POLITICAL COMPETITION INFLUENCING ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN NAKURU COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This research thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources and support and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology thesis entitled "**Political Competition influencing Ethnic Conflict in Nakuru County, Kenya.**"

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family for their patience, encouragement and moral support, without whom this would not have been a success.

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic conflict is one of the major threats to international peace and security. Conflicts in the Balkans, Rwanda, Chechnya, Iraq, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Darfur, Israel and Gaza are among the best-known and deadliest examples from the 20th and 21st centuries that have led to tremendous human suffering. Political competitions within and between political parties in a society and other forms of violence have negatively affected many African societies, Kenya included. This has led to deaths, destruction of property and displacement of citizens. Ethnic conflict in Kenya has often taken place during electioneering periods and has been blamed on various factors such as historical injustices and ethnic differences among others. These are only triggers, while the real cause is the competition between political leaders. This study is based on the recurrence of ethnic conflict especially during electioneering period unlike other regions in the Country. The aggravating problem of ethnic conflict in Nakuru County needs to be comprehensively researched into to identify the missing elements towards sustainable peace. The general objective of this study was to investigate the influence that political competition has on ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County. The specific objectives were to: evaluate the nature of political competition in Nakuru County, examine the socio-economic context during non-electioneering period and establish solutions to ethnic conflicts caused by political competition in Nakuru County, Kenya. The choice of Nakuru County was determined by the fact that it has been the epicentre of ethnic conflicts since 1991 as compared to other Counties in Kenya. The study used a conceptual framework guided by three theories namely social change theory, conflict and structuralism theories. This was summarised in a conceptual model in explaining the relationship between political competition and ethnic conflicts. The study used mixed methods in which descriptive research design was used. The target population comprised of Nakuru County residents (men, women and children), Members of County Assembly (MCAs), religious leaders, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and local administrators (chiefs and assistant chiefs). A sample of 384 respondents was selected from Nakuru residents and 33 key informants: 9 Members of County Assembly, 8 Religious Leaders, 8 Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and 8 Administrators, using probability and non-probability sampling techniques. This gave a sample size of 417 respondents. Both secondary and primary data were collected. Primary data was collected by use of questionnaire, focus group discussion, interview schedules and field observation. Secondary data was obtained through desk research, libraries and journals. Data collected was analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) version 21 and presented using two measures of distribution; percentages and frequencies. Key findings for the study were that though ethnic conflict experienced in Nakuru was blamed on ethnic differences, the main cause of these conflicts was the competition between political leaders, which was within or between political parties, where some were formed along ethnic lines. The analysis for the collected data also indicated that violence is blamed on other causes which are only used as triggers for incitements during electioneering period but residents peacefully co-exist during non-electioneering period. Possible solutions cited to these violence were good governance, moving back to single system of government and offering civic education to the citizens. Recommendations to the violence were the issues being used as triggers by the leaders should be fully addressed by the government and community agencies should be set up to identify and respond to their common problems. Overall conclusion is that ethnic conflict experienced in Nakuru County during electioneering period is not because of ethnic differences but as a result of political competition amongst the political protagonists. The significance of the study was that the study findings could be used by policy makers, the legislative and the commissions and religious organisations addressing conflicts in the area. The study findings would contribute to helping policy makers in coming up with new policies or editing the existing ones to address influence that political competition has on ethnic conflicts and add knowledge in the field of peace and conflict studies.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS   Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

AU   African Union

CBOs   Community Based Organisations

CSOs   Civil Society Organisations

ECOWAS   Economic Community of West African States

ECOMAG   Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group

ECOWARN   ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network

EU   European Union

FGDs   Focus Group Discussions

HIV   Human Immuno Virus

IDPs   Internally Displaced Persons

IEBC   Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

KANU   Kenya African National Union

KADU   Kenya African Democratic Union

KNCHR   Kenya National Commission for Human Rights

KPHC   Kenya Population and Housing Census

MCAs   Members of the County Assembly

MPs   Members of Parliament

NCIC   National Commission Integration and Cohesion

NACOSTI   National Commission of Science Technology and Innovation

NGOs   Non- Governmental Organisations

ODM   Orange Democratic Movement

PNU   Party of National Unity

RPF   Rwanda Patriotic Front

SPSS   Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

STDs   Sexually Transmitted Diseases

TRC   Truth and Reconciliation Commission

WANEP   West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

UN   United Nations

OPERATIONALISATION OF CONCEPTS

Child – is any person who is between the ages of 15-18 years

Coexistence – is a state in which people from different ethnic background living together while respecting their differences and resolving their conflicts amicably.

Community – is a group of people from different ethnic background with a common characteristic or interest living together within the County, interacting with one another under relatively similar environmental conditions.

Conflict- is a disagreement between people from same or different ethnic background or with different political affiliations in which those involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests, and concerns coming from those on the side of the disagreement.

Ethnic group - comprises of people united by a common culture, religion, customs origin or family history. These similarities cause outsiders to lump these people under the banner of an ethnic group, regardless of the fact there may be vast differences between people in that group.

Ethnic conflict – is a violent encounter between different ethnic groups.

Non-electioneering period – period during which there are no active campaigns towards elections and months/years after elections before next election.

Political Competition – is rivalry between different political parties and also within parties for elected positions in a democratic environment.

Political System – is a set of formal legal institutions that constitute a Government or a state.

Political Violence – is brutality that is politically motivated which can be part of contentious politics which include, riots, attacks, assaults and killings

Resident – A person who lived in Nakuru County from birth or has permanently settled there.

Security – is the state of being or feeling safe, freedom from fear, anxiety, danger, doubt etc.

Violence - is the unlawful use of force by a person or an organised group against people with the intention of intimidation for political reasons.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises the background information reviewed from the global, African and Kenyan perspectives on ethnic conflict. The chapter also includes the statement of the problem, objectives, justification of the study and scope of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Some scholars have argued that there is an interrelation between the current modern states and political violence as shown by the increased numbers of political unrest in many countries. This has prompted many to associate or to relate violence, to political power. According to Moser and Clark (2001), the acts of violence can be as a result of conscious or unconscious desire to maintain or obtain political power. Thus, the motive behind violence is that of the pursuit to attaining political objectives (Hibbs, 1973). Defining political violence is typically dependent on a typology, which separates the socially and economically motivated from the politically motivated forms of violence. Hansen (2009) argued that, violent acts take place in the collective sphere where a certain group of individuals, against another group, commits them just because the targeted individuals happen to fall under that particular group, and typically takes the form of murder, assaults, sexual abuse such as rape, forced pregnancy or sterilisation.

According to Picciotto 2010, about one fifth of the African population lives in areas severely disrupted by conflict. Conflicts and wars in Africa tend to last many years before peace is restored once they start. Picciotto further observes that low-income nations coming out of conflict situations usually have a hard time overcoming poverty, implementing development strategies and improving economic growth.

Langer, Mustapha & Stewart (2009) explain that since the late 1950s, different ethnic groups have been in competition over representation in Nigerian government and state institutions. Often this led to feelings of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race or religion among the groups that were inadequately represented. This in turn provoked tensions and conflicts, culminating in Nigeria's civil war from 1967 to 1970.

According to Ntshoe (2002), political unrest, rivalries within various ethnic groups in a society and other forms of violence have negatively affected many African societies. In Kenya, such rivalry has affected the Kikuyu and Luo relations, and more recently has developed to include other ethnic groups. Political competition has been experienced in different manners throughout Kenya's history. In 1982, following a coup attempt, the Moi regime amended the constitution and Kenya officially became a one-party state and only after an intense donor-pressure did former President Daniel Moi allow multi-party election to be held in 1992. The campaigns and the election itself and its immediate aftermath were characterised by threats, harassments and the occurrence of violent clashes between supporters of different parties claiming the lives of about 1,500 Kenyans and displacement of many citizens (Bunting 2008).

The elections of 1992 and 1997 were associated with violence, where there was politically motivated violence between ethnic groups especially in Rift Valley when KANU supporters clashed with armed youths belonging to Kikuyu ethnic group (Amnesty International, 1998). The 1997 elections were conducted in the glare of international publicity who were seriously concerned about whether the elections would be free and fair. Despite the evidence of electoral irregularities, observers of the elections endorsed the resulting victory of President Moi and KANU as being an expression of the will of the people. In the wake of the elections, waning of

International interests in political developments thereafter rapidly followed in Kenya. This was despite the fact that within a month of the elections, politically motivated ethnic clashes erupted in Rift Valley. The violence left hundreds of people dead or injured, and thousands of others displaced from their homes and living in makeshift shelter. Election-related violence in Kenya was for a long time persistent and Government agencies were never able to prepare for it. It was evident that the 1997 violence followed a pattern similar to that encountered during previous outbreaks of conflict in Kenya between 1991 and 1994, prior to and after the Country's first multi-party elections in 1992, in which predominantly Kalenjin supporters of KANU attacked members of ostensibly 'pre-opposition' ethnic groups. The important difference between 1991, 1994, and 1997 was that for the first time, members of the 'pro-opposition' ethnic group, the Kikuyu, were organising and actively fighting back. In 2002, after Moi had held two terms and therefore was not allowed to run for presidency, Uhuru Kenyatta was appointed as KANU's candidate by the then president. Dissatisfied with Moi's choice, a number of KANU members formed factions which later became a coalition with Mwai Kibaki as its Presidential and Raila Odinga as its Prime Minister candidates. The election campaigns (and their aftermath) were characterised by a significant decrease in political violence compared to its two predecessors, (Human Rights Watch, 2009).

Studies such as that of Driscoll (2009) indicate that ethnicity and ethnic affiliations in African societies are the main causes of political conflict and domestic instability. This is an opinion shared by a majority of commentators and authors of political literature. Gangs and rebel groups that belong to various political parties are mainly based on clan and ethnic lines. In Kenya, groups such as Mungiki, Amachuma, Chinkororo, SunguSungu and Baghdad Boys, are all creations of political interests. Moreover, politicians and aspiring leaders often make use of these

ethnic differences and ethnic gangs to gain power. For instance, during the 2007 election, voting was influenced by the ethnic background where each was fronting their own candidates. Consequently the post-election violence that followed was carried out by the ethnic vigilantes used by the politicians to attack those from different ethnic background and political affiliations. The answers that many get from the victims of political violence are usually directed towards ethnic enemies or discrimination by a Government against members of a particular community. Rivalry in various communities in Africa goes back to ages where ethnic groups conflicted over resources such as land and water (Driscoll, 2009). Driscoll continues to say that, today's ethnic differences are often of a political nature where a particular ethnic group or community would prefer a particular person to ascend to power, failure to which violence and conflicts erupt.

As Bunting notes, observers of the violence following 2007 elections have often referred to violence as in contrast to an otherwise politically stable and peaceful country. This is what appeared on the surface and this study is necessary so as to understand the dynamics of violence in Kenya that are not visible to the outsider. However, it is worth keeping in mind that most significant political activities and changes in leadership throughout Kenya's history as an independent state have been followed, and to some extent formed by violence, usually framed along ethnic lines. The 2008 post-election violence seemingly came as a surprise and shock for many Kenyans and the outside world, but not for keen observers of Kenya's and Africa's political scene where there are always simmering tensions.

According to the Waki Report for the 2007/2008 post-election violence, the number of casualties was 1135 and around 500,000 were internally displaced by violence (Human Rights Watch, 2009). The violence first erupted in Rift Valley particularly around Eldoret seemingly taking the

form of ethnic-based clashes between Odinga's and Kibaki's supporters. Targeted ethnic violence escalated and at first was directed mainly against the Kikuyu people living outside their traditional settlement areas, especially in the Rift Valley province. This violence started with the murder of over 500 unarmed Kikuyu women and children, by locking them in a church and burning them alive in Kiambaa church near Eldoret. Partly in response to the violence around Eldoret, the Kikuyu formed so-called "self-defence forces" who carried out organised and large scale violence in other parts of the country, including Naivasha, Nakuru and Nairobi slums. Although political violence in Kenya is often at its extreme during election periods, it also exists as an 'everyday phenomenon'. Assassinations of political leaders, prominent businessmen, civil society leaders, and other figures that possess significant influence on the allocation of resources or political development in the country are far from exceptional (Wabala and Mukinda, 2009).

While researches on ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County have been done, whose causes have been attributed to historical injustices, there is very little documented research on political competition in a democratic environment, at all levels between and amongst political parties and their various ethnic affiliations. This study attempts to contribute to filling this gap.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nakuru, for a long time has been the epicenter of what is generally referred to as "Ethnic Conflict" (Klopp, 2002 & Ndegwa, 1997). The researcher, however, opines that on serious relook, at this conflict, is apparently a manifestation of political rivalry and competition amongst protagonists. This thesis therefore sets out to interrogate this conception. Simply put, is the incessant conflict in the Greater Rift Valley and specifically, Nakuru, ethnically and politically instigated?

Many people in Nakuru County have been affected by ethnic conflicts which has resulted in deaths and destruction of property worth millions of shillings, and displacement of many citizens. These conflicts are majorly experienced during the electioneering period and take an ethnic dimension where different ethnic groups rise against each other. Kikuyu and Kalenjin ethnic communities are the dominant communities in Nakuru, making about 70% of the County's population. Both communities are mainly engaged in farming and livestock rearing and business. The Kikuyu ethnic community in Nakuru County has been at the centre of these conflicts where the Kalenjin ethnic community believe should migrate back to their ancestral land in central Kenya. Nakuru County being cosmopolitan, other smaller ethnic communities have tended to side with either, making conflicts assume an ethnic dimension. According to Klopp, 2002; Ndegwa, 1997, ethnic tensions have only typically evidenced themselves during electoral contests. Ethnicity *per se,* however, is not the cause of conflict, but politicised ethnicity.

During non-electioneering period, business partners' work together as suppliers and buyers irrespective of their ethnic background. This relationship dramatically changes during the electioneering period. Each supports their own, whom they believe will protect their business interests. On the other hand, opposing ethnic groups perceive their political leaders as people who shall instigate violent acts against their otherwise business partners who happen to be affiliated to different political parties. This leads to loss of life, serious injuries and loss of property. Ethnic communities are by and large affiliated to particular political parties which become voting blocs. Though these conflicts have been blamed on historical injustices such as land acquisition/deprivation, there is something about political competition that triggers the conflicts. The aggravating problem of ethnic conflict in Nakuru County needs to be comprehensively researched into and establish what the missing elements are towards

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sustainable peace. Ethnic conflict in Nakuru County is a manifestation of political rivalry and competition amongst political protagonists and these conflicts are ethnically and politically instigated. Therefore, the study sought to establish whether solving the problem of political rivalry and political affiliation to respective protagonists will give stability; before, during and after electioneering period.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study was to investigate the influence that political competition has on ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County. The specific objectives were to:

(i) Examine the nature of political competition in Nakuru County, Kenya.

(ii) Examine effects of political competition on socio-economic context during non-electioneering period in Nakuru County.

(iii) Establish solutions to the ethnic conflicts caused by political competition in Nakuru County, Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of political competition in Nakuru County, Kenya?

2. What is the socio-economic context of the people in Nakuru County during non-electioneering period?

3. What are the possible solutions to the ethnic conflicts caused by political competition in Nakuru County?

1.5 Justification of the study

With one of the most diverse populations, Nakuru County was of particular interest to this study having experienced high magnitudes of violence during electioneering periods and especially after the inception of the multiparty system of government.

The study was motivated by the desire to fill the knowledge gap on the influence that political competition has on ethnic conflict with a view to avoid the destructive outcomes given that, literature search on the subject realized sparse information.

Historically, Rift Valley region was epicentre of colonial settlement and subligation of the natives. It was the place that was identified with the best in the colonial psyche summed up in "The Happy Valley" especially Nakuru County. Therefore, it followed that with the exit of the colonial settlers, Nakuru like other parts of the Rift Valley region attracted various ethnic groups to take over/occupy these fertile white highlands. There were however no structures that moulded this different ethnic groups into one nationalistic entity other than the desire to acquire land.

As competition to acquire this land grew, so did conflict. To safeguard themselves, various ethnic groups ganged up in defence of themselves against other ethnic groups (Ong'ayo, 2008). This ganging together of different ethnic groups has over the years, since Kenya got Independence been mirrored in political affiliation. Hence the perpetuation of ethnic politically motivated violence in Rift Valley in general but Nakuru in particular- the subject of this research paper.

Kenya is a multi-ethnic society, and many communities have lived in harmony for many years. In recent years, however, the dominant ethnic groups have been on the forefront in fighting for

political power which has resulted in fighting to control the state, while the relatively less dominant communities play the card of opportunism. The study recognises that political competition in Kenya has led to widespread conflicts in the Country and though most are minor skirmishes, a significant increase in severity of such conflicts between various groups has been witnessed after the introduction of multi-party politics, especially during 2007/2008 Kenyan crisis (Oucho, 2002). This is particularly so in Nakuru county which is a cosmopolitan county, with dominant communities being the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, making about 70% of the County's population. Nakuru County has experienced these conflicts during electioneering periods with 2007/2008 being the worst, with the highest number of casualties being reported.

The study has an academic implication for those taking a course in peace and conflicts studies in their understanding and application in their areas of study. There is very little documented research on political competition in a democratic environment, at all levels, between and amongst political parties and their various ethnic affiliations. The findings of this study will help build on the literature available and add knowledge on how political competition influences ethnic conflicts. It will also fill the gaps in contemporary literature by focusing on the influence of political competition in ethnic conflicts. The findings of this study contribute to the existing wealth of both theoretical and practical knowledge on political competition triggering ethnic conflicts. The findings of the study will form a base upon which other researches will be carried out.

