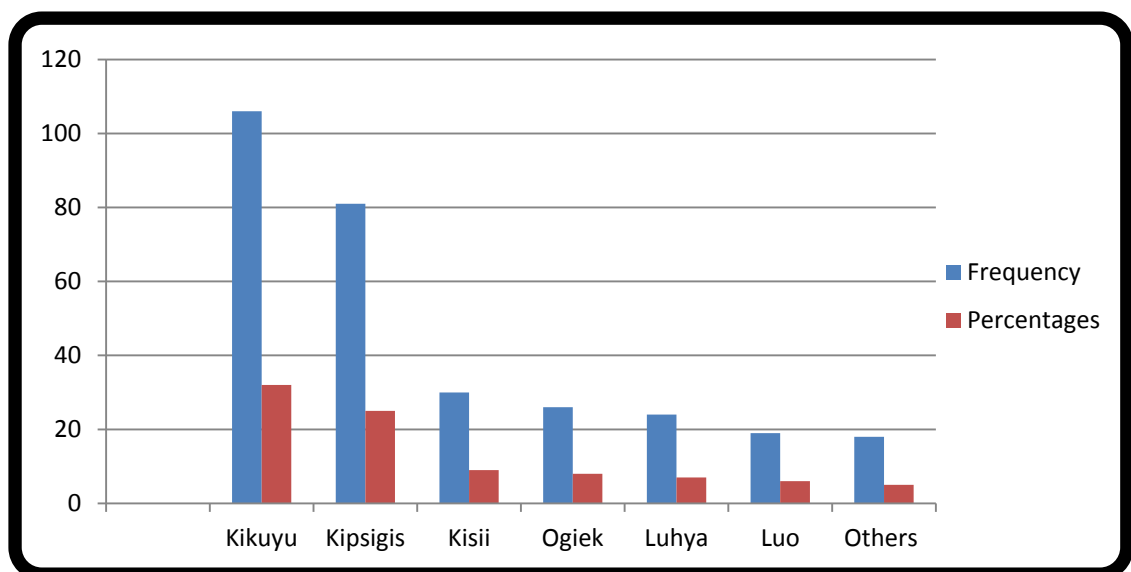


Figure 3: Ethnicity of the Respondents

Source: Author (2017)

The above finding in table 3 and figure 3 shows that 32% of the respondents are Kikuyu, 25% Kalenjin, 9% Kisii, 8% Ogiek, 7% Luhya, 6% Luo and 5% being a combination of other Kenyan tribes. Majority of the respondents are the Kikuyu (32%) and Kalenjin (Kipsigis and Ogiek - 33%). The two tribes are the majority in the study area, they own land and they are dominant in politics both at national and local levels.

4.2.4 Age of the Respondents

Table 4: Age groups of the Respondents

Number of years	Frequency	Percentages
18-35 years	70	23
36-60years	182	60
Above 60 years	52	17
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

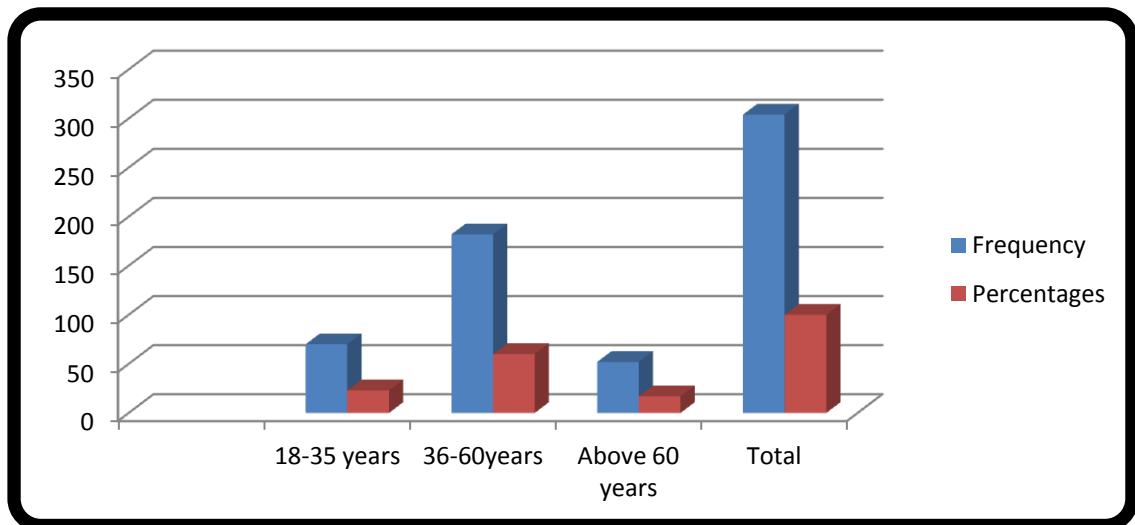


Figure 4: Age Group of Respondents

Source: Author (2017)

From the above table 4 and figure 4, the respondents numbering to 23% were in the age bracket of 18 – 35 years, 60% of the respondents were between 36 – 60 years, 17% whereas 4% were above 60 years. The percentage of the three categories of age groups was sufficient to the researcher. The Ages of 18 – 35 years, are youth in the study area, majority were educated but lacked employment opportunities. They provided useful

insights of how youths are mobilized by politicians for their political expediency. Category of 36 – 60 years is majorly the group that has experienced ethnic violence in the area for the period under the study, most of them are the real victims. Others were affected indirectly. The last category is 60 years and above, majority is the original inhabitants after the colonial settlers left the area. This category enabled the researcher to trace the origin of ethnic violence in the study area while corroborating facts from secondary sources.

4.2.5 Marital Status of the Respondents

Table 5: Marital Status of the Respondents

Number of years	Frequency	Percentages
Married	207	68
Single	24	8
Separated	33	11
Divorced	7	2
Widow(ers)	33	11
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

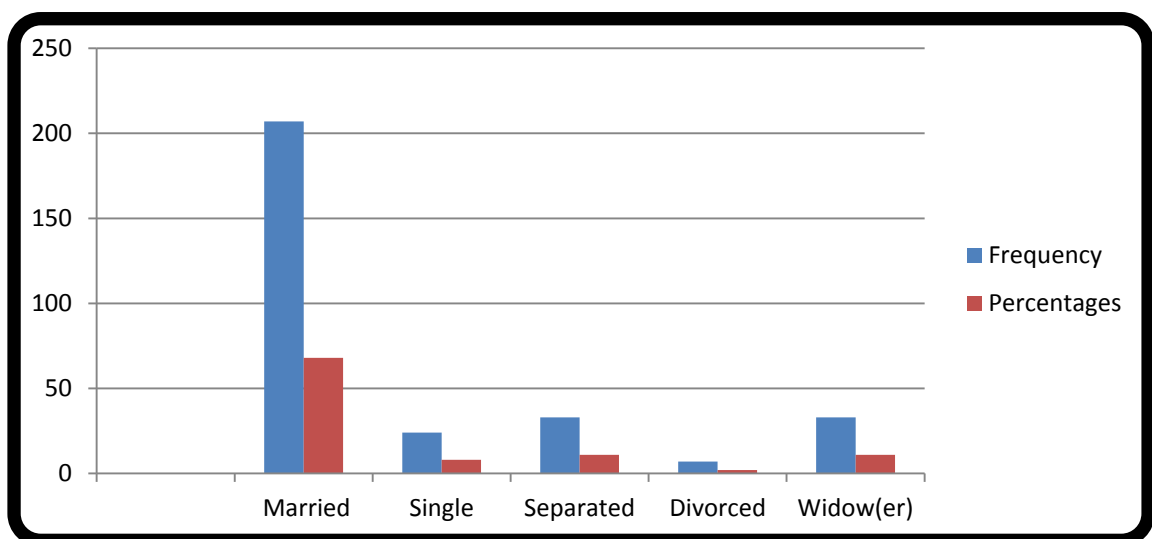


Figure 5: Marital Status of the Respondents

Source: Author (2017)

The above finding in table 5 and figure 5 shows that 68% of the respondents are married, 8% Single, 11% Separated, 2% Divorced, and 11% widow (wer) s. The majority of the respondents who are married are living together within the traditional African setup, about 4% of the couples intermarried across other ethnic communities. 32% of the respondents are single, separated, divorced or widow(er) s, for one reason or another, but mainly attributed to ethnic violence.