The study also has policy implications because it has been carried out in a very volatile and known hotspot that has experienced periodic cycles of violence since 1992. The findings will enable policy makers and implementers formulate a better policy framework or improve on the

existing ones, and strategies for mitigating against negative effects of political competition in the Country. The study has formulated guidelines that can support policy making at both local (community) and national levels to establish mechanism in managing political competition, especially the Legislative, the working of the commissions like National Commission on Integration and Cohesion and also religious organisation. The study findings will form a basis for reviewing the existing policy framework on political competition to align it with emerging realities and expectations of Kenyans. Failure to implement these solutions is likely to aggravate the situation like it happened in South Sudan, where conflicts had several underlying causes. According to Lyman, 2014, these causes arose from two distinct contentious political developments which became intertwined. These developments took place within a fragile political and military structure and rather than being addressed and resolved were allowed to fester and eventually lead to the situation we have today

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focused on Nakuru County in the Rift Valley Region of Kenya. The County is cosmopolitan and has both rural and urban settings and experienced political competition due to political divide based on political affiliation differences.. This provided a population that is representative of the wider Kenya. The mixed set up made the County experience the highest magnitude of ethnic conflict before, during and after elections. The highest being the 2007/08 post-election violence.

The scope of study was limited to 417 respondents drawn from different categories in Nakuru County for the period since the inception of multiparty system in 1992 to 2016. It may thus not be possible to generalize the results to other areas Countrywide. To overcome this limitation and

realize generalizable results, the study suggests a need for a countrywide study. Further, the data obtained was limited to the specific respondents involved in the study and the specific period when the study was done. It did not capture developments occurring after its conclusion.

The scope was limited to the three objectives of the study: Establish the nature of political competition in Nakuru County, Examine the socio-economic context during non-electioneering period and to evaluate solutions to ethnic conflicts caused by political competition in Nakuru County.

Lastly, the scope was limited to application of the conceptual framework which is derived from three theories that try to explain the concept of political competition.

1.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter comprises the background information reviewed from the global, regional and national perspectives on political competition and its influence on ethnic conflict experienced, more so in Kenya and especially after the inception of the multi-party system of government. It also describes the problem statement which gives rise to the objectives and research questions that guide the study as the researcher tries to address them. The chapter has also described both the academic and policy justification of the study, and scope of the study, detailing the geographical scope, time and content.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter comprises reviews of literature of the study on political competition and ethnic conflict. It discusses the nature of political competition in Nakuru County and its effects on the socio-economic context during non-electioneering period

The chapter also evaluates solutions to ethnic conflicts caused by political competition in Nakuru County. In addition, the chapter has also discussed the different theories which have given rise to a conceptual framework and the conceptual model, giving the relationship between political competition, as the independent variable, and ethnic conflict as the dependent variable.

2.1 Nature of Political Competition

Politics is the process of making decisions applying to all members of each group and refers to achieving and exercising positions of governance, organized control over a human community, particularly a state. Joe and Alex (2009), argued that politics is about power and a political system is a framework which define acceptable political methods within a given society. They further gave the two types of politics, formal politics, which refers to the operation of constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures. The second type of politics is informal politics, which is understood as forming alliances, exercising power and protecting and advancing particular ideas or goals. This includes anything affecting one's daily life such as the way an office or household is managed, or how one person or group exercises influence over another.

Bayart (1999) claims that in contemporary African states, ethnicity mainly exists as the mechanism for accumulating wealth and political power. In this sense, control of the state is core

to political competition because it means access to and disposal of resources and patronage through which ethnic elites can remain in power. Because of the ethnic competition for the scarce economic resources and political power, each ethnic group tends to fight to have a president from their group. For them, the president will loot the state for his ethnic group. In other words, the president is not for the state, but his ethnic group. This is the root cause of the struggle to control the state. Ethnic strategies are often connected with the resources of modern economy, such as in gaining employment, education, securing loans, and seizing appointments for lucrative offices. The competition for the limited economic resources within the state today, to a certain extent, has changed the meaning of ethnic identities.

According to Bardhan, 1997, ethnicity is not bad in itself because it is the recognition of a people's right to be different from others. However, there is cause for alarm when such recognition is accompanied by exclusion of everybody else from that group and a view that anybody who does not belong to that group is evil. In Kenya, the tendency by politicians to sensationalize and politicize existing differences along ethnic lines, hence pitting communities against each other is intricately related to the democratization and the electoral cycle.

Bardhan further notes that ethnic loyalty and rationality has been a central feature to Kenyan politics since independence. Control of the state is core to political competition because it means access to and disposal of resources and patronage through which ethnic elites can remain in power. These ethnic conflicts are often the result of the decline of meditating institutions such as political parties as a forum of democratic negotiations and the lack of pre-existing credible commitments across groups.

Yieke (2008) notes that, Kenya has always been a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic community and the different communities have had peaceful co-existence for a long time. The kind of ethnicity experienced had so far been positive and had always added to the kind of diversity that Kenya had. This so far propelled Kenya to enhanced national development, and Kenya could actually be said to have been a kind of a melting pot where different ethnic communities and cultures lived in relative bliss. However, ethnicity has been a resource in the hands of light-hearted "political tycoons" who because of corruption, mismanagement and greed for power have manipulated ethnicity and used it to achieve their personal agenda. Yieke (2008) however, argues that, in examining the relationship between power and domination, there is need to look at situations, where power is used in such a way that it militates against the interests of certain ethnic groups and in favour of others, for example, allocation of resources. The author did not address these causes in relation to this area of study and therefore, the study sought to find out if there is a relation between power and domination and if power is used in such a way that it militates against interests of certain ethnic groups.

Suhrke (1996) notes that, dilemma among rival communal groupings varies across different phases of conflict. Parties tend to feel more secure in their relations with other groupings when the level of violence is low, formal ties exist between different groups, and institutionalised channels of communication though minimally utilised by the different actors in conflict, are still available. These open channels of communication are the ones that were later explored by the panel of eminent persons to restore peace in Kenya at the height of the 2007/08 post-election violence

Political violence that presently shapes many parts of the world has deep-seated structural causes. In poor and highly indebted Countries, economic and environmental decline, asset depletion and erosion of the subsistence base lead to further impoverishment and food insecurity for fast sectors of the population. Despite the growing number of armed conflicts and wars throughout the world, not enough attention has been paid to the local patterns of distress being experienced and the long-term health impact and psychosocial consequences of the various forms of political violence against individuals, communities or a specific ethnic group.

Bunting (2008) argues that the study of political violence is a problematic and sensitive topic. It can be subjected to the objection that attempting to establish causal connections to certain economic, social or political realities is simply the wrong way of approaching political violence. Viewing political violence as an outcome of particular societal features easily gives way to the perception that the emergence of political violence is unavoidable. Nonetheless, the reversed position is also a cause of disagreement. Mass violence is not simply an unexplainable or irrational issue, as facts show that political violence seems to occur persistently in certain countries but not in others. In any case, there is justification in some scepticism in identification of causes and explanation of a phenomenon such as political violence. The author did not address these causes in relation to this area of study and therefore, the study sought to find out if these are the causes of ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County. The study also sought to find out if there are some society features that, in one way or the other give way to the perception that the emergence of political violence is unavoidable and inevitable.

In the World today, there exists a more threatening type of violence, which involves groups of people impeding or advancing the goal of social change. This violence can also be referred to as

political or collective violence. There have been many questions concerning individuals who are involved in carrying out attacks during political violence, but they never seem to be answered appropriately to show the need of violence in conflict resolution. However, excuses are rendered to justify actions through the logic used in explaining why conflict must be resolved. This leads to an argument that is somewhat circular. For example, there was no justification of Saddam Hussein's action in his of assumption that an invasion of Kuwait, which was an ally of the United States, would be tolerable by both countries (Sederberg, 1994). But Monahan (2010) argues that political ideology is required to help in determining and understanding causes of political violence, as was the case with Jomo Kenyatta and Jaramogi Oginga in 1969, who due to their ideological differences, Oginga defected from the ruling party (KANU) and formed his own party, (KPU), which was later banned by the Kenyatta Government .One should therefore, understand that violence has many tangled roots, which grow towards different directions with equally tied consequences. This has been the case in Kenya's political parties, where differences in ideologies amongst the political leaders has led to formation of so many parties based on ethnic lines, which later become voting blocs.

A lot has been written about ethnicity as a source of conflict in Africa. It is suggested that ethnicity *per se,* in the absence of its politicisation, does not cause conflict. There is evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict has emerged in Africa, there has always been a political machination behind it (Nnoli, 1998).

According to Amisi (2007), politicisation of ethnicity often takes place in a situation characterised by an inequitable structure of access. Such a structure gives rise to the emergence of the "in-group" and the "out-group" with the latter trying to break the structure of inequality as

the former responds by building barriers to access that ensure the continuation of its privileged position. At the centre of this scenario are the elites who, feeling excluded or threatened with exclusion, begin to invoke ethnic ideology in the hope of establishing a "reliable" base of support to fight what is purely personal and/or elite interest (Mafeje,1971).

Though not of the same nature, modern day political violence is deployed using the same approach where populations are subjected to widespread use of extreme violence. This is aimed at either having non-followers of a certain political bigwig submit to the master or succumb to the violence. As a result, failed nations have emerged because of lawlessness, non-established systems of Government and exposure of defenceless civilians to extreme brutality by marauding bandits (Crenshaw, 1994). From the 1990s and 2000s, the World has seen what political turmoil can do to a country with the cases of the instability of countries such as Somalia and Afghanistan. However, governance and stability seem to be slithering back though at a slow pace, in these two countries with the involvement of other countries that have volunteered to help in restoration of law and order (Forest & Giroux, 2011). But Crenshaw (1994), points out that it has turned out to be a difficult task and one that requires immense resources and careful planning for its execution. Such a situation could have been avoided if the society was wise enough not to fall prey to the wishes of a few individuals who only focused on their own political gains.

Thomson (2000) notes that, although African ethnic affiliations were historically fluid, there has been a deliberate attempt to limit the fluidity of ethnic identity among African communities. He notes that one of the actors that had an interest in this endeavour was the colonial administration that did it for purpose of facilitating their imperial rule. Through various policies, they categorised people into regional 'tribes' to simplify the management task ahead of them.

Thomson further argues that to some extent, Africans themselves found it to be their benefit to fit into these more concrete blocs of ethnic affiliation. While he does give some urgency to those being categorised in various ethnicities as being able to accept it as they perceive some benefits, he does not consider the extent of power imbalance that would exist between a European colonial administrator and the Africans under this control.

History.com staff (2000), argue that ethnically motivated violence in Rwanda continued in the years following independence in 1962. By 1990s, Rwanda had about 85% of its population as Hutu and the rest as Tutsi and during its colonial period the Belgians favoured the minority Tutsi over the Hutu which exacerbated the tendency of the few to oppress the many, creating a legacy of tension that exploded into violence even before Rwanda gained its independence. A Hutu revolution in 1959 forced many Tutsi to flee the country and by early 1961, victorious Hutus had forced Rwanda's Tutsi monarch into exile and declared the country a republic.

After the shooting down of the plane carrying the Rwanda and Burundi Presidents in 1994 over Kigali, which was blamed on Hutu extremists and Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), the presidential guard together with members of Rwanda armed Forces and Hutu militia groups set up roadblocks and barricades and began slaughtering Tutsi and moderate Hutus with impunity. The mass killing spread from Kigali to the rest of the country with the local officials and Government-sponsored radio stations calling on ordinary Rwandan civilians to murder their neighbours.

According to Ntshoe (2002), armed conflicts have been experienced in many countries, which have resulted in ethnic and political tensions. Appallingly, a number of these conflicts are now finding their way into schools, corrupting the minds of the younger members of the societies.

This has been experienced in Kenya where the University students have been involved by some politicians during their demonstrations in articulating their issues. Children brought up in an extremely violent environment may be affected psychologically by such cases and could practise the same in their adulthood. He continues to argue that, the apartheid era, which propagated political violence and racism in South Africa, is still entrenched in the minds of many citizens despite the huge steps taken to bring about democracy and social order in the country. Archbishop Desmond Tutu headed The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, which documented the devastating effects of the political and ethnic strife experienced during the apartheid era in South African society. Despite the numerous volumes of literature that detail and document violence during the apartheid, there is still a need to include this into the education sector to enlighten young minds on how violence affects a society. However, as much as violence was employed by the proponents of apartheid to oppress people of South Africa, agents of change also used the same tactics to bring the discriminatory form of governance down on its knees. This ended oppression, racism and discrimination in the country.

Uncertainty about the intentions of a particular group and mistrust between clans like in the case of Somalia, often leads to conflicts that are difficult to resolve. Often there is the assumption that a particular clan does not know the intention of the other and will therefore stock up firearms and train combatants with an excuse of protecting themselves from a possible attack by their rivals. For instance the recent inter-clan conflict in Mandera County which has been going on since 2004 between Garre and Degodia communities, the biggest clans in Somali, near the porous Kenya-Somalia border who have been fighting over the diminishing resources of pasture and water. This has resulted in scores being killed, property destroyed and displacement of the defeated clan. Nevertheless, since militias armed with light, cheap weapons for example machine

guns, axes, farm tools and machetes, can attack their neighbours at any time; a defensive build-up can appear threatening. This explanation gained prominence in the 1990s, when clan leaders were the proponents of this as their intention was to cause conflict and instability in a particular group to take control of their territory once they were weakened by the violence. This explanation holds ground since more often than not, today's conflicts especially in Africa, are as a result of fighting for political power whereby aspiring leaders create tension between communities and take advantage of the resulting instability to ascend to power (Driscoll, 2009).This has been the case in Kenyan politics where fighting for political power has been experienced during electioneering period. The aspiring leaders create tension amongst the community members and use this instability to ascend to power.

According to Azam (2011), civil conflicts in African states is due to the failure of African Governments to deliver the type of public expenditure that the people want which is provision of social goods such as education and healthcare, which results in their reliance on ethnic elites to redistribute state resources on their behalf. This view places the ethnic elite as the necessary intervening agents between the weak state Government and the people under its rule. However, Azam does not elaborate on how that structure contributes directly to political violence. Ogot (2000) argues that the underlying causes of the ethnic conflicts in Kenya have not been comprehensively explained. He asserts that people hoping to get political mileage by dominating the debate have hijacked even the discourse on ethnic conflict in Africa. He argues that most discussions of ethnic conflict have failed to capture the complexity and dynamic nature of political violence in Africa but have instead labelled Africans as perpetual victims of perpetrators. He calls for additional scholarly research on the occurrence and persistence of the ethnic conflicts so as to examine those nuances of ethnic conflict.

According to International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICR to P, 2008), Kenya's elections since gaining independence in 1963 have been dominated by ethnic affiliations, resulting in exclusion and discrimination of those affiliated with the opposition. With over 70 ethnic groups, the five largest being Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Luo, and Kamba in that order, have been determining the direction of elections. In 2007, two coalitions vying for Government, ODM and PNU were strongly supported by ethnically rooted political constituencies. ODM was backed by Luo, Luhya and Kalenjin and was represented in Nyanza, Western and Rift Valley regions, while PNU was supported by Kikuyu, based in Central and Eastern regions and strongly represented in Nairobi, the Coast and Rift Valley regions.

The announcement of the election result triggered widespread and systematic violence. Clashes were characterised by ethnically-targeted killings of those aligned with PNU by ODM and counter attacks. Violence was particularly endemic in the Kikuyu-dominated region of Rift valley, due to the ethnic nature of crisis, where land inequity among ethnic communities of Kikuyu and Kalenjin is most prevalent. Ethnic conflict in Kenya occurs frequently, although most are minor skirmishes. A significant increase in the severity of such conflicts between the various population groups inhibiting the Country was witnessed after the introduction of multi-party politics in the early nineties, especially during the 2007/8 Kenyan crisis. Major conflicts have also led to exodus of ethnic minority communities with roots in other geographical areas (ICRtoP, 2008).

According to Nnoli (1998), ethnicity *per se,* in the absence of its politicization, does not cause conflict and that there has been evidence to suggest that where ethnic conflict has emerged in Africa, there has always been political machinations behind it. This agrees with what is

experienced in Kenya, where political leaders use triggers during their campaigns which results to ethnic conflicts.

The use of violence has become an inherent feature of Kenya's politics with elections being a key trigger for localised violence. Politics is at the heart of violence in Kenya. In the past, politicians have significantly contributed to violence by inciting people and using hate speech as a tool to disqualify political opponents and their followers. The highest goal for political leaders is to gain and maintain political power, even if this goal is achieved by sacrificing the lives of hundreds of ordinary Kenyans. Ethnicity, when politicised by elites, is another central feature of conflict in Kenya. In the past, politicians and local leaders have been greatly involved in violence. During the post-election violence and other times of heightened political tension, they have exploited sensitive issues such as the land question and the marginalisation perceived by certain ethnic groups for the purpose of inciting political violence (Wambua, 2013).

According to Human Rights Watch (2005), violence during electoral period in Kenya developed as a result of a combination of factors including politicisation of ethnicity, corruption, non-adherence to the rule of law, centralised and highly personalised form of Government and a "winner-takes-all" form of politics perceived as benefiting one ethnic group to the detriment of all others. Violence in advance of the 1992 election reflected the deadly consequences of such a perspective and set the stage for subsequent ballots. Politicians used grievances over land to mobilise support and reduced the complex problem of land tenure into a simplistic and dangerous ethnic dichotomy (IRIN News, 2008). Those people residing in their community's traditional regions were labelled as indigenous while those who purchased land elsewhere,

notably the Kikuyu in Nakuru County, whose traditional lands are in Central Kenya, were regarded as outsiders (Anderson, 2005). This

KiIiku's report in ICJ (2000) argues that the probability of ethnicity having emerged during the colonial period has been progressively accentuated since independence with the emergence of ethnicity as a factor in national politics. Ethnicity in Kenya became a national concern as early as during the colonial period but was accentuated in the post-independence period during the implementation of the policy of Africanisation. Ethnic tensions developed especially around the structure of access to economic opportunities and redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers. Most of the land in question was in Rift Valley province and was historically settled by the Kalenjin and Masaai. Central province was also affected and this was aggravated during mid-1950s when forced land consolidation took place which benefitted mainly the pro-Government group that had not joined the Mau Mau revolt and most of the detainees returned home to find that they had lost their land to loyalists. As some moved to the urban centres in search of wage and self-employment, a large wave of this group moved to Rift Valley in anticipation of what was expected to be land redistribution after independence. A number of them joined relatives and kinsmen who had moved to Rift Valley many decades earlier and were staying in some of the settler owned land as squatters. Therefore, when the redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers began, it is these squatters that became the instant beneficiaries of the allocations.

Land recovered from departing British colonialist at independence was never reverted to the original owners. It was distributed based on a policy advocated by Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta, referred to as "willing buyer, willing seller". This arrangement was meant to protect

the settlers who chose to remain in Kenya after independence and gave primacy to private owners (IRIN News, 2008). But Human Rights Watch, 2008, argues that President Kenyatta, as with President Moi, a Kalenjin after him, used land grants in order to secure political support from members of his own ethnic group.

KNCHR (2007) argues that ethnic protagonists have abused Kenya's voting rules in order to influence the outcome of elections. This is because Kenyans must cast a ballot where they registered as voters. One strategy that has been used has been to incite violence to displace "outsiders" who are perceived to support certain candidates based on their ethnicity. Daily Nation (1997) reported the use of dispersal as perverse form of campaigning where leaflets that said," *Majimbo juu, pwani kwa majimbo" (long live federalism, the Coast is for the federalists).* Politician and Government officials turn to youth group and militias to help them carry-out eviction strategies and attack opponents. They set up roadblocks in order to identify, kill or terrorise individuals from non-indigenous communities (Mercy Corps, 2011).

The electoral violence that began in 1991 and continued sporadically until 1994, left many Kenyans dead and others internally displaced. Subsequently, ethnic violence during electoral periods became a fixture of Kenya's multi-party system especially in Rift Valley, Mombasa and informal urban settlements (International crisis Group, 2012). The Commission of Inquiry into the 2007 post-election violence documented in the Waki report that the Majimbo debate elicited a strong anti-Kikuyu sentiments which directly contributed to their being targeted for expulsion in both regions (CIPIE, 2007).

Kenya's first President, the late Jomo Kenyatta was Kikuyu while his first Vice President Jaramogi Odinga, was Luo. The second President was Daniel arap Moi, a Kalenjin, and third

President Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu and the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga, a son of the first Vice President Jaramogi Odinga was a Luo. Kenya's current President Uhuru Kenyatta is a Kikuyu and a son to the first President while William Ruto, the current Deputy President is a Kalenjin. Two of Moi's sons are also in successful politics in the Rift Valley. Gideon Moi is the current Senator of Baringo County while Raymond Moi is currently The MP for Rongai. The tensions between these individuals form a powerful narrative in Kenya's history. Jomo Kenyatta and Jaramogi Odinga had an acrimonious fall out that has sustained at two generations of mistrust and hatred between their respective ethnic communities. This mistrust was, however, buried briefly in 2002 when Raila Odinga, Luo and Mwai Kibaki, Kikuyu teamed up to trounce Uhuru Kenyatta who was a Kikuyu. The mistrust between the two ethnic communities however intensified once again when Odinga and Kibaki fell out after the elections in 2007 (Nderitu, 2014).

According to Macharia (2006), ethnic conflict follows the pattern of forcible alienation and appropriation of land by the colonial and subsequent post-colonial Government. This combined while the unequal distribution of resources, the suppression of dissent, and selective distribution of public positions, to ethnic groups allied to those in power, has been a powerful historical driver to conflict. The believe that public positions bring advantages to entire ethnic community, has encouraged communities to promote and protect their own. This pattern of expectation and behaviour has extended from junior positions to the Presidency and has turned electoral politics into an ethnic, rather than an issue-based contestation.

Perceptions that communities benefit from having one of their own in power, is backed up by more recent research. In the 2011 audit by National Cohesion and Integration Commission

(NCIC) on degree of ethnic discrimination in public offices, it was established that the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities had benefited most in appointments in public offices (NCIC, 2012). This notwithstanding, the research was not done in comparison with the total population and lack of job opportunity is a very big problem and especially to the youth form the two communities.

2.2 Socio-economic Context during Non-electioneering Period

According to Larger (1997), political conflict is considered one of the most treacherous threats in global security. This is because inter-group conflict represents an intractable and difficult problem in many countries around the world. Moreover, intra-state conflict became an increasing common problem in late years of the 20th century (Mccgwire, 2002). Larger continues to argue that between the years 1989 and 1992, the United Nations Development Programme reported only three wars between seventy-nine intra-state conflicts over the same period, many of which had been underway for more than a decade and that there is a distinction between the current types of conflicts and traditional warfare.

One peculiarity is that the costs of current conflicts tend to be borne by civilians rather than the military personnel. In World War I, for example, ten percent of all fatalities were civilians while in World War II, civilians were estimated to comprise fifty percent of the casualties. During subsequent conflicts, the number of civilian casualties have gone up, the most affected being children and women (Barenbaum, Runchkin & Schwab-Stone, 2004). The rising number of civilian casualties can be attributed to the strategies and weapons of intra-state conflict. Small arms, bombings, landmines and low intensity or dirty war tactics define these conflicts. Contrary, to the Kenya's ethnic conflicts, people used crude weapons such as the machetes, metal bars, burning of properties in attacking their targets.

Further problems such as population displacement, political insecurity and state disintegration are exacerbated (Aluwihare, 1997). Thus, the effects of these experiences can create a vicious circle, which contributes to the obdurate nature of intra-state conflict (Dodge, 1996). Whenever an incident of violence of any kind occurs, there are two people involved at any one moment, namely, the victim and the perpetrator. In effect, violence produces witnesses who give a detailed account of the events as they transpired after or at that particular instance of turmoil.

Gilligan (1997) defines political strife as a form of violence that stems out of competition for control and ascendancy. Often political turmoil results from a particular aggrieved party participating in an election and has no limits and often-scales to extensive heights to an extent where it gets out of control. Violence in politics defeats the purpose of having a competitive democratic process of electing leaders, especially if the defeated persons or party contest over the legitimacy of the election results. Competition has been the hallmark of differences between Kenyatta and Odinga families and by inference between Kikuyu and Luo. Consequently, this has had an impact on the kind of leaders who have been elected where competitive democratic process has not been in play and at the same time, it has been so dependent on the side that one leans, whether a supporter of Luo or Kikuyu which also determine the strength of the parties.

Weingarten (2004) argues that incidences in a political turmoil psychologically affect the victims at the heart of the violence and in effect reach out to other people witnessing the sad state of affairs from different parts of the world. According to Weingarten (2004), political violence of any kind can lead to a great deal of trauma especially to those who have suffered the consequences of turmoil in the past. In the modern day of globalization, it is especially hard to fathom a scenario where citizens of a particular country still suffer effects of a political unrest, something considered quite conventional in this civilized generation. But Stathis (2004) argues

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that political violence is a vice entrenched in society even in the past centuries considering the unfortunate events such as World Wars I and II, the Cold War and most recently genocide in Rwanda and Burundi.

Stathis (2004) further argues that these particular events of discord were of an extremely violent nature and any person would expect that from the bitter lessons learnt from these wars, which resulted in loss of lives and wanton destruction of property, they would never happen again. Unfortunately, there are individuals who are bent on taking advantage of the instability resulting from political turmoil to satisfy their greedy hunger for power and material gains. For instance, effects of a war that happened in Europe or the Middle East can be felt in other parts of the world including Africa. Bitterness and resentment are deeply engulfed in the hearts of survivors of political violence that are also passed on to the next generation. A survivor of World War II, for example, marching in the 2003 Memorial Parade while clutching the hands of his teenage grand-daughter portrays a bitter image as he mourns a departed colleague who died in the war. The grand-daughter would take this image and hold on it for years blaming the enemy for causing bitterness to her grandfather. In effect, this ends up creating animosity between nations that had conflicted with each other decades ago. This author's work, though more than ten years old appears to be the case experienced in my area of study, where the recurrence is a reminder of those who lost their life and the survivors of these conflicts, thus bringing back bitterness and revenge to the aggrieved group.

During World War 1, people were subjected to slaughtering and inhumane execution . Thousands of combatants who were equipped with machine guns, poison gas and combat jets were deployed. The World War II was defined as "total war" where the enemy targeted the entirety of the opposing nation with the aim of completely wiping out everything in that country.

To ensure that this kind of mission was successfully carried out, the combatants air-bombarded cities, deported people or starved them to death. Moreover, those who were indirectly engaged in combat, were subjected to the same kind of violence experienced by the soldiers in battlefields (Stathis, 2004).

In the same light, Natives of Latin America have long been affected by skirmishes resulting from fight for political dominance though of a lower intensity as well as infighting between the states that constitutes the South America region. Many victims continue to lose their lives through skirmishes. For example, the mass slaughtering of Miskito Indians in Nicaragua, the execution in large numbers of Mayas in Guatemala and Tzotzils in Chiapas, Mexico and the carnage witnessed in the border between Brazil and Venezuela of the Yanomami Indians. In addition, there was the butchery and forceful deportation of populations witnessed in the highlands covering Peru (Ciência & Coletiva, 2006). Kenya has witnessed an increased number of the IDPs in different parts of the country every time there are elections and ethnic conflicts. The 2007/2008 post-election violence saw so many of them from Rift Valley who up to now have not been fully resettled.

The *Comisión de la Verdady* Reconciliación in their report, "Final Report" recounted in details the armed combat in Peru between the years 1980 and 2000. The report shows that the war left in its wake a trail of 69,280 dead people and in effect displacing more than 60, 0000 residents. The emerging results from these skirmishes were wanton destruction of property that brought the economy of the nation down on its knees. A large number of the affected were the Quencha speaking community. This portrayed the deeply entrenched prejudice and biasness towards the Andean community that were concentrated in rural areas (*Comisión de la Verdady y Reconciliación*, 2003).

Guatemala, on the other hand, experienced mass deportation of the population that resulted from in fighting and skirmishes. Majority of the victims consisted of the Maya Indians who occupied the Northern and South-western sections of the nation. Almost 75,000 Guatemala natives have either vanished or lost their lives in the war torn region in the last three decades. A further 350,000 victims have fled into Mexico because of the escalating skirmishes in the country. The Guatemalan Supreme Court accounts for over 200, 000 children who were orphaned because of prevalent oppression and discriminatory tyranny (*Oficina de Derechos*

Humanos del Arzobispado de Guatemala, 1998). Similarly, Nakuru has experienced movement of people to other areas, within the County and outside, as IDPs during the elections years in search of safety. For instance, 2007/2008 post-election conflict saw a huge number of people move to the camps, who finally had to be resettled by the Government in different areas. This also saw many children being orphaned, women and men widowed and also most homes breaking up.

According to Gilligan (1997), the effects of political turmoil such as armed struggles, tyranny, repression, skirmishes, forceful rape and displacement surpass the expected outcomes of a war that is loss of property and lives. The impact goes beyond those outcomes and it is an accepted notion that political wars further result in ruined relations in the society, economic downfall of a country, hunger and famine, corruption of cultural beliefs and practices. They in addition affect deeply the health and welfare of victims.

According to Parker (2002), there is proof, which substantiates that death, disability and decay of social values, and cultural practices are all remnants of war. Significantly, this further leads to hostility between communities that were once good neighbours. It also leads to ill- treatment of women and children, murder, wrecking of lives through drug abuse and alcohol indulgence and

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prevalence of contagious diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, cervical cancer, STDs and HIV/AIDS. This was affirmed by the UN Children's Fund (1996) that these problems are further aggravated by forceful deportation of populations, who are not only vulnerable to prolonged political skirmishes, but also to other forms of sources of torment and anguish like in the case of harassment and sexual exploitation in concentration camps and was substantiated when they produced a detailed account of rape cases and sexual molestation of almost every teenage girl who survived the Rwanda genocide. This has been the case in Kenya where women and children are the most affected by these conflicts. Like was the case in Kiambaa church where majority of the casualties were women and children, many families were separated and disease break out due to poor living conditions in the camps.

Myers-Bowman (2003) argues that the notion behind political violence is for politicians to use it as a gateway to power and political dominance by weakening the economic welfare of their opponent's supporters through killing and torture. After being subjected to constant intimidation and repression, the antagonists eventually capitulate, unable to resist any more with the meagre resources in their hands. This is achieved by deployment of weapons in political skirmishes like landmines and antipersonnel rockets. The idea is to mutilate, with the injured eventually forced to surrender to their adversaries. A Government intending to hold on to power regardless of the elections outcome, deploys more funds to its military during the election period in readiness for war with its opponents. With no funds left to cater for other needs of the citizens, most people are left at the whims of the Government's demands and are intimidated to vote for the incumbent with hopes of affairs getting back to normal.

Myers-Brown (2003), also found out that neighbours from different ethnic backgrounds who lived in harmony are forced to buy weapons ready to defend themselves in the event of a war outbreak after elections. The incumbent Government arms their supporters and the opponents drain their resources while purchasing armaments to guard themselves and their families. This in turn leaves them weakened economically and in the event of skirmishes, they easily surrender to their more superior adversaries. In the process, they help the Government in office and their supporters to cling on to power. This can be said to be what was seen in 2007/2008 post-election violence which was between the PNU and ODM parties, where a lot of resources were used, and especially from the Government side and since the opposition could not match it, they became weakened economically and thus had to accept the defeat.

According to Myers-Bowman (2003) the underprivileged and poverty stricken families suffer the most devastating effects of war than the affluent families. The impoverished in society are exposed to a higher vulnerability of the overwhelming effects of political violence and ethnic conflict which is an indicator that the well-to-do have ways and means of avoiding skirmishes and as a result experiencing fewer effects. He argued that a country experiences massive losses in terms of infrastructure, schools, hospitals and businesses thus, leaving majority of the citizens with no source of income. Poverty is a predicament experienced by many in the society and war only aggravates the situation.

But Cairns (1996), disagrees with this and says that this is the reason why many developing countries never grow economically and the cumulative negative effects on poor families are not only because of political violence, but it is also because of the social and economic disadvantages. In addition, Myers-Bowman (2003) says that in a war situation, most people are

left busy fending for their families and a majority in refugee camps waiting for aid to survive which leaves a Government short of work force for nation building. The tendency of politicizing ethnic groups tends to appeal to cultural identities for its effectiveness. Political leaders cooperate with cultural intermediaries in using cultural identity for political manoeuvres. In this process, ethnic loyalties are reformulated to suit political agendas. Such leaders proclaim themselves as representatives of the ethnic group while at the same time promoting their own interests. They combine knowledge and power in a context where the colonial economy of predation, except in a few rare cases, has left the state as the principal source of wealth and social advancement (William, 1993)

Political violence is orchestrated by the attitudes and utterances of our political elites who believe that election is won by violence and use of political thugs. Accordingly, Obasanjo (2002) asserts, "we fight and sometimes shed blood to achieve and attain political power because for us in Nigeria, the political kingdom has far too long been the gateway to economic kingdom". This has been the case with the Kenyan politics where political position means power and access to the economic wealth. Thus "when they said political competition for control of the state and its political power is now a bloody warfare as the state holds the key to wealth", (Omoweh & Okanya, 2005), one will understand why there was too much tension and insecurity in the Country as 2017 general election approaches.

Despite the growing number of armed conflicts and war throughout the world, not enough attention has been paid to the local patterns of distress being experienced and the long-term health impact and psychosocial consequences of the various forms of political violence against individuals, communities, or specific ethnic groups. The mental health effects of a changing

social economic context and the impact of political violence and war have been sufficiently documented.

According to Fortuna, Porche & Alegria, (2008), violence of a political kind wrecks the lives of all in society where women and children suffer the most during the skirmishes. However, men also suffer the devastating effects of violence with most of them actively involved in the violence. The suffering experienced may either be of a physical or psychological nature. In Latin America for example, 11% of the men reportedly sought medical assistance as a result of the trauma suffered from the scuffles experienced in their countries. This mental condition resulted from the oppression and discrimination they experienced during that period. A majority of the men were badly injured during their participation in war, which made most of them unable to provide for their families and in effect, they turned to substance abuse and indulged themselves into alcohol. This is the same trauma experienced by the Mau Mau veterans where about 2000 of them became refugees or squatters after coming back from the fighting. Their wives and children suffered while they were in the bush, yet they were never given any compensation after. Later their sons became opponents in trying to fight for their fathers' justice. The Mau Mau rebellion against the British colonial rule saw their inspired sons form the Mungiki group which was to promote a return to African roots by preserving culture and traditions and also aimed at defending the Kikuyu's economic and political interests.

Amnesty International 2004 notes that human rights situations across the region of Africa is characterised by widespread armed conflict (war) and political regression (violence) and that in all, women are at risk end. However, men suffer death and permanent injuries subjecting women

and children to untold hardships ranging from economic stress to socio-psychological imbalances.

López & Carrillo (2001) agree with Fortuna, Porche & Alegria (2008), and say that, remnants of war are mostly associated with alcohol abuse in disguise of consoling their souls. Most men spend their days in beer dens recalling the events of war and blaming their enemies for their predicaments. Men are especially left unattended with an expectation that they are strong enough to recover from the devastating consequences of political violence but in contrast, the same care accorded to others should be given to men. For that reason, victims of political violence require extensive therapy and counselling. They should not be neglected lest they end up destroying their lives. This has been the case experienced in Kenya where women and children have been of main concern to the care givers leaving out men and especially those who participated directly who would be in need of psychosocial and financial Support. Gupta (2008) argues that many victims of political violence face the major challenge or decision of starting anew elsewhere which has been the case in Kenya, after the displacement.

Sudirman (2006) observes that perpetrators of political violence principally carry out their atrocities based on political association and at times based on gender, religious and ethnic background .In Nakuru in particular political violence is mostly on ethnic lines where one ethnic group would turn onto the other and on political affiliations where members of one political party targeted their opponents. Women are the most vulnerable in society and suffer the greater consequences in the event of political turmoil Political conflicts often have devastating effects on women's wellbeing and health conditions. Violence directed on women during skirmishes is manifested in various ways such as rape, sexual assault and exploitation. As a result, women

suffer significant psychological and physical ailments. They develop health conditions such as infectious diseases, problems in reproduction, starvation, mental depression, trauma and even death. The authors work is relevant to the current study though it does not cover Nakuru County.