4.2.6 Residence of the respondents

Table 6: Residence of the respondents

Area	Frequency	Percentages
Towns/Centers	97	32
Village/Farms	207	68
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

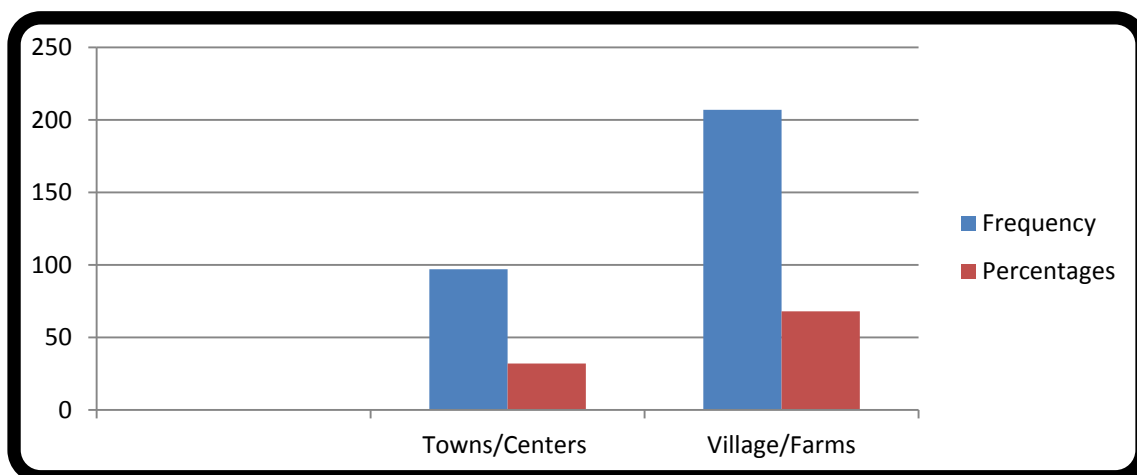


Figure 6: Residence of the respondents

Source: Author (2017)

The above finding in table 6 and figure 6 shows that 32% of the respondents reside in town/centers and 68% resides in their villages/farms. This shows majority of the respondents reside in their villages/farms. Those in the farms mainly do farming, they plant crops and domesticate animals for both domestic and commercial use but others

also do business in the nearby centers. Also those in centers mainly do business but others also do farming.

4.2.7 Occupation of the respondents

Table 7: Occupation of the respondents

Number of years	Frequency	Percentages
Farmers	134	44
Businessmen/women	94	31
Administrators	33	11
Teachers	27	9
Others	16	5
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

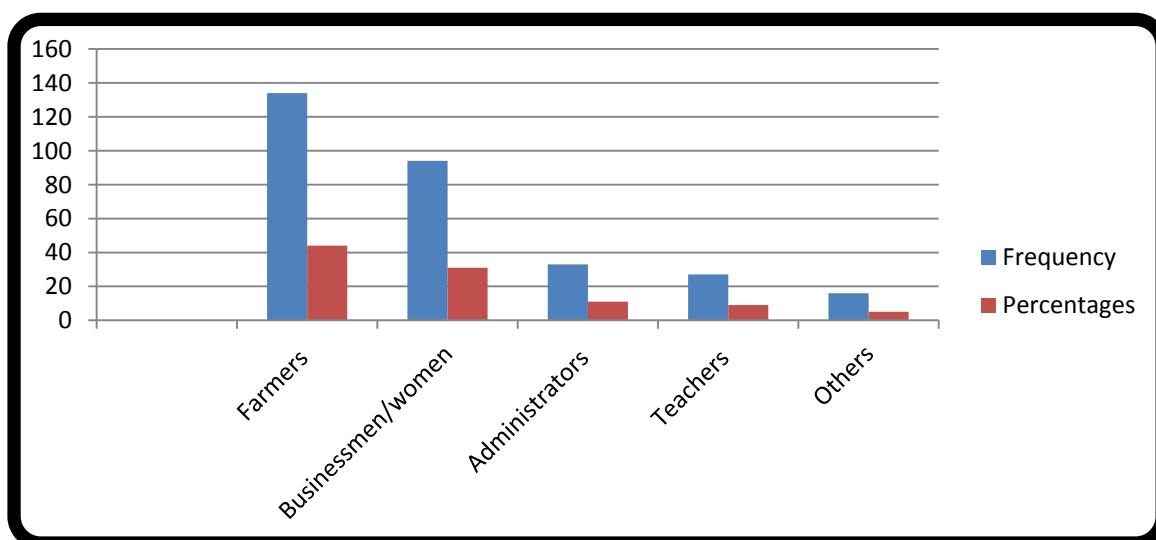


Figure 7: Occupation of the respondents

Source: Author (2017)

From the above 7 table and figure 7, 44% of the respondents are farmers, 31% businessmen/women, 11% Administrators, 9 teachers and 5% as a combination of other occupations. The farmers and business men/women are mainly residents of the area with great insights of ethnic violence and how it has affected their economic activities.

Majority of the administrators and the teachers assisted the researcher to identify the challenges of ethnic cohesion and strategies which can be adopted for peaceful coexistence of the ethnic communities within the study locale.

4.3. Do the community land owners use land to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?

4.3.1 Respondents who own land in the area.

Table 8: Respondents who own land in the area.

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	289	95
No	15	5
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

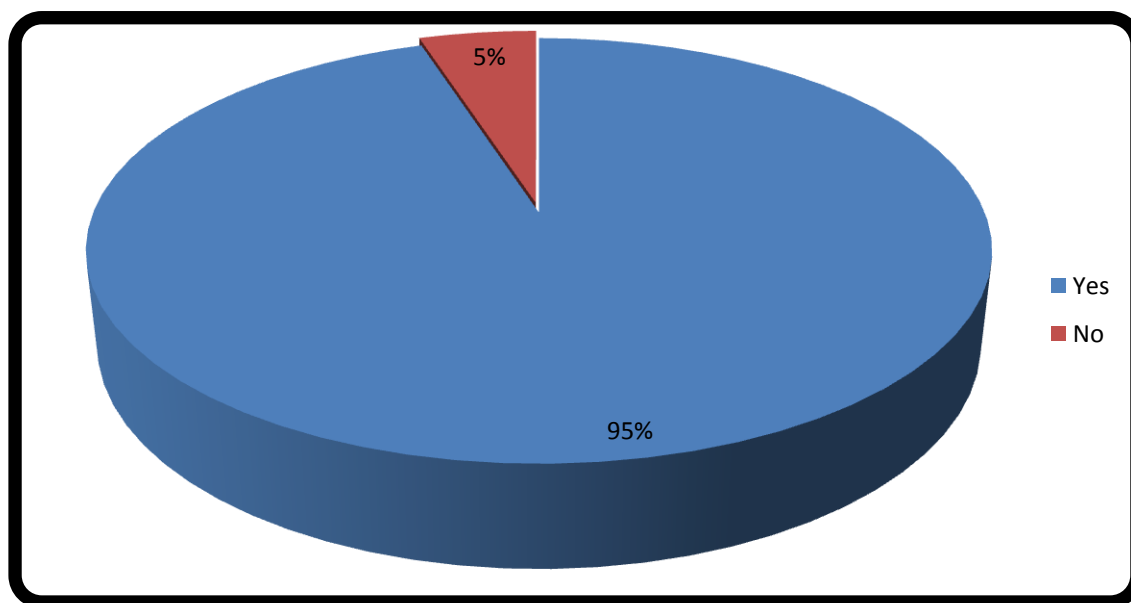


Figure 8: Respondents who own land in the area.

Source: Author (2017)

Both table 8 and figure 8 above shows that 95% of the respondents own land while only 5% were landless. 45% of the 95% who own land are the original inhabitants of the area after the colonial administration. 30% owned after political pluralism in Kenya (1992). 25% did not specify.

4.3.2 Respondents still living in their initial land.

Table 9: Respondents still living in their initial land.

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	214	74
No	75	26
Total	289	100

Source: Author (2017)

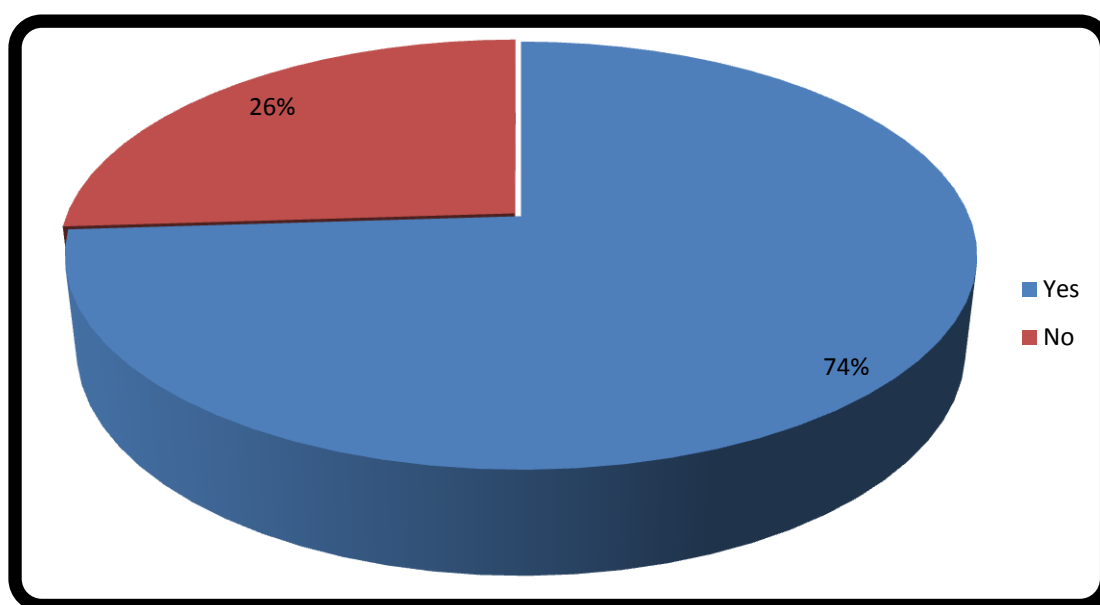


Figure 9: Respondents still leaving in their initial land.