During war, many men leave their homes to get into the battlefields. Some are deported or imprisoned and women are left to fend for their families with the inadequate resources left behind. At times men die during skirmishes leaving women with the heavy burden of catering for their children. This endangers their psychological well-being with no companionship and support during the hard times experienced after the war where the enemy often subjects women left behind to slavery, sexual exploitation and torture. Family unit is thus decimated with adverse attendant consequences.

Munyiri (2007) argues that in both events of the political skirmishes of 1992 and 2007 in Kenya, women faced the most devastating effects. Many were displaced from their homes, widowed and sexually assaulted. Women candidates for elective posts were intimidated, some forced to quit vying for positions in the Government and many others left severely injured. In Kuresoi in particular, scores of women lost their lives and were displaced because of the politically motivated turmoil. However, it is expected with the unveiling of the new constitution that the laws entrenched in the document will go a long way to guard women rights and accord them the same status as men in the society. The authorities in place should ensure that the laws are fully implemented and that women should take an initiative and fight against discrimination. Despite the fact that women constitute the highest populace in Kenya, many cower from vying for an elective post, and can use this channel to fight for their rights.

The effects of political violence on children are matters of international concern, with many negative effects well-documented. The relations between war, terrorism or other forms of political violence and child development do not occur in a vacuum. The impact can be understood as related to changes in the communities, families and other social contexts in which children live, and in the psychological processes engaged by these social changes.

As reflected by the National Institutes of Health (Maryland, USA), on children exposed to violence (NIH, 2003, PAR-03-096), there are increasing concerns about the effects on children of exposure to political, community and domestic violence. However, there has been little systematic study that has been accomplished on the implications of the interrelation between these factors for the well-being and development of children. The mechanisms by which political and community violence relate to the family, and in turn, children's well-being and development are even less understood. Studies have shown that political violence and ethnic conflict have negative effects on children, (Sagi-Swartz, Seginar &Adeen, 2008). Children are found to be victimized by or witness to different kinds of political violence especially in the community where the family lives.

Danieli (1984) argues that research has shown that effects of political violence on children began in the 1960s. This however is not to ignore collateral damage to children over the years in violent conflicts World over. The study on the psychological effects was carried out after the 1950s holocaust. Many scholars likened the holocaust to a conspiracy of silence. In societies around the world, children experience political violence as victims, participants or observers. In these same societies, many children experience developmental risks due to family and individual factors (Garbarino & Kathleen, 1996).

But Smetana (2006) argues that developmental psychologists state that children between the ages of two and three are consistently bothered by acts of injustice and physical or psychological hurt on people around the world. This is evident in studies carried out in Colombia, Brazil, India, Africa, China, Japan, and Middle Eastern countries. Wainryb & Posada (2006) concur with this and say that, psychologists also state that in spite of the diversity in religious and cultural beliefs, many children show a lot of concern for others. In addition, regardless of their mischievous behaviour, children in many instances struggle to make sense of the actions and as a result, they further their sense of moral beings (Turiel, 1998).

According to Garbarino & Kostelny (1996), in a study they conducted about Palestinian children and mothers living in the West Bank amidst the Intifada, to assess the effects of exposure to family negativity and political violence on children behaviour, the study showed that the risks in a child's life were appreciably correlated with the behavioural problems exhibited by the child. The analysis further examined the role of age, gender, and community context in moderating the impact of high levels of accumulated risk on children's behavioural problems. Under the high-accumulated risk conditions, boys and younger children experienced more problems than girls and older children respectively.

According to Fraser (1974), children have been actively involved in violence from as young as eight years old. He also along with other scholars like Lyons (1979), and McWhirter & Trew (1981), have predicted an inevitable response to children's exposure to political violence. But UN (2006) argued that political violence has the capacity to undermine children's moral development. This disruption in the moral capacity development is severe in child-soldiers, who were forced to become instruments of violence at an early age. This is indeed the case with

thousands of children in many parts of the world who are recruited into terrorist groups, militias and guerrillas.

Browne (2003), argues that the involvement of children in violence has been heightened by the availability of lightweight automatic weapons. Sometimes children volunteer out of recognition with an ideology or political cause, while many at times are forcibly abducted. Cairns (1996) disagrees with this and argues that despite some of these children being only engaged in more peripheral activities, many become fighters who participate in destruction, torture and killings. In actual fact, many of the armed groups target young children for indoctrination into violence, especially boy child. Such indoctrination processes have consequences like children acquiring belief-systems concerning the badness of other groups and presumed goodness of their own (McKay, 2005). The communal ideologies not only help children in making sense of their bewildering lives, but they also lead them to develop polarized understandings of the complex realities within which they operate, thereby perpetuating revenge and violence (Punamaki,Qouta & El-Sarraji, 2001). In addition, many warfare groups have developed brutal techniques explicitly aimed at isolating children from their communities. They also seek to numb and harden children to violence, prepare them for killing and dehumanize their victims. Many at times, children are forced to witness acts of violence and are subsequently made to join in brutal acts of violence (Wessells, 2005). Like what has been happening in these ethnic conflicts where the children witness their parents or other people being killed or dehumanised. This may leave them with the urge of revenge without necessarily being forced to join in these groups.

According to Cairns & Lewis (1999), most therapists have readily recognized the effects that political violence and ethnic conflict have had on children. They are at risk when they are

directly exposed to political violence and ethnic strife, and when they witness the effects of the same on their parents. In addition, the United Nations (1996) argues that children may also be affected when family members are separated in refugee situations. This is where unbridled attacks on rural communities and civilians provoke mass exodus and displacement populations in search of elusive sanctuaries outside and within their national borders. Among the deracinated millions, it is estimated that eighty percent are women and children

In 2012, a report by the United Nations identified an estimate of twenty seven million refugees around the world, which has since grown. The report also stated that at least half of the displaced people and refugees were children majority of who were separated from their families. The report also indicated that parents in areas where political violence is a norm tend to send their children away to the less affected areas. This may seem as an ideal solution but unfortunately, those children may face exploitation by unscrupulous agencies that aim to make money by illegally placing the children in adoptive homes. Additionally, other children may experience long-term trauma from the separation (Myers-Bowman, 2003).

Studies have shown that political violence and war have negative effects on the children, and these include heightened aggression and violence, revenge seeking, depression, withdrawal, sleep dis-orders, fear and panic, poor school performance and involvement in criminal violence (Sagi-Swartz, Seginer & Adeen, 2008; Quata, Punamaki & El-Sarraj, 2008). More so, children are found to be victimised by or witness to different kinds of political violence and war especially in the community where the family lives (Richters & Martinez, 1993b). In most African countries like Liberia, Algeria, Congo, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Sudan, Senegal, and Uganda among others, children are seen to have been recruited into militant camps and actually

carry gun to kill their fellow citizens. About a third of World's children solders are found in Africa and it is important to understand that child soldering which is rampant in Africa is as a result of war, insurgency, political violence and others (Mazefsky & Farre, 2005; Okolie, 2008).

According to UNICEF (1996), in Rwanda virtually every adolescent girl who survived the genocide of the 1994 was subsequently raped. Rape and commercial sex is also widespread in refugee camps, often resulting in unsafe abortions and spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDs.

Iraki (2010) argues that at best culture and development have a dialogic relationship and they have a mutual effect on each other. A people's thinking that hatches new projects to realize their dreams and aspirations is the best example of culture leading to concrete development. These projects could be legal frameworks, institutions, products or processes that move the society from one level to the next. In the case of Kenya's history, fundamental injustices, including the people's desires and aspirations have been swept under the carpet with the hope that they will resolve themselves. The consequence has been sporadic violence between ethnic communities as they try to get a glimpse of justice. Whether the violence is spontaneous or planned is immaterial, what matters is that there are deep-rooted issues that need to be addressed, failure to which development will continue to eschew the country. The reversal of economic growth from 7% to about 2% shows how the ethnic rivalry can affect development within a very short time.

The fact that ethnic tensions have only typically evidenced themselves during electoral contests there is general agreement in that it is not ethnicity *per se* that is the cause of the conflict, but politicized ethnicity, wherein entrepreneurial and mendacious politicians exploit existing mistrust and feelings of marginalization to stoke ethnic tensions and conflict for political gain

(Klopp, 2002; Ndegwa, 1997). This is relevant to my study and thus the study will be looking at the relationship that exist between the community members during non-electioneering periods in this area and the root causes of these conflicts experienced during those periods.

Wabala (2009) argues that political violence in Kenya, although often at its extremes during election periods, also exists as an 'everyday phenomenon'. Assassinations of political leaders, prominent businessmen, civil society leaders, and other figures, who possessed significant influence on the allocation of resources or political developments in the Country are far from exceptional.The ethnic diversity of over 42 different tribes is a unique example of the region of how people with different cultures and beliefs can coexist. However, the meaning of tribes signifies different things to different Kenyans. To some, tribes means political and economic influence, personal identity and community, whereas others see tribes in terms of majority to rule, and to others it means marginalisation and unfair distribution of natural resources. In many cases tribes are associated with geographical boundaries and political affiliations and entitlement.

2.3 Solutions to Ethnic Conflict Influenced by Political Competition

There have been different methods that have been used globally to resolve ethnic conflicts. Lapidoth, (1996), analyses the concept of autonomy, and assesses its usefulness in resolving ethnic conflicts. Lapidoth observes that "Autonomy is a means for diffusion of powers in order to preserve the unity of a state while respecting the diversity of its population. Ethnic conflicts are on the rise, and autonomy is often suggested as a solution to such conflicts. Ethnic and regional groups are increasingly demanding autonomy for themselves.

Many fear that granting autonomy to groups undermines the sovereignty of the state. Lapidoth notes that the traditional sense of state sovereignty, as possessing absolute authority within the

state's boundaries, has already been eroded by the modern global economy, by the recognition of universal human rights, and by the development of international law. Group autonomy may threaten the classic notion of state sovereignty, but that notion is already largely outdated.

Gurr (1994) argued that ethnic civil wars were burning in Bosnia, Croatia, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Sudan, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Chechnya, Tajikistan, Kashmir, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka, and were threatening to break out in dozens of other places throughout the world.

Zartman (1995) argues that many of these conflicts are so violent and apparently intractable, with so much violence directed against unarmed civilians, that they have provoked calls for military intervention to stop them. The international community has however done little and achieved less as yet. Advocates of international action seek to redress the failures of local political institutions and elites by brokering political power-sharing arrangements. This is by international conservatorship to rebuild a functioning state, or by reconstruction of exclusive ethnic identities into wider, inclusive civic identities. Pessimists doubt these remedies, arguing that ethnic wars express primordial hatreds which cannot be reduced by outside intervention because they have been ingrained by long histories of inter-communal conflict (Rosenthal (1992).

Although peace and pacifism are familiar ideas to most students today, for much of human history these concepts have been relegated to the religious domain and excluded from the study and practice of politics. At the same time, war organized violent conflict between different groups of people, has traditionally been considered a natural occurrence, which is based on popular assumptions about the inclinations and limitations of human nature. However, many

people today still believe that peace is idealistic and war is inevitable (David B. & Webel C. 2008).

One of the most sensitive areas of social life in Africa is the problem of cultural pluralism which usually rears its ugly face in inter-ethnic relations. This is caused by failure of national institutions to explicitly recognise and accommodate existing ethnic divisions and interests, in the society. The majority must be included to provide strong guarantees against the possibility of the annihilation of the minority. It is therefore recommended that nations must adopt political arrangements which will accord to all ethnic groups a meaningful role in national life and which are able to keep ethnic problem within manageable bounds (Aluko, 2011).

Iro (1994) suggested that African leaders in multi-ethnic nations must learn to accommodate one another and should be able to tolerate criticism of their policies and accept genuine suggestions that will improve the lot of the people in general as against catering for sectional or parochial interest. Nnoli (1998) also suggested a fundamental change in the nature of the national leadership in Africa, where, according to him, no meaningful solution of ethnic problem in Africa including ethnic balancing, can succeed without this change. Institutionalised power sharing is recommended where political power must be shared democratically among the various ethnic groups making up the nation. Empowering the different ethnic nationalities in the nation can help to reduce ethnic problem, where the winner takes all syndrome often encourages dictatorship and subsequent marginalisation of opposition and minority groups.

Aluko (2011) argues that state is the primary source of private wealth accumulation in Africa, which makes the struggle for state power so intense. He argues that distribution of the national resources (resource allocation) must be based upon objectively measurable and generally

accepted criteria by all the various ethnic groups in the country where justice, fair play and equity must be ensured in the distribution of these resources. According to Aluko, collective security can prevent ethnic problem in the sense that a threatened nation, exercising its inherent right of collective self-defence can call on others for help. Collective security is a far more potent weapon for deferring aggression and maintaining peace and security than is the traditional right of self-defence standing alone.

Annan (2014) argues that in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire, the deployment of peacekeepers through ECOMOG and the key mediatory role played by the sub-regional bloc helped salvage peace and stability, bringing an end to the violent conflicts. Additionally, the involvement of ECOWAS can be witnessed through its lead on the process of drafting and signing numerous peace agreements that resulted in the attainment of peace in several countries in the sub-region. The ECOWAS has furthermore been collaborating with civil society organizations to implement its Early Warning Mechanism (ECOWARN) which seeks to prevent and monitor conflicts in the sub-region. For instance, for the past eight years since the operationalization of ECOWARN, ECOWAS has been working with the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) to monitor elections in Ghana, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Conakry and other countries on the continent.

According to Annan (2014), at the continental and international level, the AU, UN and other bilateral and multilateral actors have taken several initiatives to support the consolidation of peace in West Africa. The African Union for example was instrumental in ending Côte d'Ivoire's post-electoral violence that occurred in 2010–2011. The continental body, among other initiatives, formed a five-member mediation group including Kenyan Prime Minister Raila

Odinga, Presidents Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe), Jacob Zuma (South Africa), Goodluck Jonathan (Nigeria) and Mohamed Ould Abdel (Mauritania) to broker peace between the two disputing factions. Also in response to the April 2012 coup d'état in Guinea-Bissau, the AU at its 318th Council meeting placed a ban on Guinea-Bissau from participating in any AU activities until constitutional order and peace was restored. Beyond the borders of Africa, the UN and the European Union (EU) have also been key contributors to the consolidation of sustainable peace in West Africa. The UN for example has been deploying peacekeepers into violent conflict territories in West Africa for decades. Through these peacekeeping activities, the UN help protect civilians; disarm, demobilize and reintegrate ex-combatant; support post-conflict reconstruction processes; and establish peace and stable environment in these conflict zones

Ibeike (1995) argues that there is need for institutionalised indignation whereby both the international community and the various ethnic groups show indignation and condemn brutal or despotic conduct of whatever leader is in power. According to Ibeike, Kenya, when Jomo Kenyatta victimised and brutalised people from other ethnic groups, the Kikuyu in general found it difficult to condemn his conduct. Likewise when Arap Moi took over and did same thing, many Kalenjin and Masaai found it difficult to condemn the conduct.

2.4 Conceptual Framework
This research was guided by a conceptual framework derived from three theories namely Social Change Theory, Conflict Theory and Structuralism Theory.

2.4.1 Social Change Theory
Macionis (2011) defines social change as a social process whereby the values, attitudes, or institutions of the society become modified. In order for social change to occur, a group of

people must have certain characteristics. These include: a belief that they are at risk for a problem with serious consequences; a belief that a suggested behavior will lessen or eliminate the problem; and, the skills and intention to perform the suggested behavior (Pezone, Palacio, & Rosenberg, 2003).

Social change theories are required to help build the thinking processes of development among organisations, donors, individuals, social movements and communities. In the world today, there exists a conventional division among practitioners and policymakers. This division has left the latter unthinking and the former ungrounded. As a result, different perspectives under the social change theory have emerged. They include societal change, social movement and social conflict (Reeler, 2007).

According to Emile Durkheim (from 1858 to 1917), who was one of the people who propound social change theory, social change is the significant alteration of social structures and cultural patterns through time. He claims that human societies could be studied scientifically through elements of collective life that exist independently of and are able to exert an influence on the individual. Durkheim argues that social change is a mechanical process, which is directed in any intentional way. It is spurred above all by changes in the ways that people interact with each other, which in turn depend upon the demographic and material conditions of a society. Social change theory has been addressed in the following perspectives:

2.4.1.1 Societal change

Factors in societal change can fall in three major categories, cultural, political and economic. Karl Marx (1818-1883) is perhaps the most eminent proponent of the conception that forms of social organisation or societies are largely determined by factors of the economy especially the

impact of industrial capitalism (Leat, 2005). The Government should play a major role in industrial societies' change and social life on political influences. Cultural influences have also been noted to play a significant part in social change. For example, development and secularization of science have affected the way people think and their authority and legitimacy. They have also influenced values, systems and social structures (Giddens & Duneier, 2000). If these are the major factors in societal change, foundations that wish to effect change at this level need to put more focus on changing cultural, political or economic processes and structures. Additionally, some international foundations have adopted the macro social change approach with an aim of changing their political and economic conditions (Leat, 2005).

Societal change is seen in the context of those who resist change and prefer maintenance of status quo on one hand. On the other hand, there are those who prefer change, either for the sake of change or due to some empirical evidence. These differences create conflict between the two parties. The extent to which this was the case in the political dispensation of Nakuru County and has been explored in subsequent chapters

2.4.1.2 Social Movement
An approach to political, cultural and economic change that stresses the role of groups and individuals in effecting social change is worth underlining. Groups can try to discourage or encourage social change through social movements. There have been vigorous and long debates on the social movement subject. According to Marx, social revolution or movement transpires because of irresolvable tensions and contradictions in societies. This is more particularly in changes in the economic sphere. In the case of Kenya as indeed elsewhere in Africa as much as most developing countries such a movement may be caused by the struggle for scares resources.

On the contrary, no revolutions were experienced in advanced industrial societies. As a result, Davies (1992) theorised that social protest movements are not likely to occur when a society is in dire poverty. He, however, reiterates that such movements occur when people start experiencing some improvements in their living conditions.

Conversely Tilly (1978) disagrees with Davie's theory stating that it does not explain why and how mobilisation by various groups is done to achieve change. He discerns four components of collective action as mobilization of resources, opportunity, common interests and organisation. He states that collective action is a way of mobilizing resources of a group when people want to establish a means of articulating their concerns or when an organisation or Government suppresses their voices (Tilly, 1978).

Smelser (1963) identified conditions for social movement development as structural strain, precipitating factors, structural conduciveness, trigger factors, spread of generalised beliefs and suggested way of remedying them. There is a need for regular communication, leadership, funding and material resources for the development of social movements. In addition, social control affects adversely the development of social movements (Leat, 2005).

In contrast to Smelser's analysis, Touraine's analysis argues that social movements may impulsively be developed to achieve the desired changes in a society rather than responding to situations. His study indicates that there has been an increase of social movements around the world. This is because people have come to realise that a couple of factors can bring about change. These factors include social activism, interaction towards the shaping of social movements, and rational strategies and objectives in regards to how injustices can be overcome (Touraine, 1981).

The development of social movements can be accomplished through foundations that aim to adopt the approaches of the movements to achieving societal change. A particular theory of social movement may determine exactly how a foundation may achieve this. For example, the theory by Smelser (1963), would suggest that a foundation should focus more on promoting leadership, funding and material resources and means of communication. On the other hand, Touraine's theory might suggest promoting the idea of interactions between social movements and social activism (Leat, 2005).

2.4.1.3 Social Conflict

Social conflict theory argues that individuals and groups of social classes within society have differing amounts of material and non-material resources, such as wealthy versus the poor. For instance, in paying rent towards housing, Karl Marx (1818-1883) argues that this relationship is unequal and favours the owners, since the renters may pay rent for 50 years and still gain absolutely no right or economic interest with the property. This is the type of relationship which Karl Marx (1818-1883) will use to show that social relationships are about power and exploitation. Marxism argues that human history is all about this conflict, a result of the strong-rich exploiting the poor-weak.

According to Karl Marx (1818-1883) in all stratified societies there are two major social groups: a ruling class and a subject class. The ruling class derives its power from its ownership and control of the forces of production. It exploits and oppresses the subject class and as a result there is a basic conflict of interest between the two classes. The various institutions of society such as the legal and political system are instruments of ruling class domination and serve to further its interests

The social conflict theory states that groups within a capitalist society tend to interact in a destructive way, which allows no mutual benefit and little cooperation. The solution that Marxism proposes to this problem is that of a workers' revolution to break the political and economic domination of the capitalist class with the aim of re-organising society along the lines of collective ownership and mass democratic control.

This theory does address the issues of social classes where social relationship is about power where legal and political systems are instruments of ruling class domination and thus does not address the issues of ethnic diversity which is never determined by power nor material.

2.4.2   Conflict Theory
The four traditional but unsatisfactory ways in which conflicts between two parties are handled; A wins, B loses; B wins, A loses; The solution is postponed because neither A nor B feels ready to end the conflict; A confused compromise is reached, which neither A nor B are happy with.

This is certainly true of the conflicts in South Sudan, where since the 2013/14 conflicts, peace agreements have been signed, but either of the parties is never committed and there is bleaching of these agreements, which has made it impossible for the conflict to end.

Galtung tries to break with these four unsatisfactory ways of handling a conflict by finding a fifth way, where both A and B feel that they win. The method also insists that basic human needs, such as survival, physical well-being, liberty and identity, be respected (Galtung, 1973).

Lederach (1989) together with other conflict theorists and practitioners, do advocate the pursuit of "conflict transformation," as opposed to "conflict resolution" or "conflict management. Lederach asserts that "Conflict transformation" is different from the other two because it reflects a better understanding of the nature of conflict itself. "Conflict resolution" implies that conflict is

bad--hence something that should be ended and assumes that conflict is a short term phenomenon that can be "resolved" permanently through intervention processes such as mediation. "Conflict management" correctly assumes that conflicts are long term processes that often cannot be quickly resolved, but the notion of "management" suggests that people can be directed or controlled as though they were physical objects, and also suggests that its goal is the reduction or control of volatility more than dealing with the real source of the problem.

Conflict transformation, as described by Lederach, does not suggest that we simply eliminate or control conflict, but rather recognize and work with its "dialectic nature, meaning that social conflict is naturally created by humans who are involved in relationships, yet once it occurs, it changes/transforms those events, people, and relationships that created the initial conflict. Thus, the cause-and-effect relationship goes both ways, from the people and the relationships to the conflict and back to the people and relationships. In this sense, "conflict transformation" is a term that describes a natural occurrence, where Conflicts change relationships in predictable ways, altering communication patterns and patterns of social organization, altering images of the self and of the other.

Conflict transformation is also a prescriptive concept and suggests that left alone, conflict can have destructive consequences which can be modified or transformed so that self-images, relationships, and social structures improve as a result of conflict instead of being harmed by it. Usually this involves transforming perceptions of issues, actions, and other people or groups. Since conflict usually transforms perceptions by accentuating the differences between people and positions, effective conflict transformation can work to improve mutual understanding. Even

when people's interests, values, and needs are different, even non- reconcilable, progress has been made if each group gains a relatively accurate understanding of the other.

Transformation also involves transforming the way conflict is expressed. It may be expressed competitively, aggressively, or violently, or through nonviolent advocacy, conciliation, or attempted cooperation. Unlike many conflict theorists and activists, who perceive mediation and advocacy as being in opposition to each other, Lederach sees advocacy and mediation as being different stages of the conflict transformation process. Activism is important in early stages of a conflict to raise people's awareness of an issue. It uses nonviolent advocacy to escalate and confront the conflict and once awareness and concern is generated, then mediation can be used to transform the expression of conflict from "mutually destructive modes toward dialogue and interdependence." (Lederach, 1989)

Such transformation, Lederach suggests, must take place at both the personal and the systemic level. At the personal level, conflict transformation involves the pursuit of awareness, growth, and commitment to change which may occur through the recognition of fear, anger, grief, and bitterness. These emotions must be outwardly acknowledged and dealt with in order for effective conflict transformation to occur.

Galtung model was useful to the study in explaining the factors that influenced the continuous and repeated violence in Nakuru County as none of the groups would agree to loss while the other wins. Galtung method also insists that basic human needs, such as survival, physical well-being, liberty and identity, be respected.

Lederach, model befitted the study as it provided a general setting of understanding of conflict transformation instead of conflict resolution or management that involves transforming the way conflict is expressed, which may be expressed competitively, aggressively, or violently, or through nonviolent advocacy, conciliation, or attempted cooperation.

2.4.3. Structuralism Theory

Claude Levi-Strauss (1908-2009) whose work was key in the development of the theory of structuralism anthropology argued that the "savage" mind had the same structures as the "civilized" mind and that human characteristics are the same everywhere. Structuralism is the theory that argues that elements of human culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to a larger, overarching system or structure. It works to uncover the structures that underlie all the things that humans do, think, perceive, and feel. The Structuralism theorists are normally interested in identifying and analysing the structures that underlie all cultural phenomena.

Blackburn (2008), argues that structuralism is the belief that phenomena of human life are not intelligible except through their interrelations where these relations constitute a structure, and behind local variations in the surface phenomena there are constant laws of abstract culture.

Structuralism rejected the concept of human freedom and choice and focused instead on the way that human experience and thus, behavior, is determined by various structures

According to structural theory, meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture through various practices, phenomena and activities that serve as systems of signification. A structuralist approach may study activities as diverse as food-preparation and serving rituals, religious rites,

games, literary and non-literary texts, and other forms of entertainment to discover the deep structures by which meaning is produced and reproduced within the culture.

Accordingly Jakobson and others (2005) came up with another concept of structural theory where they analyzed sounds based on the presence or absence of certain features (such as voiceless vs. voiced). Strauss (1994) included this concept in his conceptualization of the universal structures of the mind, which he held to operate based on pairs of binary oppositions such as hot-cold, male-female, culture-nature and cooked-raw. Strauss argued that kinship systems are based on the exchange of women between groups as opposed to the 'descent'-based theory

Structuralism rejected the concept of human freedom and choice and focused instead on the way that human experience and thus, behavior, is determined by various structures.

Strauss in his volume, on the *Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1994), examined kinship systems from a structural point of view and demonstrated how apparently different social organizations were in fact different permutations of a few basic kinship structures.

Proponents of structuralism would argue that a specific domain of culture may be understood by means of a structure which is modelled on language that is distinct both from the organizations of reality and those of ideas or the imagination

Feminist theorist Assiter (1984) in a later development enumerated four ideas that she says are common to the various forms of structuralism. First, that a structure determines the position of each element of a whole. Second, that every system has a structure. Third, structural laws deal

with co-existence rather than change. Fourth, structures are the "real things" that lie beneath the surface or the appearance of meaning

According to Lett 1987, some concerns have been expressed as to the epistemological and theoretical assumptions of structuralism. The validity of structural explanations has been challenged on the grounds that structuralist methods are imprecise and dependent upon the observer. Lett poses the question of how independent structural analyses of the same phenomena could arrive at the same conclusions. The paradigm of structuralism is primarily concerned with the structure of the human psyche, and it does not address historical aspects or change in culture (Lett 1987, Rubel & Abraham 1996). This synchronic approach, which advocates a "psychic unity" of all human minds, has been criticized because it does not account for individual human action historically.

Structuralism has been criticized for its lack of concern with human individuality. Cultural relativists are especially critical of this because they believe structural "rationality" depicts human thought as uniform and invariable (Rubel & Abraham, 1996)

Ethnic conflict in Kenya is usually at its extreme during the elections period. However, it exists as a phenomenon occurring in many Kenyans' lives. With most acts of ethnic conflict aimed at individuals lacking or in possession of significant influence on the country's allocation of resources. Its targets are usually political leaders, civil leaders in the society, prominent businessmen, and ordinary citizens. Nonetheless, ethnic conflict is violence irrespective of its causes. The conceptual model sought to provide a perspective on political competition and ethnic conflict regardless of their roots.

2.4.4 Application

Social change theorists, like Macionis (2011) believe that for change to occur, a certain group of people must have certain characteristics. Deducing from the same argument, this study presupposes that, for ethnic conflict to be effectively managed or eliminated in the community, the community members must be well endowed with knowledge, skills and relevant attitudes.

Forms of social organisation or societies are largely determined by factors of the economy and the government should play a major role in social life on political influences. This was largely absent in the area of study as some respondent argued that the Government agents were largely distant if not absent such that they could readily attend to the grievances whenever they occurred. This is elaborated in chapters 4. 5, and 6. Social movement transpires because of irresolvable tensions and contractions in societies

Achievements in ethnic conflict resolution management in the community would be greatly influenced by the approaches the government adopts. This, Smelser (1963), suggests that a foundation may achieve by focusing more on promoting leadership funding and material resources and means of communication.

With reference to conflict theory, there are ways in which conflicts between two parties are handled which at times are not satisfactory. Basic human needs, such as survival, physical wellbeing, liberty and identity should be respected (Galtung, 1973).

Lederach (1989) together with other conflict theorists and practioners, do advocate the pursuit of conflict transformation which is a prescriptive concept. This suggests that left alone, conflict can have destructive consequences which can be modified or transformed so that self-images, relationships and social structures improve as a result of conflict instead of being harmed by it.

There was no trace from the respondents that any Government or non-governmental agent attempted to address simmering conflicts in this area hence left to play out in the destruction that was evident in this area. Such transformation must take place at both the personal and the Government structures.

Lederach model befitted the study as it provided a general setting of understanding of conflict transformation that involves transforming the way conflict is expressed; competitively, aggressively, or violently, conciliation or attempted cooperation.

Structuralism theorist are interested in identifying and analyzing the structures that underlie all cultural phenomenon. The theory argues that elements of human culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to a larger, overarching system or structure. As much a Kenya Government have very clear organiational structures, the degree to which they were manned and the seriousness with which the officers therein took their work, was found very wanting. Consequently, violence crept into this vacuum with devastating effect.

Social change, a social process whereby the values, attitudes, or institutions of the society become modified, is a significant alteration of social structures and cultural patterns through time.

Illustration is discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

2.4.5 Conceptual Model

The application of the study's theories; social change, conflict and structuralism theories, is diagrammatically represented in the conceptual model (Figure 2.1).

Independent Variable   **Dependent Variable**

| Political competition
- Political will
- Political rivalry
- Electioneering | | Ethnic Conflict
- Ethnic animosity
- Ethnic discrimination
- Ethnic rivalry |

Intervening Variables

- Unemployment
- Poverty
- Land ownership
- Ignorance
- Illiteracy
- Poor Security Systems
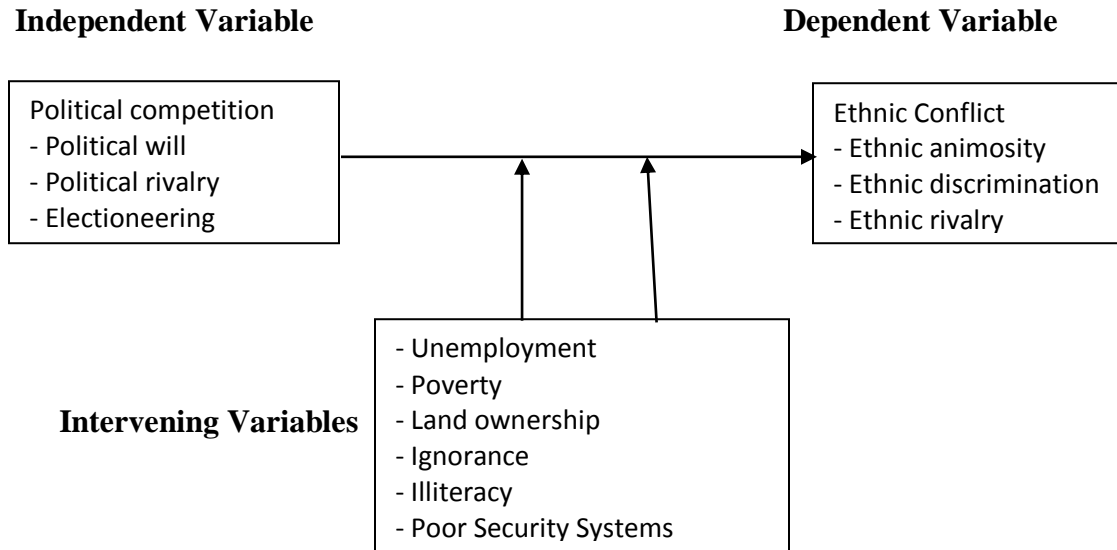
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Model on Political Competition and Ethnic Conflicts

Source: Researcher, 2016

The model takes into account the relationship in the community between the various stakeholder and the community members with an interest in resolving and managing of ethnic conflict especially during the electioneering period. The independent variable represent the issues which if well and effectively addressed would address cases with potential for conflict and violence in the community

Lack of political will and political rivalry amongst the candidates and electorates results to competition for elective positions prohibiting the values, attitudes or institutions of the society becoming modified.

The interplay of the intervening variables; high levels of unemployment, poverty, ignorance and illiteracy at the community levels, trigger ethnic animosity, ethnic discrimination as well as ethnic rivalry amongst the community members resulting to ethnic conflicts. The values and attitudes of the people in elections is changed or interfered with due to the significant alterations of social structures and cultural patterns through time.

Addressing the intervening variables is likely to reduce levels of ethnic conflict. These intervening variables includes unemployment rates, poverty levels, ignorance and illiteracy and poor security system. This ethnic conflict presents itself in form of ethnic animosity, ethnic discrimination as well as ethnic rivalry.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter describes the reviewed literature that formed the basis of this study. It has described the nature of political competition and its effects on socio-economic context on the residents of Nakuru County, who are affected differently. The chapter also reviewed literature on available possible solutions to ethnic conflict influenced by political competition. The chapter covered the conceptual framework which comprised of three theories, which are Social Change Theory, Conflict Theory and Structuralism Theory. The Conceptual Model showed the independent and dependent variables for the study and the intervening variables.

It was evident that Political Competition was the Independent variable. It is upon this that other aspects like conflict in the broad sense of the word arose. Ethnic conflict therefore is a product of the Political Competition, hence it became a Dependent variable.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research methodology, which is an analysis of and rationale for the particular method used to collect data. The chapter describes and justifies the choice of design, the population of study, the sample and the sampling techniques. It also discusses the data collection methods and the techniques used in analysing and presenting the data. Also discussed are limitations of the study and ethical considerations in the execution of the study.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is the general plan of how one goes about answering the research questions. A research design is the basic plan that helps one in answering the research questions (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009). Further, Donald (2006) notes that a research design is the structure of the research; it is the ''glue '' that holds all the elements in a research project together. The study was based on the descriptive research design, which is concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual, or a group, with specific predictions, with narration of facts and characteristics concerning individual, group or situation (Kothari, 2011). The descriptive design was ideal because the study involved different kinds of fact-finding enquiries and was important in description of the state of affairs as it existed at that particular moment.

It is important to highlight the two main methods when investigating and collecting data; quantitative and qualitative. The main focus of this study is quantitative. However, some qualitative approach were used in order to gain a better understanding and possibly enable a better and more insightful interpretation of the results from the quantitative study.

Descriptive research design is a systematic, empirical inquiry into which the researcher does not have direct control of independent variables as their manifestation has already occurred or because they inherently cannot be manipulated. Inferences about relationships between variables was made from concomitant variations of independent and dependent variables.

Descriptive research design was utilized in scenarios where it is expected that the researcher may be in access to a target group and have them either expound or describe certain elements regarding important variables of the study; which at times serves as the forerunner to elements of exploratory research (Saunders *et al*, 2009). According to Mugenda & Mugenda (1999), it is important and appropriate to use data where subjects are observed in natural set-ups without manipulating the environment.