Source: Author (2017)

Both table 9 and figure 9 above shows that 74% of the respondents still live their initial land while only 26% left their lands and moved to other areas.30% of the 26% do not live in their lands is because of fear, 45% sold it due to ethnic violence in the area and the rest 25% never had any land.

4.3.3 Extent to which community value land ownership

Table 10: Extent to which community value land ownership

Category	Frequency	Percentages
Very Great	261	77
Great	31	10
Low	8	2
Very Low	4	1
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

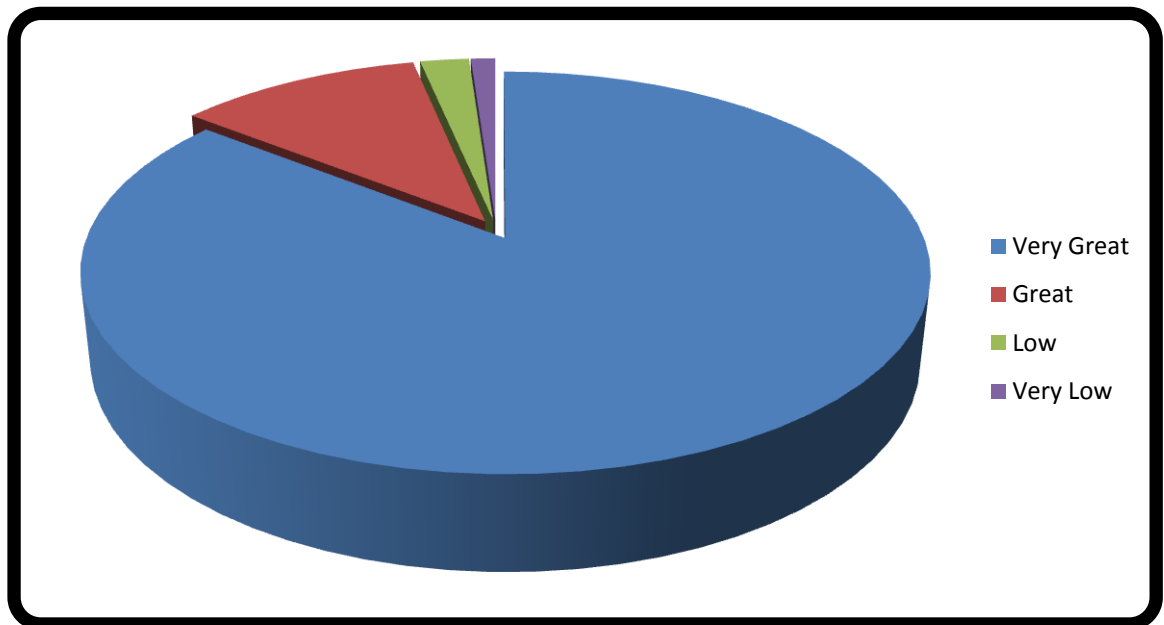


Figure 10: Extent to which community value land ownership

Source: Author (2017)

Table 10 and figure 10 above shows the extent to which community value land. 77% of the respondents said that they value to a very great extent, 10% to a great extent, 2% to a low extent, and 1% to a very low extent. This shows that majority will use all means to protect their lands.

4.3.4 Whether respondents acknowledge that other communities in Molo Constituency have a right to own land in the area.

Table 11: Respondents who acknowledge that other communities have a right to own land.

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	201	66
No	103	34
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

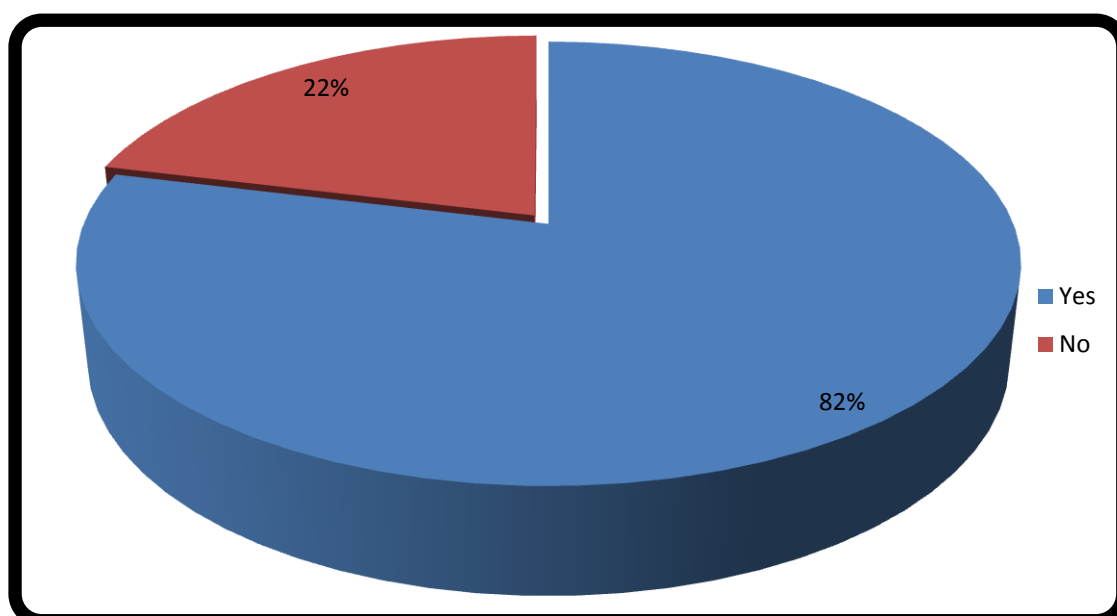


Figure 11: Respondents who acknowledge that other communities have a right to own land.

Source: Author (2017)

Both table 11 and figure 11 above shows that 66% of the respondents acknowledged the right of other ethnic communities to own land in the area while 34% don't agree majority being the Ogiek. Those who don't agree believe that the land was their ancestral land and therefore the rest of the communities are "outsiders" who took their land. The informants from Ogiek community said that they consistently opposed the State sponsored dispossession of "their forest land" because they depend on forest resources. They claimed that their sporadic attack against other agrarian communities was to protect their forest. They affirmed that the recent ruling by African Court on

Human and Peoples’ Rights in their favour confirms that the forest land is their ancestral right and that they will protect with whatever means possible to safeguard their livelihoods, traditions and culture.

4.3.5 Whether leaders use land problems in furtherance of their political goals.

Table 12: Whether leaders use land problems in furtherance of their political goals.

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	249	82
No	55	22
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

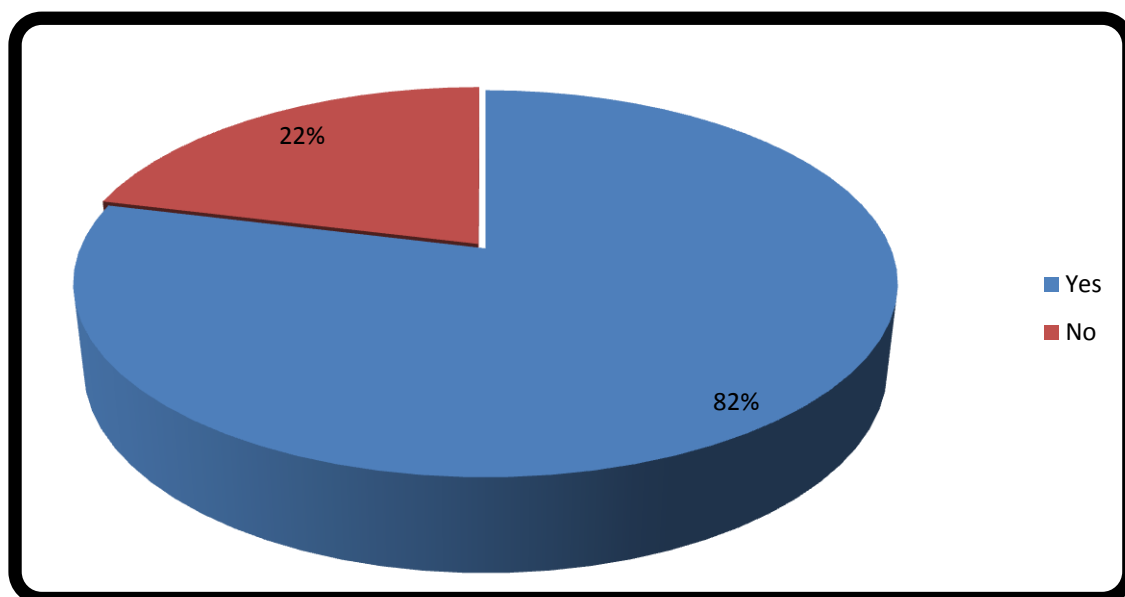


Figure 12: Whether leaders use land problems in furtherance of their political goals.