The design was used when collecting information about people's attitudes and opinions. The research design was chosen because the study was not confined to the collection and description of the data, but sought to investigate and establish the existence of certain relationships among the variables under investigation. Hence, the design was selected to satisfy this aspect of the study. It was an efficient way to obtain information needed to describe the attitudes, opinions, and views of the people in the establishment of the dynamics of political competition and ethnic strife within Nakuru County in Kenya.

3.2 Study Area

The study area is Nakuru County, which is in the Rift Valley Region, Kenya, and has a population of 1,603,325, comprising 50.2% males and 49.8% females (2009 census), and occupies an area of 7,496.8km^2. It is the fourth largest County in Kenya after Nairobi, Kakamega, and Kiambu in that order in terms of population. It borders Kiambu County to the

East, Baringo County to the North, Kericho County to the West, Laikipia County to the North East, Nyandarua County to the East, Narok County to the South West and Kajiado County to the South. It has eleven sub-counties, which are Naivasha, Nakuru town, Njoro, Subukia, Gilgil, Kuresoi North, Kuresoi South, Molo, Rongai and Subukia and Nakuru North (KNBS, 2013).

Nakuru County is the main economic and agricultural centre of the Kenyan Rift Valley region. Located in the Great Rift Valley, the County is a rich agricultural region with rich farming areas, and various tourist attractions, such as, soda lakes and craters. The economic activities in Nakuru County include large-scale farming, horticultural farming, agro-forestry, industries, and tourism. It is a County inhabited by various ethnic groups including Kikuyu, Kisii, Maasai, Kalenjin, Kamba, Luo and Baluhya. Kikuyu and Kalenjin are the dominant ethnic groups with substantial numbers of Kisii, Luo and Kamba (Republic of Kenya, 2009). It has been the scene of periodic violence since 1992.

Being cosmopolitan and a strategic region geographically, economically and politically, Nakuru County attracted unprecedented focus by the contending political parties during the 1992-2008 general elections and has been affected by post-election violence for many years. Fighting intensified during general election years held in 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007 and in 2005, when the national referendum on the country's constitution was held. Being an epicentre of ethnic-instigated election violence in the multiparty era, the area was, therefore, the most appropriate among the hot spots of post-election violence to bring out the objectives of the research. This adds more knowledge on reasons of the continued inter-ethnic rivalry, and have findings which can be generalised to capture the inter-ethnic conflict in the country
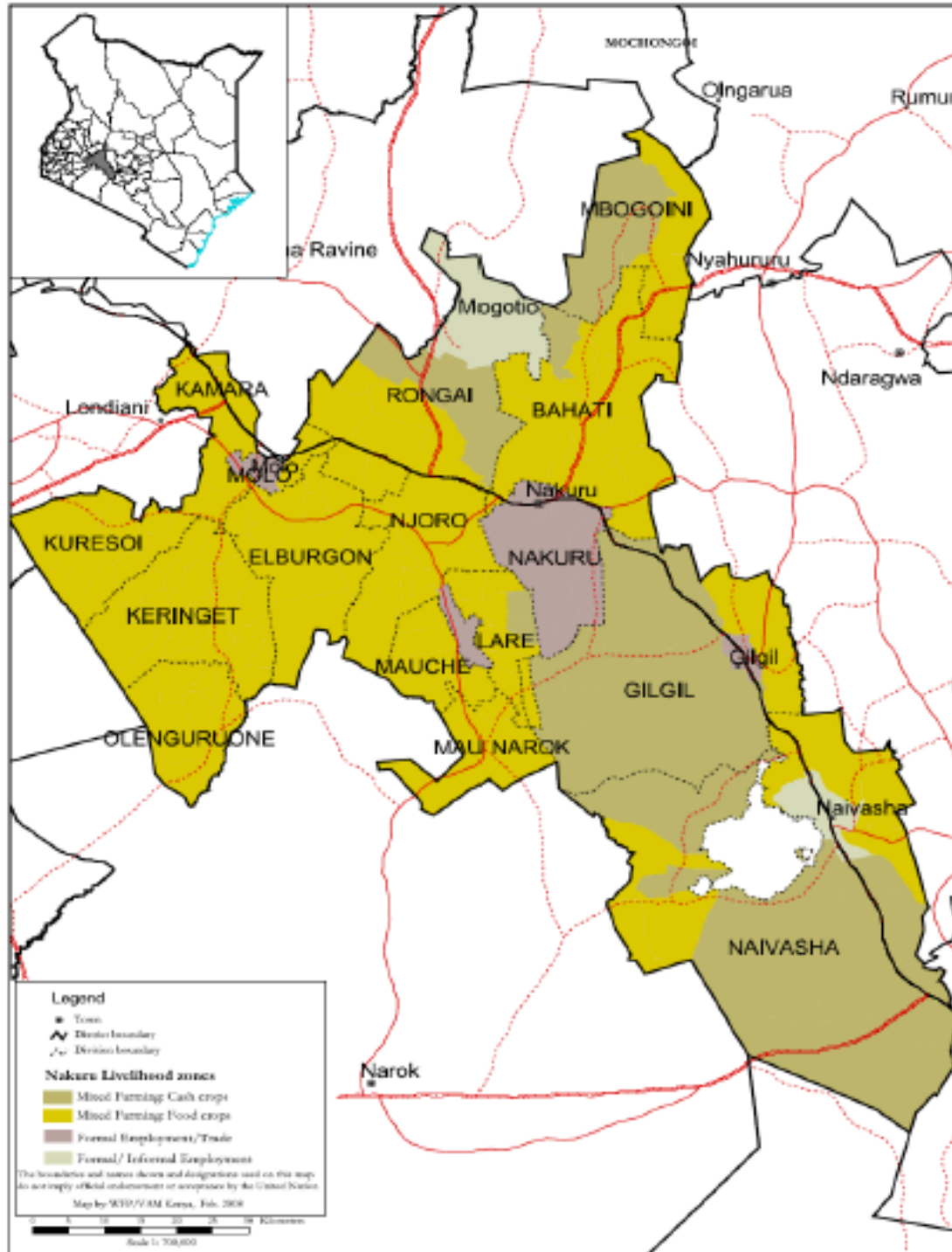
Figure 3.1: Map of Kenya showing Nakuru County and its Sub-counties

Source: http://www.kenyampya.com/

3.3 Study Population

Study population within statistics is the specific population about which information is desired. According to McBurney & White (2010), a population is a well-defined or set of people, services, elements, events, and group of things or households that are being investigated. Saunders *et. al* (2009) supports this by stating that a population is "the full set of cases from which a sample is taken." Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) lay further claim in that population studies are more representative because every item has equal chance to be included in the final sample that is drawn. Nakuru County has a population of 1,603,325, comprising of 50.2% males and 49.8% females, a population density of 213.9 people per KM^2, a national percentage of 4.15% and an annual growth of 3.4% (2009 Kenya Census).

The study population composed of six categories that were used within this study. One of the categories comprised of Nakuru County residents who included men, women and children who reside in the County, from a population of 1,227,770 in the four Sub-Counties. The second category comprised of nine Members of County Assembly (MCAs) from the four Sub-Counties, two from each and one nominated while the third category comprised of eight Religious leaders who were purposively selected, two from each of the four different religious groups operating within the Sub-Counties which were, Muslims, Catholics, Protestants and Pentecostals. The fourth category was from the nine CSOs operating in the area, where four were purposively selected for having been actively involved during conflicts and in peace building initiatives. Two representatives from each were randomly selected with assistance from the National Steering Committee, a Secretariat in the Ministry of Interior Coordination based in Nakuru County. The sixth category was comprised of the local government administrators, chiefs and assistant chiefs. From a total of 50 chiefs and 118 assistant chiefs, four chiefs and four sub-chiefs

were randomly selected one from each sub-county with the assistance from the Deputy County Commissioners in each Sub-County. This population was chosen since each member within the groups was expected to have witnessed ethnic conflict at one point in time in the County. This is tabulated in Table 3.3.

3.4 Sampling Design

The sampling design is a design or a working plan that specifies the sampling unit, sampling frame, sampling procedures, and the sample size for the study. Objective of sampling design is to know the characteristic of the population (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2009) The sampling frame describes the list of all population units from which the sample was selected (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). Kotler *et al.* (2006) argued that if well chosen, samples of about 10% of a population can give good reliability. Since the goal in this research is to describe and interpret rather than to generalise, there are no hard rules about how many participants should be included in the study (Lichtman 2010). Singleton & Rice (1975) in Orodho (2009) observes that the extreme lower limit is generally 30 cases for statistical analysis, although most social researchers would probably recommend at least 100. From the above population, a sample was selected within each group in proportionate numbers of the whole using the stratified random sample, which gave every item within the population a fair chance of being selected. Random selection was determined objectively by means of random number tables. This is so because most of the respondents were affected directly or indirectly, and the selection of the sample was considered representative of each stratum, cost effective and cheaper beside the restricted time within which the analysis was to be done. According to Cooper and Schindler (2003), random sampling frequently minimizes the sampling error in the population. This in turn increases the precision of any estimation methods used.

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3.5. Sampling procedure

Sampling is the process of systematically selecting representative elements of a population and is advantageous because it helps the researcher to draw generalizations, improve effectiveness, and reduce bias (Kendall & Kendall, 2005). According to Ngau & Kumssa (2004), there are more chances of making errors when dealing with the entire population as opposed to a sample. In addition to its advantages, sampling is carried out because it is impossible, impractical or extremely expensive to collect data from all the members of study population (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). To benefit from the advantages of sampling, the researcher used probability and non-probability sampling procedures. The probability sampling procedures used were systematic and simple random sampling while purposive sampling was used as a non-probability sampling procedure.

A multi-stage cluster sampling procedure was used during this survey. First, four sub-counties of Nakuru County, were included where ethnic conflict had been experienced. These were Molo, Nakuru, Naivasha, and Kuresoi. Others were excluded due to the fact that they did not experience as much violence as the four and had a dominant ethnic community. For instance Rongai, where majority of the residents are from the Kikuyu ethnic community, was used for resettling IDPs who came from even other parts of the Country. Policy implementers in Nakuru County and residents from the other sub-counties may need to understand how the Rongai residents are able to co-exist. The study used purposive sampling method in getting the hotspots of each sub-County. The identification of the sub-counties and the hotspots was done with the assistance of the County Commissioner's office. The following were identified as the hotspots for the four sub-counties.; **Molo**- Matumaini, Sachangwan, Kiambiriria, Nyandera, Elburgon and

Marishoni; **Kuresoi** - Kamara, Keringet, Nyota and Olengurone; **Nakuru** - Rhoda, Kaptembwa, Freearea, and Githima; **Naivasha** - Karagita, Kabati Mai Mahiu, Suburbs and Maela

Three hotspots were purposively selected from each Sub-County independently based on the magnitude of the ethnic conflicts that had been experienced. This was done with assistance of Deputy County Commissioners in each Sub-County.

In every hotspot, 3 starting points with unique identity, such as school, bus stop, a physical feature (tree), boda boda shed etc, were identified making sure that all the population within the hotspot were represented. The researcher then selected the household systematically where every fifth household on the left was selected for interview. In case the household had no occupants at that time, the researcher replaced with the immediate household. If the interview was successful, then the researcher moved to the next fifth household to the left. The researcher kept on to the left after every interview which formed kind of a circle. This enabled the researcher to avoid repeating or going back to the same households.

Simple random sampling procedure was used to get respondent from the household. This method involves giving a number to every subject or member of the accessible population, placing the numbers in a container and then picking any number at random (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2009). The researcher wrote all the names of the persons above 16 years of age present in the household in separate papers, with the target in mind, folded them and put them in a container, swirled the container and picked one slip, then unfolded to reveal the name of the person to be interviewed. The researcher used simple random sampling procedure to sample MCAs and Local administrators, CSOs and religious leaders in Nakuru County. Purposive sampling was also used to get members to participate in the FGDs from the CSOs, who were considered *as par* the

positions they held in these organisations and especially those in decision making positions, and residents (men and women). According to Mugenda & Mugenda (1999), purposive sampling allows a researcher to pick from the population samples that are either knowledgeable in a particular area or possess required characteristics for his/her study.

3.6 Sample Size

The total population of the four sub-counties, based on 2009 Constituency Population Distribution by Gender as provided by Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), was used to compute the desired sample size. The selection of the respondents was done using a sampling approach with a statistical significance at the 95% confidence level and 5% confidence interval.

Table 3.1: 2009 Constituency Population Distributions by Gender

Name of Sub-County	Males	Females	Total
Molo	150,618	152,000	302,618
Naivasha	190,082	186,161	376,243
Nakuru	156,565	152,859	309,424
Kuresoi	121,336	118,149	239,485
Total	**618,601**	**609169**	**1,227,770**

Source: Kenya Population and Housing Census (KPHC, 2009)

Sampling Formula

$s = X^2 \, NP \, (1-P) \div d^2 \, (N-1) + X^2 \, P \, (1-P).$

s = required sample size.

X^2 = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841).

N = the population size. (**1227770**)

P = the population proportion (estimated to be 0.5).

d = the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (0.05).

(Krejcie & Morgan, 1970)

The sample size was 384 for the Nakuru residents according to our sampling formulae, which was equally distributed to all sub-counties. Among the local government administratorss interviewed 5 of them were assistant chiefs. This was significant for this study for them being the leaders closer to the community members and easily accessible and therefore better placed to share their experiences and opinions. The chiefs were 3 while the Members of County Assembly were 9, which included 1 nominated and 8 elected. The Chiefs and County Assembly members were not easily accessible due to their busy schedule unlike the assistant chiefs who would be within the community as they go about their daily duties. Members of religious groups were 8, two each from mainstream religious groups, catholic, protestant, muslim and pentocoastals, while members of CSOs operating within the county were 8. This gave a total of 417 respondents. The distribution of the sample size was as in table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2 Sample size per Sub-County using available Sampling Procedures

Sub-County	Men, Women & Children	MCAs	Administrators	Religious Leaders	CSOs
Molo	96	2	2	2	2
Naivasha	96	2	2	2	2
Nakuru	96	3	2	2	2
Kuresoi	96	2	2	2	2
Total	**384**	**9**	**8**	**8**	**8**

Source: Researcher, 2016

3.7 Data Collection

The researcher endeavoured to collect both primary and secondary data. Trochim (2006) asserts that, primary data consists of a collection of original data gathered from research subjects or experiments by the researcher. Secondary data involves the summary, collation and/or synthesis of existing research (Crouch & Housden, 2003).

3.7.1 Data collection instruments

The source of the data was both primary and secondary. Primary data was gathered using questionnaires, focus group discussions (FGDs) and interview schedules. The research tools were two questionnaires, two interview schedules and three FGDs guide. Secondary data was obtained by revising literature.

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3.7.1.1 Questionnaires

The researcher used questionnaires as primary data collection instruments. According to Sproul (1988), a self-administered questionnaire is the only way to elicit self-report on people's opinion, attitudes, beliefs, and values.

Questionnaires were considered a suitable method of data collection because they allowed the researcher to reach a larger sample within limited time (Orodho, 2003). They also ensured confidentiality and thus gathered more candid and objective replies. The questionnaire questions were both open ended and structured (Appendices I & II)

The questionnaires were designed to give a brief introduction of respondents. The questionnaires were divided into sections representing the various variables adopted for the study. Each section of the chosen study included closed structured and open-ended questions, which sought the views, opinions, and attitudes from the respondents, which might not have been captured by the researcher. The questions were designed to collect qualitative and quantitative data. The open-ended questions gave unrestricted freedom of answer to respondents. The researcher used assistants to administer the questionnaires to the men and women.

3.7.1.2 Interview Schedule

To solicit answers from children, the local Government administrators, and elected Government officials, the researcher used the interview schedules, which is a face-to-face encounter with the respondents (Appendices III, & IV respectively). The interview schedule guided the researcher on the questions to administer to the respondents. The interviews were semi-structured and were used to gather data from Chiefs, Assistant Chiefs, and MCAs because they were the key informants by virtue of being state actors. The researcher also used the interview guide for the

FGDs with the residents and CSOs and religious leaders (Appendices V & VI respectively). This also gave the researcher a chance to use probing techniques to get in depth information in case there was need for any clarification.

3.7.1.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards a product, service, concept etc. Questions are asked in an interactive group setting where informants are free to talk with other group members. FGD is an interview, conducted by a trained moderator among a small group of informants. The interview is conducted in an instructed and natural way where informants are free to give views from any aspect. Participants are recruited on the basis of similar demographic or behaviours (Thomas, 2000).

The strength of FGD relies on allowing the informants to agree or disagree with each other so that it provides an insight into how a group thinks about an issue, about the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistence and variations that exist in a particular community in terms of belief and their experiences and practices. This method of data collection was, therefore, more suitable than any other to collect data in one sitting from men and women, members of CSOs and religious leaders while allowing them to mingle freely and express themselves (Appendices V, VI & VII respectively). The FGDs were structured in a way that they allowed further probing wherever clarification was necessary. According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), structured interviews have advantages such as the reliability of the information being high, giving in-depth information about particular cases, are systematic and time saving.

3.7.1.4 Observation

This is a type of data collection method typically done in qualitative research. A researcher utilises an observation checklist to record what he or she observes during data collection. First, the researcher must define the behaviours to be observed and then develop a detailed list of behaviours. During data collection, the researcher checks off each as it occurs. This permits the observer to spend time thinking about what is occurring rather than on how to record it and this enhances the accuracy of the study (Mugenda and Mugenda 2009). This method was used in specific areas within the area of study (Plate 6, 7 and 8)

The researcher observed and took photographs of some of the houses, shops and hotels that were burnt down or destroyed during the conflicts. This field evidence (Plate 6) was to support the information collected from the respondents on the destruction and loss experienced during the violence.

The people who had been displaced from their homes had relocated to Shalom and Bakita IDP camps in Rongai sub-county which were believed to be more save. The researcher could not access the IDP camps to collect evidence because they were not within the area of study.

People lost their lives and where some of them were buried, there was no physical evidence as the ground had been flattened. Therefore, the researcher could not collect evidence from the field.