Source: Author (2017)

Both table 12 and figure12 above shows that 82% of the respondents acknowledged that leaders and land owners use land problems in furtherance of their political goals while 22% disagree.

4.3.6 What extent do elders or political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence through land and related problems?

Table 13: The extent to which elders or political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence.

Category	Frequency	Percentages
Very Great	119	39
Great	100	33
Low	55	18
Very Low	30	10
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

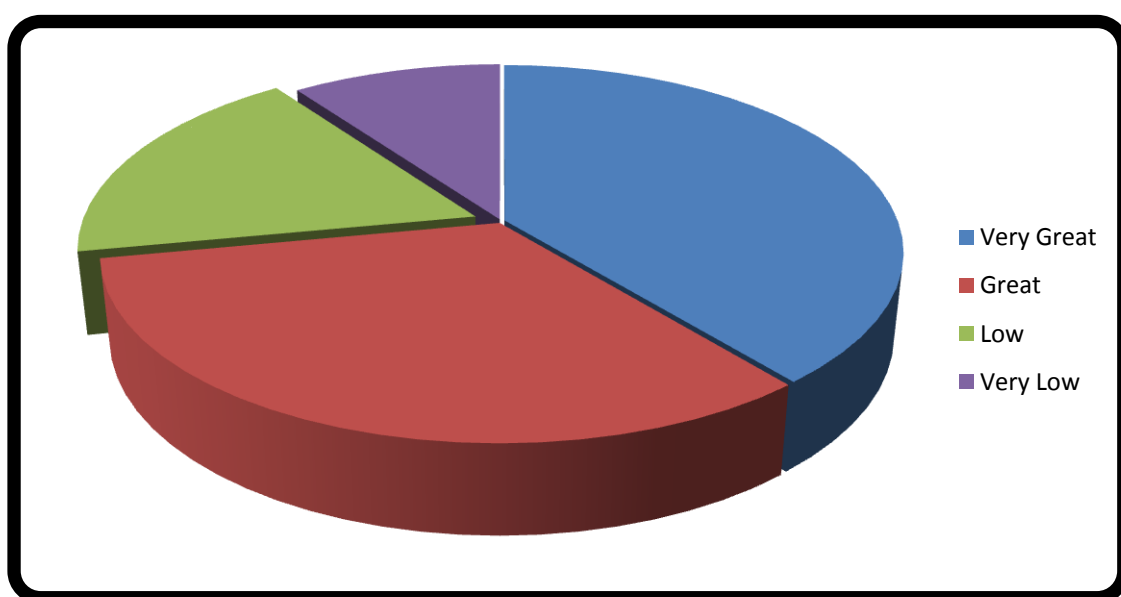


Figure 13: Extent to which elders or political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence through use of land.

Source: Author (2017)

Table 13 and figure 13 above shows the extent to which elders or political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence through land and related problems. 39% of the respondents said that land issues is used by leaders in furtherance of ethnic violence to a very great extent, 33% to a great extent, 18% to a low extent, and 10% to a very low extent.

Respondents argued that the small scale violence that occurred in 1997-1998 was caused by State through allocation of large chunks of the Mau forest land to well connected government officials who rented the land to the agrarian Abagusii and Agikuyu, who exploited through timber cutting and charcoal burning. They also cleared the land using fire and in the process communities like the Ogiek and Kipsigis felt offended because they depended on same forests for hunting and gathering, bee keeping, traditional medicines, rituals and also for conducting their circumcision ceremonies.

Some of the respondents from Ogiek community blamed the Kenyan Government for systematically carving out huge parts of Mau forest for settlement of other communities since 1993. They assert that it has become a form of regulating political affairs based largely on private appropriation of public resources to create allegiances. This has caused constant conflict between the Ogiek who see the destruction of the forests and the alienation of their lands as a continued threat to their existence.

Majority of the Agikuyu and the Abagusii respondents claimed that they were also forcibly removed from their homes in rural Molo by Kipsigis warriors in 1992 to pave way for the people from selected Kalenjin Districts that were to be settled in Molo forests. Respondents confirmed that in 2013, small scale violence between the Kipsigis and the Ogiek over land disputes occurred. The Ogiek wanted to reclaim the land inhabited by the Kipsigis and in the process few people were killed and several houses burnt.

4.4 How do politicians use politics to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?

The second objective of the study is to investigate how politicians use politics to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency.

4.4.1 Whether leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals?

Table 14: Whether leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	246	81
No	58	19
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2013)

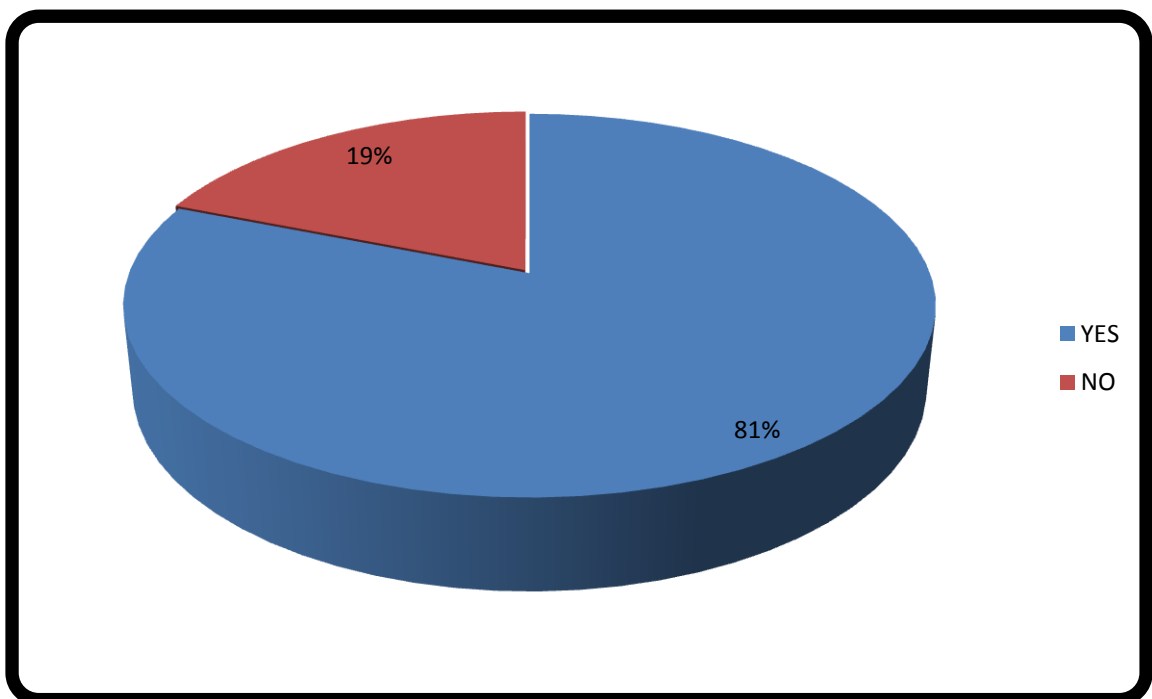


Figure 14: Whether leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals

Source: Author (2013)

Table 14 and figure 14 above show that 81% of the respondents answered Yes while 17% said No. It can be concluded that majority of the respondents confirmed that leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals.