3.7.2 Data collection procedures

The data collection procedure represents the actual information that was obtained for the purpose of the study. The questionnaires were administered by the research assistants to the respondents while the interview guide was administered by the researcher, who filled them in. Secondary data

was collected from other past data that had been collected and tabulated through graphs, charts, and reports. This data was collected from reference materials, which had key information and was helpful to this study. Secondary data was obtained through desk research, libraries, journals and various research related organisations. Table 3.3 is a summary of the population and sample size, methods used in sampling and in data collection.

Table3.3. Population, sample size, sampling and data collection method

POPULATION	SIZE	SAMPLING METHOD	SAMPLE SIZE	DATA COLLECTION METHOD
Residents	1227770	Simple Random sampling	384	Questionnaires/FGD
MCAs	74	Simple random sampling	9	Interview Schedule
CSOs groups	9	Purposive sampling	8	Questionnaires/FGD
Religious Leaders	30	Purposive sampling	8	Questionnaires/FGD
Administrators (Chiefs &Sub-chiefs)	168	Simple random sampling	8	Interview Schedule

Source: Researcher, 2016

3.8. Validity and Reliability of Data Collection Instruments

The researcher maintained a good rapport and cordial relationship in the interview setting. The assistance of the supervisors was sought. To ensure the reliability and validity of the data collection instruments, the researcher used the following:

3.8.1 Pilot study

The researcher carried out a pilot study to pre-test and validate the questionnaires and the interview guides. According to Cooper & Schindler (2003), the pilot group can range from 25 to 100 subjects depending on the method to be tested but it does not need to be statistically selected. This was in line with a qualitative research design methodology employed in this research proposal.

The pilot data was not included in the actual study. The pilot study allowed the pre-testing of the research instruments. The clarity of the instrument items to the respondents was established so as to enhance the instruments' validity and reliability. The pilot study enabled the researcher to be familiar with research and its administration procedure as well as identifying items that require modification. The result helped the researcher to correct inconsistencies that arose from the instruments, which ensured that they measured what was intended.

3.8.2 Validity

According to Somekh & Lewin (2005), validity is the degree by which the sample of test items represents the content the test is designed to measure. Content validity that is employed by this study is a measure of the degree to which data collected using a particular instrument represents a specific domain or content of a particular concept. Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) contend that the usual procedure in assessing the content validity of a measure is to use a professional or expert in a particular field. To establish the validity of the research instruments, the researcher sought opinions of experts in the field of study especially the supervisors. This facilitated the necessary revision and modification of the research instruments thereby enhancing validity. To ensure validity, data triangulation was employed through collection from multiple sources including interviews, and document analysis. To assess the content validity, the researcher

revised the research instruments and its content for accuracy while construct validity was achieved through the use of different research instruments to gauge its suitability.

3.8.3 Reliability

Mugenda & Mugenda (1999), defines reliability as a measure of degree to which a research instrument yield consistent results or data after repeated trials. According to Walliman (2001), reliability refers to the consistency of measurement and is frequently assessed using the test–retest reliability method. Reliability is increased by including many similar items on a measure, by testing a diverse sample of individuals and by using uniform testing procedures. The researcher selected a pilot group of 25 individuals from the target population to test the reliability of the research instruments. This was achieved by first stratifying the individuals according to their respective respondent variable. The researcher also put in consideration gender equity and geographical background of individuals, taking to consideration that there were four Sub-Counties from which the respondents were drawn from.

3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation

Analysis of data is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision making (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000). Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed in data analysis. Qualitative analysis uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest in a quest for illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Stenbacka, 2001). Quantitative analysis seeks a causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings (Patton, 2001). A quantitative approach is strongly linked to deductive

testing of theories through hypotheses, where a known theory is explored or tested if it is valid in a given circumstance, (Beiske, 2007). A qualitative approach to research is concerned with inductive testing, where there is generation of a new theory emerging from the data (Saunders *et al,* 2009).

The responses obtained were categorized according to specific objectives. Qualitative analysis involved interpretation of meaning in texts and images. The items of analysis were voices and texts. Statistical and thematic analysis of texts was done using numeric data as items of analysis to interpret meanings in texts, frequencies and percentages.

Likert type scale items were analyzed depending on whether they were favourable or unfavourable. Those favouring the argument were analyzed using the order that depicted Strongly Agree (SA) as having the highest weight and Strongly Disagree (SD) having the least weight. For items that did not favour the argument analysis was done in reverse order where Strongly Disagree (SD) had the greatest weight and Strongly Agree (SA) least weight.

Inferential data such as charts and frequency tables were basically applied in the presentation of findings by use of SPSS in all objectives. Quantitative analysis was used to interpret patterns in numeric data using graphs, tables and diagrams as items of analysis.

3.10 Limitations of the Study

There were anticipated limitations to this study due to the sensitive nature that the topic in question was likely to cause.

One such reason was the fear of getting accurate information due to the fear of presenting views that may have seemed to be negative to a perceived hostile society. This was countered by

explaining to the respondents the confidentiality of the information gotten from them and use of the same for my academic purposes only. The highly political and contentious nature of the study may have led to tailoring of responses by some interviewees. They could present biased or distorted responses for various reasons, regardless of the level of professionalism of the researchers. Consequently, this was taken into consideration to avoid presenting uncorroborated findings when addressing certain individuals during the research.

The local Government administrators and residents samples were the most difficult to gather data from. Most of them either: did not return the questionnaire as agreed; asked for payment in order to complete; or, failed to complete all sections especially the open-ended ones.

The researcher thus diagnosed unit non-response and item non-response as two of the most likely challenges in collecting adequate research data. Berinsky (2008) and Dillman, *et al*., (2002) define unit non-response as a situation where, there is lack of completion of any part of the survey; and, item non-response as resulting from submission or participation in survey but failing to complete one or more components or questions of the survey tools. The researcher safeguarded against the possibility to meet the target of valid questionnaires by increasing the number issued to administrators by two and those issued to the residents by ten.

The other limitation to this survey was the reluctance and inaccessibility of the Provincial administrators and police officers who also were transitory and therefore did not have historical/institutional memory.

To minimise these anticipated limitations, the researcher endeavoured to explain to the participants the importance of the study. The interviews were carried out on individuals and not on groups to protect the privacy of the information given and also minimise the chances of

interviewees either distorting or giving biased responses. All participants were briefed about the seriousness of ethnic conflict as an emerging threat and how cumulative effects may affect the society. This helped to stimulate the interviewees to participate in the research. In compensation to Provincial administrators and Police officers, the researcher was able to talk to the chiefs, assistant chiefs and community elders, who were residents and understood issues of the community members.

Although it is recognised that ethnic communities are a universal phenomenon, this study was limited to investigating the ethnic conflicts within Kenya. Furthermore, it was limited in examining the role of ethnicity and violence that have largely emanated from the periods around elections that pit ethnic communities against each other. While the study was recognisant that there are at least forty-two ethnic communities in Kenya, this study did not elaborate on each of these communities. Rather, the study examined some of the main ethnic communities as an illustration of the construction and use of ethnicity in Kenya's political arena. Due to limited time and resources, the study did not expound on these periods of political competition and ethnic conflicts to great details.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) point out that the term 'ethics' in research refers to questions of what is right and wrong in relation to conducting a particular study or carrying out certain procedures so that a researcher is clear on whether there are some kind of studies that should not be conducted. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), most ethical issues in research fall into one of four categories: protection from harm, informed consent, right to privacy, and honesty

with professional colleagues. The study was careful to safeguard against these ethical issues by putting a number of relevant measures in place.

Before going to the field to collect data, the researcher, through the School of Graduate Studies (SGS) applied to the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovations (NACOSTI) for a permit to collect data from residents in four sub-counties in Nakuru County. This is attached as Appendices II. The researcher, upon being granted permission, reported to the Nakuru County Commissioner and the County Director of Education for further permission to conduct research in their areas of jurisdiction, as attached in Appendices III & IV respectively. Once permission was granted at the County level, the researcher visited the sampled sub-counties and sought permission from the sub-county directors for introduction and familiarisation. The second visit was for distribution of questionnaires to the residents, while the third visit was for conducting interviews with the FGDs, document analysis and collection of the completed questionnaires.

The researcher ensured that study participants had informed consent. They were given adequate information on the purpose of the study and requested to participate voluntarily. The research was conducted on the condition of anonymity. To allay fears of victimized by the administration owing to their contributions in the study, they were guaranteed of their right to privacy by being assured that: their contributions were anonymous; for research purposes only; and, the County/sub-county administration would not be made privy to the findings and were not required to write their names or personal identification numbers on the questionnaires. The questionnaires carried this disclaimer.

3.12 Assumptions
The following were the assumptions of the study:

    i.   All intervening variables in the study remained constant.

ii.   All the respondents were honest and gave sincere responses.

iii.   The data collected were accurately recorded and analysed.

iv.   The chosen sample was representative of the total population.

3.13 Chapter Summary

The chapter describes the research methodology and procedures that were used for data collection, analysis and writing, in this study. The descriptive research design was used to study the various respondent responses as per how they perceived the dynamism of political completion and ethnic conflict in Kenya. The target population was 1.6 million respondents and the study sampled and selected a sample of 417 respondents using probability and non-probability sampling methods. The main data collection instrument was the questionnaire, which was designed by the researcher. Others were interview schedules and focus group discussions. The draft questionnaire was pre-tested by picking a 14.2 percent representation from the sample population before the final questionnaires were administered to the respondents under study. The chapter also explains the validity and reliability of data, limitations and assumptions of the study. The chapter also explains data analysis techniques that were used, mainly Microsoft Excel, which was analysed in accordance with SPSS version 17 and findings were presented in the form of measures of distribution, percentages, frequencies, pie-charts and bar-graphs.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURE OF POLITICAL COMPETITION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents research findings and discussions on the nature of political competition experienced in Nakuru County. To achieve this objective, the researcher included the demographic information of the informants who included the Nakuru residents, CSOs, religious leaders, chiefs and sub chiefs.

The demographic information included gender, level of education, work experience, position they held in the community and year they experienced violence. This information was important in choosing the focus group discussion participants so as to have representatives who would articulate their experiences well.

The gender of the participants was important in comparing the responses for the males and the females. This was important because the conflicts have different impacts on the males and the females, based on their gender. The level of education was helpful for the self-administered questionnaires. Respondent's work experience in the area was helpful in comparing the experiences for the different periods of violence. The demographic information enabled the researcher to differentiate between different subgroups where the segmentation offered insights that would have been missed out by only looking at the aggregated data.

The other element of this chapter was on nature of political competition and ethnic conflict in Nakuru County and also the political competition experienced in the county.

4.2 Demographic Information

Included in this component is the respondents; gender, work experience, level of education, age and position they held.

4.2.1 Respondents' Gender

The total numbers of resident respondents interviewed in Nakuru County was 368. Men interviewed were 210(57.1%) of the total respondents, while women were 158(42.9%). ADuring these conflicts, men have been the main target for the rival group and have also been the main perpetrators and therefore had more information than the women. Men are also the heads of the family and many of the decisions made at the family and community levels were made by men. Gender in this survey was very important in getting to know the number of men and women who participated in the survey , because the opinions given by men is very different from the one given by women. This is because their perceptions are different and a person's gender has a huge effect on their way of thinking thus heavily influencing the results of the survey. Gender was also important in this survey because the conflicts had different impact on men and women based on their gender, and therefore it was important to capture their opinions. From the study findings, the men were either the main target by the perpetrators, since they were believed to provide security to the targets and were also perpetuating violence. The women were raped, mutilated or used as human shield by the perpetrators and therefore their experiences and opinions were different. Figure 4.1 represents the percentages by gender of the resident respondents:

Gender of the Respondents
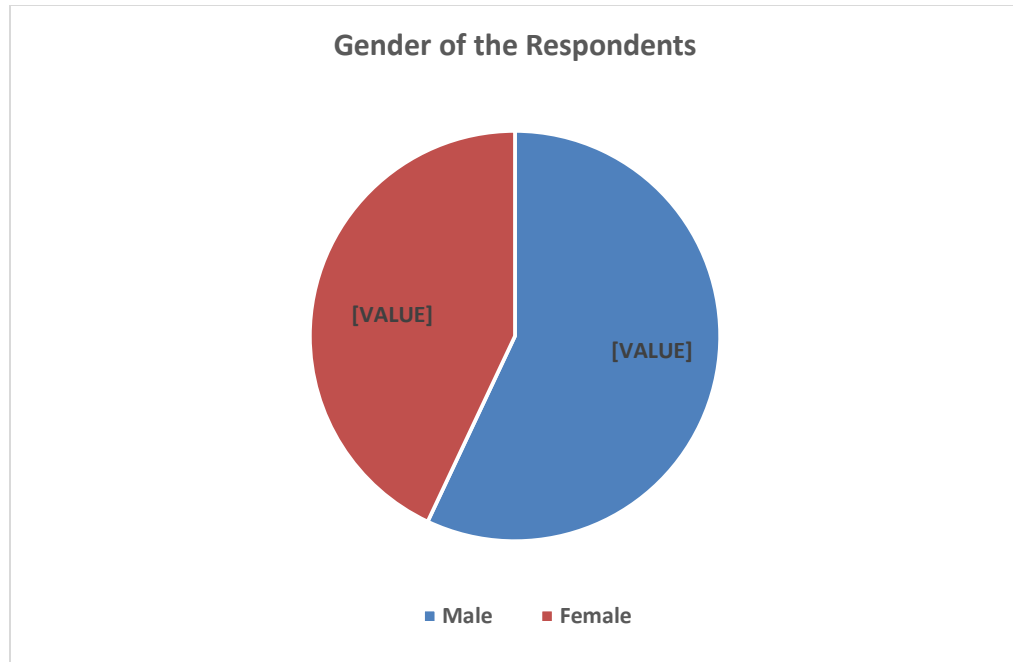
Figure 4.1: Gender Distribution of the Resident Respondent

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.2 Residents' Work Experience

The respondents were asked about their work experience and almost half of the respondents during the survey indicated that they had more than 10 years work experience. This was equivalent to 156(42.5%) of the total residents who participated in the study. This was very important because these are residents who have witnessed more than two election periods and therefore would have more information regarding ethnic conflict experienced in the area during these electioneering periods. Another 106 (28.8%) indicated that they had below 5 years experience, which implies that these respondent may not have experienced political violence during the election period as residents of Nakuru County, as they were non-residents or too young. There were 32(8.7%) of the respondents who had no response to the question. This implied that they did not want to disclose their experiences. Another 63(17.2%) of the

respondents had an experience of between 6 to 10 years. Therefore, they may have experienced one or two political violence. During the survey, majority of the respondents were found to be locals who have lived and worked in the County all their life. Those with few years of experience were mainly the young people and those who had migrated from other parts of the County to the sub-county headquaters during the other previous election violence. Majority of the farmers and traders interviewed did not respond as they were self employed. Figure 4.2 represents the percentages of the respondents with different work experiences.

Figure 4.2: Respondents' work experience

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.3 Residents' Level of Education

The study established that from the 368 respondents, 160(43.4%) had secondary school education as their highest level of education. This is almost half of the total respondents and were in formal employment. This was followed by those with primary school education who were 94(25.5%) of the respondents, majority of whom were self-employed. Another 151(41.1%)

of the respondent had attained higher education than secondary school education. These respondents were in formal employment and others were self employed. Of the remaining, 53(14.3%) had certificate, 47(12.9%) had a diploma and 9(2.5%) had a degree and only 5(1.4%) had a Masters degree. Majority of those who had atained higher education than secondary school were working in different Government and private sectors. For those with diplomas and certificate, some had formal employment while others were in business or farming. Figure 4.3 is a representation of the respondents levels of education:
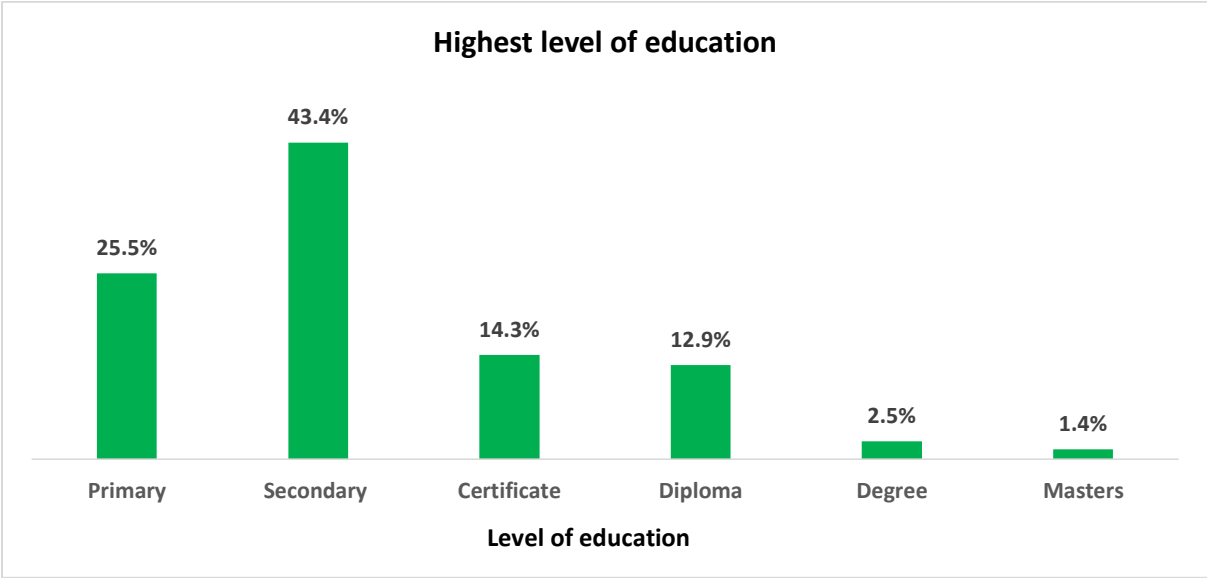
Figure 4.3: Respondent's highest level of education

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.4 Residents' Age

From the total 368 respondents, the findings revealed that the respondents were aged above 18 years with about 93(25.1%) aged between 26- 35years. These respondents had experienced at least one electioneering period in their lifetime as grown ups while the other times were young and could not really comprehend the issues well. They were in a position to share their

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experiences and opinions on ethnic conflict experienced in Nakuru County comparing the two different times.