4.4.2 What extent do political leadership plays in promoting ethnic violence?

Table 15: Extent political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence

Category	Frequency	Percentages
Very Great	167	55
Great	107	35
Low	24	8
Very Low	6	2
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

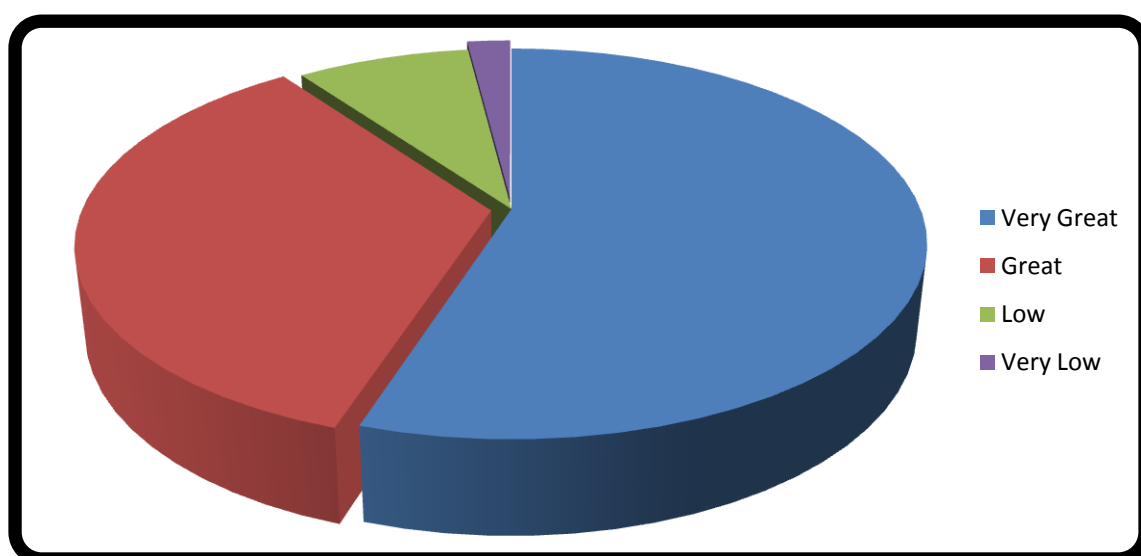


Figure 15: Extent political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence

Source: Author (2017)

The data in table 15 and figure 15 above shows that out of the total respondents, 55% said that political leadership promotes ethnic violence to a very great extent, 35% to a great extent, 8% to a low extent, 2% to a very low extent. Concerning 1992-1993 politics, data collected confirmed that politicians mainly from Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities organized meetings in favour of politicians from respective ethnic groups. The Kalenjin politicians and opinion leaders in support of the then ruling party KANU advocated for the expulsion of all communities who supported multi-partism in Kenya. Consequently, the Kikuyu, Abagusii, Luhya and Luo communities became their

targets. A respondent claimed that non Kalenjin politicians were being threatened to join KANU. Respondents claimed that KANU grass root supporters and local leaders mainly the Kalenjin had provoked mass reaction in support of Moi's presidency. The non Kalenjin informants believes that the ruling party wanted to remain in power by all means and therefore had to scatter the opposition through state sponsored ethnic violence. In a nutshell, both primary and secondary sources indicated that the struggle for political power was the main factor behind ethnic violence in Molo Constituency in 1992. Respondents confirmed that violence was the means of displacing the opponents hence eliminating competition or coerce a particular group to vote for a particular candidate.

Majority of the respondents confirmed that besides the Ogiek land factor, politics was the major cause of ethnic violence in 1997 – 1998. They claimed that Kikuyu and Kisii had voted against KANU in 1992 and during 1997 electoral period, they were still in opposition parties a situation which was likely to affect the KANU leadership. Respondents affirmed that politics at national level contributed to the buildup of ethnic tensions in Molo. They said that before the final declaration of presidential results in which President Moi a Kalenjin was leading, Mwai Kibaki being second disputed the results. Majority of the respondents claimed that the Kalenjin started attacking the supporters of Mwai Kibaki so as to intimidate and coerce them to accept the final results because even at community level there were electoral disputes.

Respondents explained that the absence of opposing candidates from the two major ethnic communities in Molo during the 2002 – 2003 elections is the reason why the violence never occurred despite the tension which was experienced. They claimed that violence mostly occurs whenever a Kalenjin and a kikuyu candidate face off both at national (presidential) and local (parliamentary and ward) levels. It was a dilemma because the choice was between two Kikuyu;

Uhuru Kenyatta of KANU party and Mwai Kibaki of NARC party.

Respondents said that the 2007 – 2008 ethnic violence was the most organized and widespread than any other since 1992. At local level, ODM party was popular among the Kalenjin, Luo, Luhya, Masaai and the Ogiek communities because ODM promised devolution which they thought would reverse the domination of settler communities in

Rift Valley. PNU party was popular among the Kikuyu and Kisii communities of Molo Constituency who expected the party to win for them to benefit from State resources. Some respondents claim that that Raila Odinga ODM candidate won but the presidential results were manipulated in favour of Mwai Kibaki, a PNU candidate and because of deep negative ethnicity, mass post election violence (PEV) erupted in Molo Constituency when supporters of ODM protested against the results. Ethnic violence erupted in Molo, Turi and Elburgon towns immediately President Mwai Kibaki was declared the winner. Respondents indicated that the magnitude of violence was intense in areas inhabited by the Kikuyu and the Kisii. Informants confirmed that ethnic politics was the major cause of violence in Molo Constituency for the stated period, where the Kikuyu are the majority disadvantaging the other ethnic communities in Civic, Parliamentary and Presidential elections.

Respondents indicated that 2013 elections were peaceful because the Kalenjin and Kikuyu who are the majority united in support of one presidential candidate and most local leadership were in support of the political arrangement.

4.4.3 Whether politicians distribute resources among different ethnic communities equitably?

Table 16: Whether politicians distribute resources among different ethnic communities equitably

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	207	68
No	97	32
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

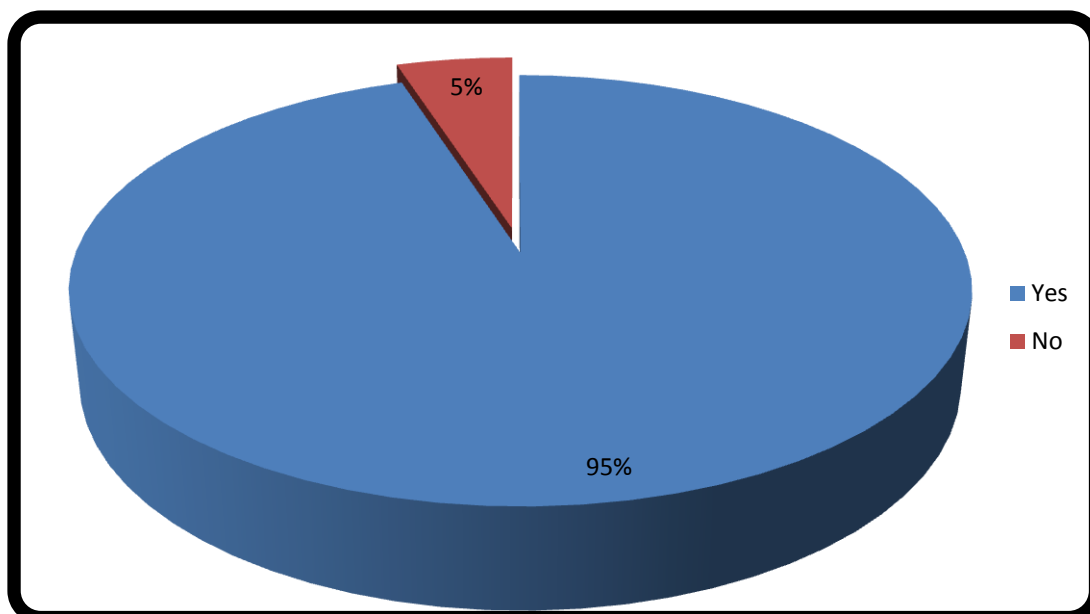


Figure 16: Whether politicians distribute resources among different ethnic communities equitably

Source: Author (2017)

Table 16 and figure 16 above show that 95% of the respondents answered Yes while 5% said No. It can be concluded that majority of the respondents affirmed that political leaders do not share resources equitably among the ethnic communities. Most of the respondents said that forest land was only given to one ethnic because those who were in power came from the same ethnic community. They also said that devolved funds are skewed to benefit certain connected individuals. The informants said that open ethnic biasness has lead to deep hatred among different ethnic communities in Molo and sometimes escalate to ethnic violence when it is triggered by a small dispute or misunderstanding.

4.5 Are there challenges in restoring peace during violence period?

Table 17: Challenges in restoring peace during violence period

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	198	65
No	106	35
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

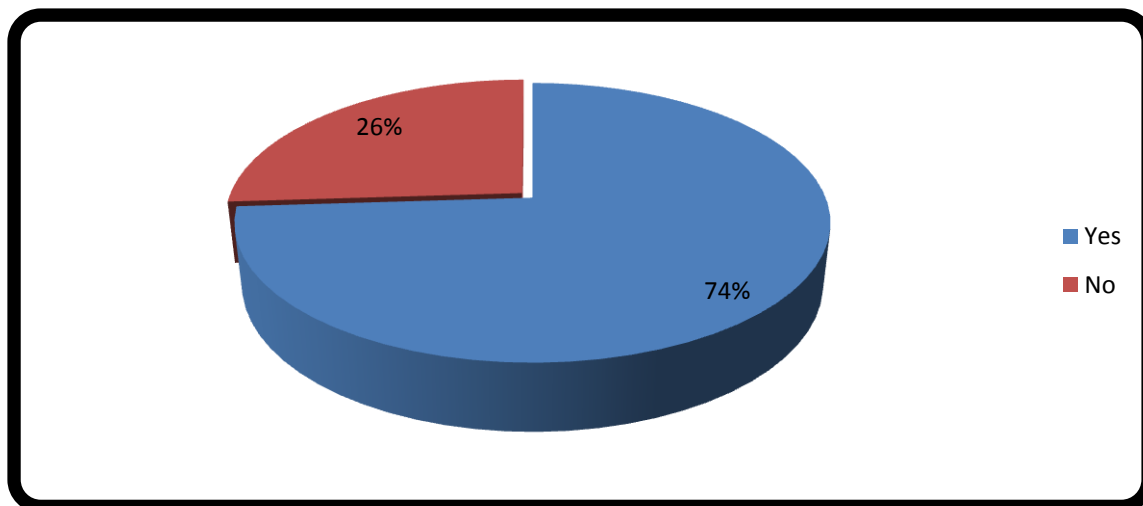


Figure 17: Challenges in restoring peace during violence period

Source: Author (2017)

Table 17 and figure 17 above show that 74% of the respondents confirm that there are challenges in restoring peace during violence period while 26% believes to the contrary. The challenges advanced by the respondents are as follows:

4.5.1 Lack of psychological bonds

Majority of the respondents contend that the government has been compensating those people who lost properties through violence, but that settlement are unlikely to bring long-term peace. They asserted that policy makers have tended to focus disproportionately on issues related to the distribution of natural resources, rather than dealing with the deep psychological bonds that may exist among individuals and communities at the local level.

4.5.2 Land grabbing

60 percent of the respondents affirmed that land grabbing by prominent personalities was to small extend the cause of ethnic tension and violence. A casual observation corroborates these claims, prominent wealthy individual own land within the area. In the resettlement exercise, genuine victims were allocated land in the interior of the former forests while the wealthy and politically connected allocated themselves land close to urban areas. Some politicians, provincial administrators such as District Officers and Chiefs acquired some of the land designated for the resettlement of the displaced. Some individuals have also profited from the violence, especially by acquiring land left by fleeing victims.

4.5.3 Lack of employment

Some informants claimed that desperation has made the youth available for hire by politicians bent on using violence to win elections. Besides, they have become easy recruits by ethnic militias and vigilante groups. They advised that the government should devise ways of economically empowering the youth such as assisting the youth get funds from institutions such as the youth enterprise fund.

4.5.4 Youths be engaged in peace processes

Respondents faulted government's efforts for its top-down approach to peace making as opposed to bottom-up approach and argued that the failure to include youths from the village level in peace processes may hamper the success of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission. It is said that the youths who do the actual fighting while the elders are known to "bless" them before they go to war against other ethnic groups. With such challenges, government sponsored peace initiatives have ended in failure.

4.6.1 Are there reconciliatory efforts by the government among the different communities in Molo?

Table 18: Reconciliatory efforts by the government

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	168	55
No	136	45
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

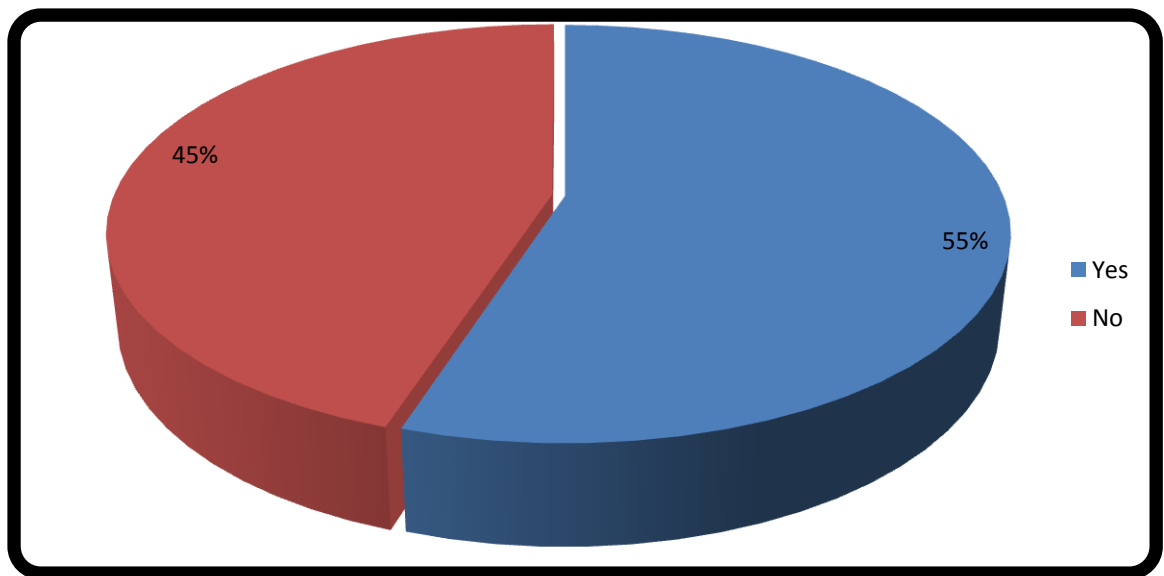


Figure 18: Reconciliatory efforts by the government

Source: Author (2017)

Table 18 and figure 18 above show that 55% of the respondents answered Yes while 45% said No. It can be seen that majority of the respondents believe that the government has put efforts to reconcile different ethnic communities. To build reconciliation, individuals and institutions need to acknowledge their own role in the conflicts of the past, accepting and learning from it in a constructive way so as to guarantee non-repetition. Locals must own the reconciliation drive for the initiative to be meaningful. Majority of the respondents confirmed that after every wave of violence, the government established police in several parts of the area so as to restore peace in the area. Also majority of the respondents contend that despite the establishment of the police post, the process was a top-bottom approach by the same government which majority feel that they are accomplice of violence. They said that the presence of police only managed to reduce the physical violence but not structural violence in the area. Tension remained high every electioneering period.

Respondents confirmed that the government has also used the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to reconcile ethnic groups living in the area. The commission engaged them on injustices meted on their respective communities since the colonial period. The Commission conducted joint meetings of all communities concerned, assisted the communities develop and support a dispute resolution mechanism, avoid derogatory statements, condemn violence and put to task politicians who preach hatred. Some respondents recommended that such state sponsored peace

processes should be available up to ward level for purposes of monitoring the indicators of ethnic violence.

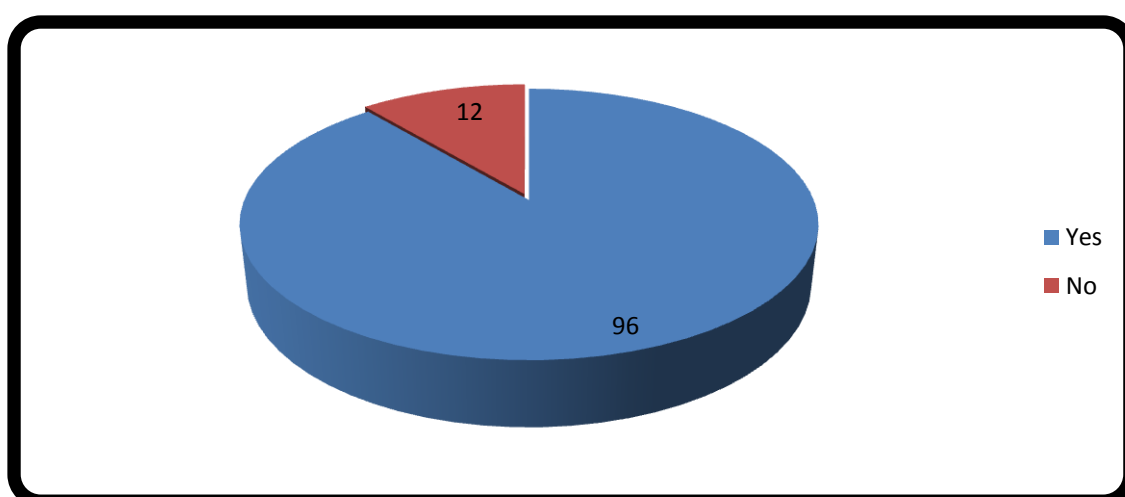
4.6.2 Are there any other peace building strategies that you recommend?

Table 19: Recommendation for other peace building strategies

Category	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	292	96
No	12	4
Total	304	100

Source: Author (2017)

Figure 19: Recommendation for other peace building strategies



Source: Author (2017)

Table 18 and figure 18 above show that 96% of the respondents answered Yes while 4% said No. It can be seen that majority of the respondents believe that apart from government's efforts to reconcile different ethnic communities there are other peace building strategies that can be undertaken as advanced below:

Community Based Peace Strategies.

Most respondents confirmed that majority of the residents are Christians and therefore, all Churches within the area should take their rightful role in reconciling the communities. Church is critical in peace building processes owing to the fact that the respondents confirmed that they share the same Christian faith as well as Churches.

One of the religious leaders said that they are important agents of reconciliation and that churches can emphasize the re-discovering of a new conscience in individuals and society through moral reflection, repentance, confession and rebirth. Those interviewed said that the peaceful coexistence realized at the grassroots has largely been spearheaded by the Churches. They also recommended children while still young, in school should be socialized to embrace other ethnic communities.

Memorialization

Some informants suggested for memorialization initiatives to include truth-telling, seeking justice, commemorating previously marginalized histories and heritage and recognizing victims and survivors of human rights violations. In this regard, a bottom-up approach to memorialization should be considered. It was observed that proper creation and promotion of memorials is a pivotal component of reconciliation.

Restitution and restoration of land rights.

Respondents said that many victims lost their properties and also their documents such as title deeds which were either burnt or misplaced. They suggested that replacement should be done by the government so that the victims who lost land can recover their land. In situations where it is impossible for victims to go back to their former lands, the state can compensate the victims in accordance with the current market rates for land and perhaps utilize the land accordingly. This will enable the affected to reconstruct their lives. The success of restitution would be determined by the effectiveness of reconciliation and genuinely targeted victims.

Cultural and attitude change.

To overcome negative ethnicity, most informants who are opinion leaders suggested the need for residents in Molo to change how they relate to, and direct positive attitudes towards one another. They said that the culture of suspicion, fear, mistrust and violence need to be broken down and space opened up in which people can hear and be heard. Similarly, the cultural basis of violence ought to be dealt with. One of the elders during interviews confided that circumcision to a certain extent contributes to ethnic violence because during the circumcision ceremonies, youths are trained on how they can develop to be real warriors and how they can exterminate other communities (their enemies). During this rite of passage from childhood to adulthood they are taught and

socialized in a manner which leans towards war mongering. He suggested that such rites of passage should be modified to be inclusive of other communities and to be conducted in a modern way in line with Christian teachings.

Creation of job opportunities for the youth

Respondents agree that though unemployment is not unique to Molo Constituency alone, two decades of intermittent ethnic conflicts in the area has compounded the challenges faced by youth in Molo. Many of them were unable to pursue education to higher levels, making them unable to compete against their contemporaries in other parts of the country. Desperation has made them available for hire by politicians bent on using violence to win elections. Besides, they have become easy recruits by ethnic militias and vigilante groups. The government should devise ways of economically empowering the youth such as assisting the youth get funds.

Proper profiling of all victims of ethnic violence

Some respondents said that in an effort to resettle and build houses for victims of violence, the government has engendered feelings of victimization and marginalization among the some ethnic communities. Some communities were perceived as aggressors who never suffered from the violence while others were never affected which yet all communities were affected in one way or another. They claim that one community was compensated because of the perception that they were the only victims in the area. To eliminate such perceptions, it would be prudent for the government to profile all victims and compensate them accordingly.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

The general objective of the study was to establish the construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo constituency, Nakuru County, Kenya. This chapter summarizes the findings of the study in relation to the major issues raised in respect to the objectives of the study, answers to research questions as well as recommendation, conclusions and suggestion for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Findings:

5.2.1 Do the community land owners use land to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?

66% of the respondents acknowledged that leaders and land owners use land problems in furtherance of their political goals while 34% disagree. According to the findings, Majority of the respondents on whether leadership use land issues to promote ethnic violence through land and related problems. 39% of the respondents said that land issues is used by leaders in furtherance of ethnic violence to a very great extent, 33% to a great extent, 18% to a low extent, and 10% to a very low extent. 77% of the respondents said that they value to a very great extent, 10% to a great extent, 2% to a low extent, and 1% to a very low extent. It is therefore evident that the area residents attach high value to land and anything that threatens land entitlement is emotive and will be resisted by all means possible. Local leaders and politicians use land related issues in the area for political expediency.

5.2.2 How do the community land owners use land to construct ethnic violence in Molo Constituency?

According to the findings, Majority of the respondents on whether leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals, 81% of the respondents answered Yes while 17% said No. On the Extent to which political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence, 55% of the respondents said that political leaders promote violence to a very great extent, 35% to a great extent, 8% to a low extent, and 2% to a very low extent. Many respondents were of the view that politics was the major cause of the 1992-1993,

1997-1998, 2002-2003 and 2007-2008. They argued that there was no any rational way one could explain why, having lived together with members of other ethnic groups for more than four decades, communities would turn against each other. Data collected indicated that ethnic violence majorly occurs during electioneering period and the magnitude is majorly dependent on who are vying the political seats right from the civic, parliamentary and the presidential.

5.3 Conclusions:

5.3.1 Political leaders and Violence

It is evident that the political organizations have a profound impact at the local and national levels. The study made conclusion that politics of exclusion was the main determinant of the ethnic violence in Molo Constituency. It is therefore imperative for all politicians and other leaders to embrace politics of inclusion and cohesion across all communities both at local and national levels. Leaders propagating politics of exclusion and violence must be dealt with as per the law irrespective of their standings in the society. Equally the political actors should deconstruct the politics of ethnicity and conduct issue-based campaigns. Policy makers and society should consider implementing peace building strategies stated above.

5.3.2 Land Ownership and violence

The study concluded that land constitutes an important component of understanding of our individual, group, and national identities because it has a symbolic dimension which determines attachment to particular places, attachments which are thought consciously-through political and territorial socialization. Most communities in Molo believe that their ancestral land has been misappropriated right from the colonial period and that the same trend has continued throughout the successive post-independence regimes to date. This historical land injustices ranges from the physical action to legal actions or restrictions on land. All these created tensions between ethnic groups due to the perceptions that one of the groups is favoured by the state. The government should consider restitution and restoration for all those who lost their land through corruption or violence. Civic education should also be done by the government to demystify the culture and notion that owning land is a matter of life and death and encourage youth

that livelihood can be achieved through other ways. Land title deeds should also be issued to communities like the Ogiek to prevent further dispossession.

5.4 Recommendations:

5.4.1 Policy recommendation.

The study found that ethnicization of politics is the cause of violence and therefore recommends that those who incite ought to be disqualified from seeking or holding any political and public office in Kenya. National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions should monitor and firmly institute criminal proceedings against some politicians for hate speech and incitement. Perceived historical injustices revolving around land issues ought to be redressed. This is particularly imperative for the Ogiek because of their peculiar lifestyle. The proposed National Land Commission ought to move with speed and streamline land controversies that have haunted areas like Molo for many years. The government should also undertake proper profiling of all victims of ethnic violence for purposes of restitution and restoration of land rights, conduct civic education on cultural and attitude change of communities so as to diversify their economic activities other than dependency on land and also to embrace other communities for peaceful coexistence.

5.4.2 Recommendation for Further Research.

This study confined itself to investigating the construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo Constituency. One of the observations made during research is that there is a relationship between ethnic violence and environmental degradation. The relationship of the two variables needs to be investigated by future researchers.

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APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

Kenyatta University,
P.O. BOX 43844-00100,
Nairobi, Kenya.

15th May, 2017.

The Respondent(s),

REQUEST FOR VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Dear Respondents(s)

I am Mr. Isaac T. Malakwen, a student at Kenyatta University, pursuing Masters of Security Management and Police Studies. I am interested in carrying out a study on construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo constituency, Nakuru county, Kenya; 1990-2015. Your response will be of great value to the research findings.

I am kindly requesting you for a voluntary participation in my research. The interviews/discussions will take about 50 minutes to complete. Any information you give will be treated with utmost confidentiality and your identity (ies) will not be revealed.

Should you wish to get a copy of the research findings, kindly contact me through my mobile number 0702743244 or email malakweni@yahoo.com.

Thank you very much for your attention and consideration.

Yours,

Isaac T. Malakwen.

APPENDIX II: CONSENT FORM

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE, BY TICKING WHERE APPROPRIATE:

1. Are you a fluent English speaker? YES () NO ()
2. **HAVE YOU;**
 - a. read the information contained in the introductory letter given to you explaining about the study? YES () NO ()
 - b. had any opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study with the researcher? YES () NO ()
 - c. receive satisfactory answers to your questions? YES () NO ()
 - d. spoken to the researcher concerning any of your fears in the research? YES () NO ()
3. **DO YOU UNDERSTAND** that you are free to withdraw from the study and free to withdraw your data from any future analysis and/ or publications?
 - a. Any time YES () NO ()
 - b. Without having to give any reason for withdrawing YES () NO ()
4. **I hereby fully and freely consent to participate in a study entitled;**
Construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo constituency, Nakuru County, Kenya; 1990-2015.
5. I understand the nature and purpose of these procedures communicated to me in a separate information sheet.
6. I understand that a numerical code will replace my name so that my data can remain confidential.
7. I allow the researcher from Kenyatta University to record and process the data I provide during the course of the study unless I state otherwise. I understand the information will be used only for purpose(s) set out in the information sheet, and my consent is condition upon the researcher complying with his duties and obligations.

Signature.....Date.....

Name (BLOCK letters).....

APPENDIX III: A SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDELINE / STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

The aim of this Questionnaire is to collect data on the construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo Constituency, Nakuru County, Kenya; 1990-2015. The information provided is for academic purpose with the ultimate aim of linking it to policy formulation. Kindly answer the following questions as accurately as possible. Your individual response is strictly confidential and anonymous. Your answers shall be used for academic purposes only. Please tick in the brackets () corresponding to whatever your choice is or state briefly where necessary. There are no wrong or right answers. Please use the spaces provided to fill information.

1. Sex: a) Male b) Female

2. Age: a) 18-20 years b) 21-25 years c) 26-30 years d) 31-35 years e) Above 35 years

3. Marital status: a) Married b) Single c) Separated d) Widow(er) e) Divorced

4. a) Occupation..... b) Station..... c) Residence.....

PART A: POLITICS AND VIOLENCE

1. For how long have you been a resident of Molo Constituency?
a) Below 5 years b) 6-10 years c) 11-16 years d) above 16 years

2. Please explain how you relate with people from other ethnic groups before the introduction of multi-party politics in 1991?
.....
.....
.....

3. In your opinion, what have been the causes of ethnic violence in this area since 1990?

.....
.....

4. Do leaders use politics of violence in furtherance of their political goals?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

Explain.....
.....

5. What extend does political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence?

(a) Very Great () (b) Great () (c) Low () (d) Very Low ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

6. How do ethnic communities perceive the importance of having a person of their own tribe at any political office?

(a) Very Great () (b) Great () (c) Low () (d) Very Low ()

Explain.....
.....
.....

7. Do politicians distribute resources among different ethnic communities equitably?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

Explain.....
.....
.....

8. If politicians do not distribute resources equitably, then what is the remedy and why?

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

PART B: LAND AND VIOLENCE

1. Do you own land?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

2. If yes, what is the size?

.....

3. Are you still leaving in the same land?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

4. If No, why?

Explain.....
.....
.....

5. To what extend do your community value land ownership and for what reason?

(a) Very Great () (b) Great () (c) Low () (d) Very Low ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Does your community acknowledge that other communities in Molo Constituency have a right to own land?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

7. Do leaders use land problems in furtherance of their political goals?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

8. What extend do elders or political leadership play in promoting ethnic violence through land related problems?

(a) Very Great () (b) Great () (c) Low () (d) Very Low ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

PART C: CHALLENGES OF ETHNIC INTERGRATION

1. Are there challenges amongst communities which make them not live peacefully in the area?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

2. If yes, which ones?

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

3. How do the above challenges impede peaceful co-existence?

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Does the government(s) distribute resources among different ethnic communities equitably?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Do you have challenges in restoring peace during violence period?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

6. If yes, which ones?

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

PART D: RECONCILIATORY EFFORTS STRATEGIES

7. Are there reconciliatory efforts by the government among the different communities in Molo?

(a) Yes () (b) No ()

8. If yes, which ones?

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

9. Are there any other peace building strategies that you recommend?

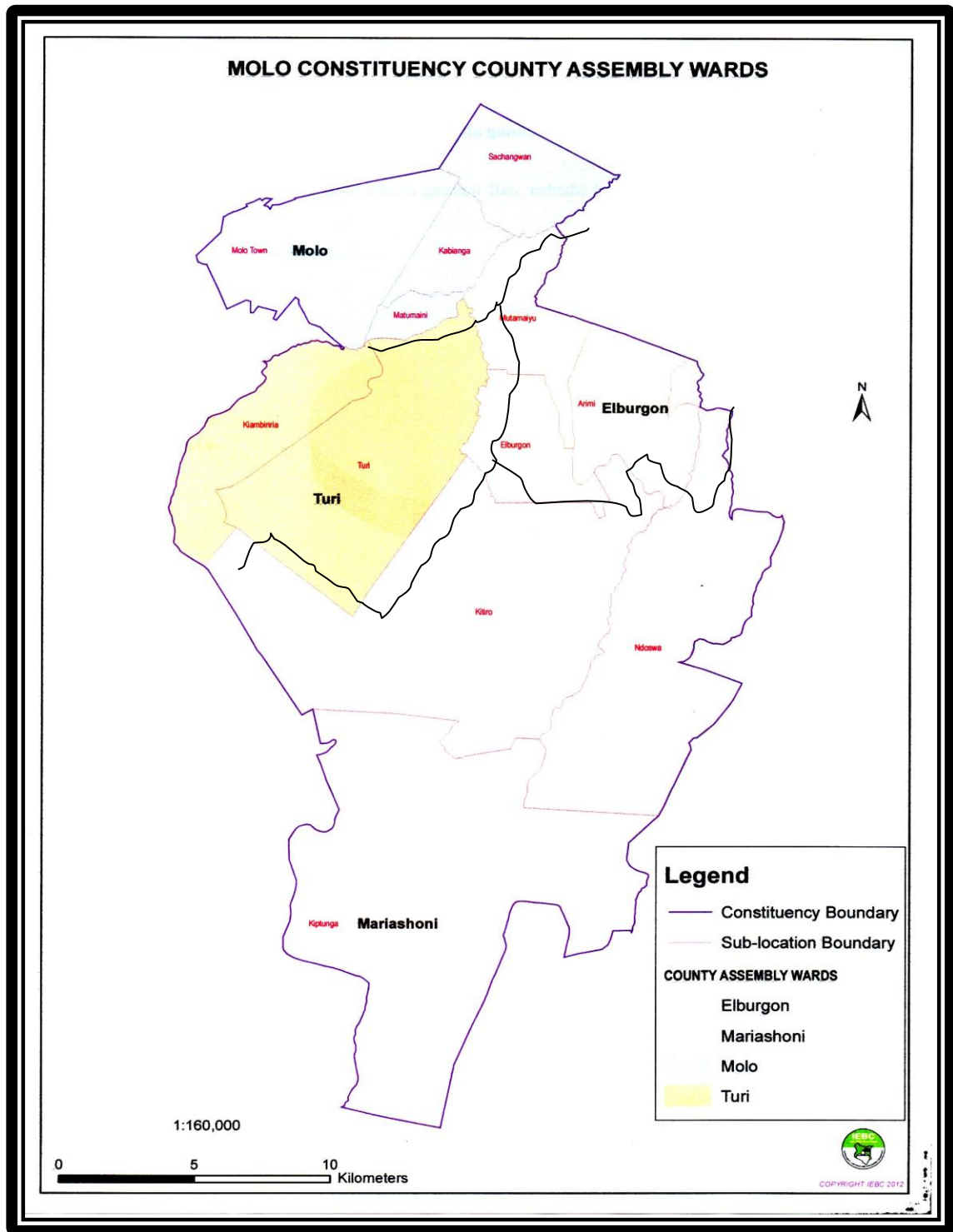
Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX VI: TIME FRAME

DATE	ACTIVITY	DURATION	REMARKS
May2016 - Oct 2016	Proposal writing	4 Months	Done
Oct 2016 - Feb 2017	Proposal presentation	4Months	Done
Feb 2017- Mar 2017	Piloting questionnaires and data collection	1 Month	Done
Mar 2017 - May 2016	Data entry, analysis and report writing	2Months	Done
May 2017 - June 2017	Presentation of research report	1 Month	Done

Source: Author (2017)

APPENDIX VII: Map of the Study locale



Source: Molo DC's Office, Molo.

APPENDIX IIX: NACOSTI AUTHORIZATION LETTER



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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When replying please quote

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NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/17/81730/17258**

Date: **24th May, 2017**

Isaac Toroitich Malakwen
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Construction of ethnic violence through land and politics in Molo constituency, Nakuru County, Kenya; 1990-2015,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nakuru County** for the period ending **23rd May, 2018**.

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

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

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nakuru County.

The County Director of Education
Nakuru County.

NACOSTI is a State Corporation established under the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2012. It is a self-financing institution.