Another 68(18.5%) were aged between 18 and 25years, these had experienced only one electioneering period as grown ups while the other times they had experienced the conflicts as young children. From the total, 56(15.1%) were aged above 55 years. These respondents had experienced ethnic conflicts in the County from 1992 and even gave a comparison of the events that took place in each. Those aged between 36-40 years were 52(14%) of the total men and women residents interviewed, while 33(9%) were aged between 41-45 years. Another 21(5.8%) were aged between 46-50 year and 46(12.4%) were aged between 51-55 years. From the above information, about 208(56.4%) of the men and women interviewed were aged above 35 year and had thus witnessed the ethnic violence in the County during electioneering period more than once for the years between 1992 and 2007/8 and therefore were able to give responses and comparisons from their experiences. These differences in age for the respondents correlated to differences in opinions given by the respondents. Figure 4.4 is a representation of of the residents age blacket
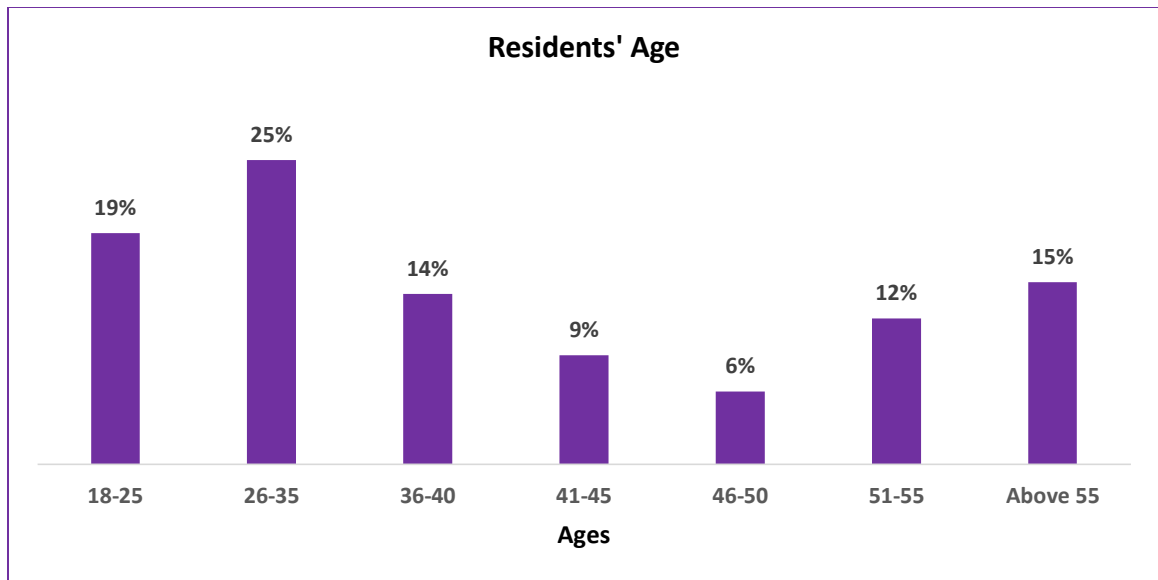
Residents' Age

Figure 4.4: Residents' Age

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.5 Children Demographic Information

The study sought to determine background information of the children respondents including gender and level of education during the time they experienced the violence.

4.2.5.1 Children Respondent gender

All the children were aged between 16 and 18 years and were currently attending secondary level of education and had experienced political violence and ethnic conflict in their life. The total number of children involved in the study was 16. It was important to seek the opinion of the children though they may have been young during these conflict but it was important to know the impact of the same on their lives and especially the 2007/2008 conflicts which had the highest number of casualties and damage. Out of the total children interviewed the male constituted 9(54.5%) while the females were 7(45.5%). The children's gender was very important in the study in that the impact of these conflicts was very different for each. The study revealed that the

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older boys were involved as they were targeted by the perpetrators in order to weaken the resistance of their targets and to also weaken family lineage. At the same time the older boys were used to perpetuate violence by the perpetrators. It was therefore very important to get their experiences and opinions about the conflicts. On the other hand, girls were raped, mutilated or used as human shield. Through these experiences, witnessing their people suffer, it further goes to explain the intensity of the conflict both in short and long term. Figure 4.5 gives a representation of the children respondents by gender.

Gender of respondent

45.5%   54.5%

■ Male
■ Female
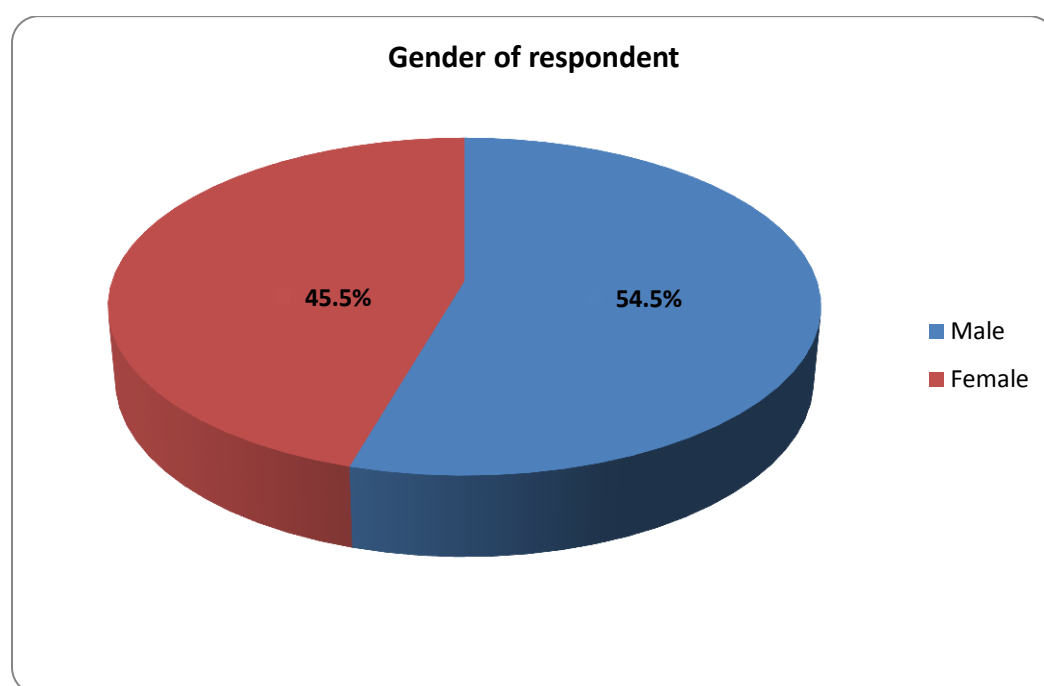
Figure 4.5: Children respondent's Gender

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.5.2 Children Respondents level of Education

At the time of the violence, the children in secondary level comprised of 13(81.8%) while those in primary level comprised of 3(18.2%). Some of these children have had to repeat classes due to

the disturbances caused by the conflict, some had to relocate to other areas and other times their parents/guardians had no money to pay for their education making them to stay out of school for a long. The children's level of education was important in this study because more often than not, there are clear differences in opinion between the respondents based on their educational level. This is significant because the perception of the violence and its effect on the children differ depending on their level of education. A primary school pupil is less likely to interpret the violence with the same gravitas as a secondary student would. Figure 4.6 represents the level of education for the children respondents at the time they experienced violence.
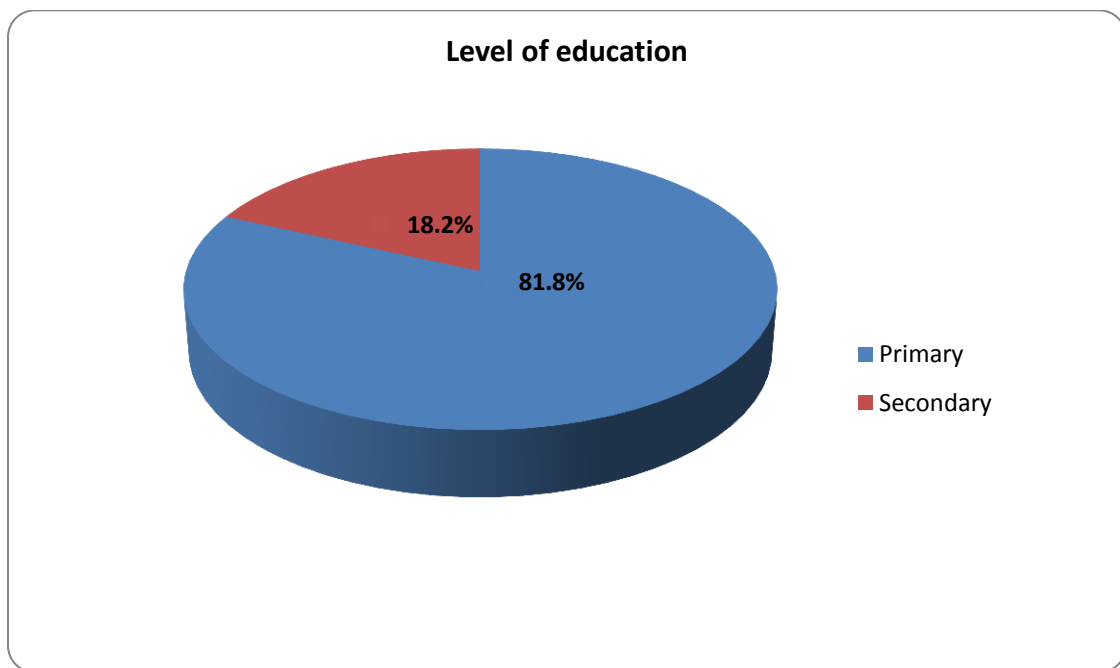
Figure 4.6: Children Respondent's level of education

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.6 Background Information for CSOs and Churches

The study also sought to determine the background information of the CSOs and Religious leaders who were operating in Nakuru County including the position the contact person held in the organisation, duration the period they have been in operation and the year they experienced political violence. This was significant because the perceptions and opinions of violence for people in different management levels is different since their level of engagements are different. The duration was also significant in that those who had stayed longer could give a comparison on the impact of violence in different electioneering periods unlike those who may have had an experience only once.

4.2.6.1 Contact person position

The total number of CSOs and religious leaders interviewed was 16. Among the CSOs and religious leaders interviewed, 8(53%) were religious leaders who were pastors and Sheiks, two from each mainstream religious groups which are Protestants, Catholics, Anglicans and Muslims. Those interviewed from the CSOs comprised of 1(13%) being administrators while directors, secretaries, project officers, project cordinators and drivers were another 1(7%0 of the total number of the respondents. This cut-across the different sectors/departments of the CSOs, who were offering different services involved in the community members at the time of these conflicts in service delivery in different ways. This was important because their responsibilities are different based on the position held and also their point of intervention was also different. Figure 4.7 represents the positions that those interviewed held in their churches or CSO.
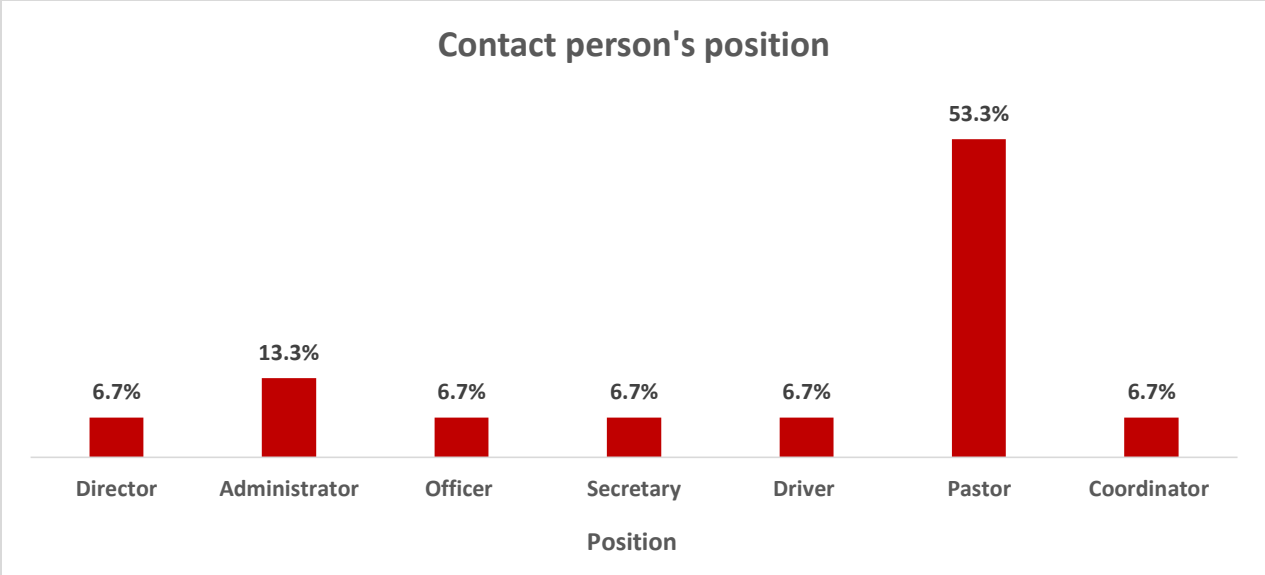
Figure 4.7: Position of the contact person in the CSOs and Churches

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.6.2 Operation duration

The findings revealed that 7(46.7%) of the organizations and churches had been in operations in the County for between 5-10 years. Therefore, they had witnessed at least one electioneering period, especially the 2007/8, and the violence experienced and were in a position to share their opinions and experiences. Those who were in operation for over 15 years comprised of 6(40%) of the total respondents, while only 2(13%) of the organizations and churches had been in operations for between 11-15 years. Therefore, 8(53%) of the total respondents interviewed had operated in the area for more than 10 year and therefore, they were in a position to compare violence experienced in different electioneering periods. Figure 4.8 shows the duration these organisations and churches have been in operations in the County.
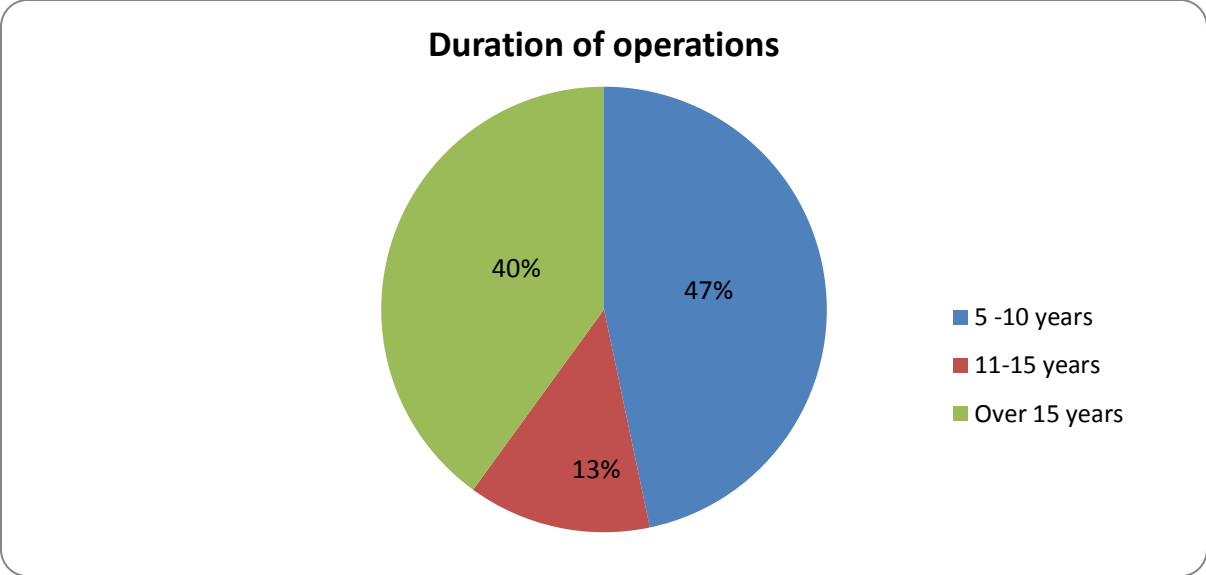
Figure 4.8: CSOs and Churches duration of operation in Nakuru County

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.6.3 Year experienced highest incidences of violence

The study revealed that from the 16 members of organizations and churches, 15(93.3%) of them experienced highest incidences of violence in 2008. This is because all of them were in operation in the County for more than 5 years and therefore did experience the conflict during that period. Another 4(26.7%) reported to have experienced the violence in 1997 and only 3(20%) reported to experience the violence in 1992. This is mainly because the CSOs and churches that reported to have been in operation for 11 to 15 years and more than 15 years were only 2(13%) and 6(40%) respectively, of the total number and therefore some of them were not in operation during that electioneering period. The findings revealed the number of CSOs and churches that have been experiencing violence had increased from 1992 to 2008, depending on the number of years they have been operating in the County. Table 4.1 represents the years and percentages that these organisations experienced violence in Nakuru County

Table 4.1: Year the organisation experienced violence

Year	Percentage
1992	20.0%
1997	26.7%
2008	93.3%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.2.7 Local Government Administrators and MCAs Demographic Information

The total number of local Government administrators and MCAs who were interviewed were 17. The total number of MCAs interviewed was 9 while the total number for the chiefs and assistant chiefs was 8. The study sought to determine background information of the appointed and elected leaders in the area including their gender, work experience and level of education at the time they experienced the violence.

4.2.7.1 Leaders Sex

The gender of local Government administrators and MCAs was signficant because a person's gender can have a huge effect on their way of thinking thus majorly affecting the results of the survey. Of the leaders interviewed, men constituted 14(83.3%) of the total respondents, while women constituted 3(16.7%). This was a result of there being no elected woman MCAs and only two women held administrative positions, and majority of the chiefs and their assistants were men.   Figure 4.9 represents the percentages by gender of the respondents:
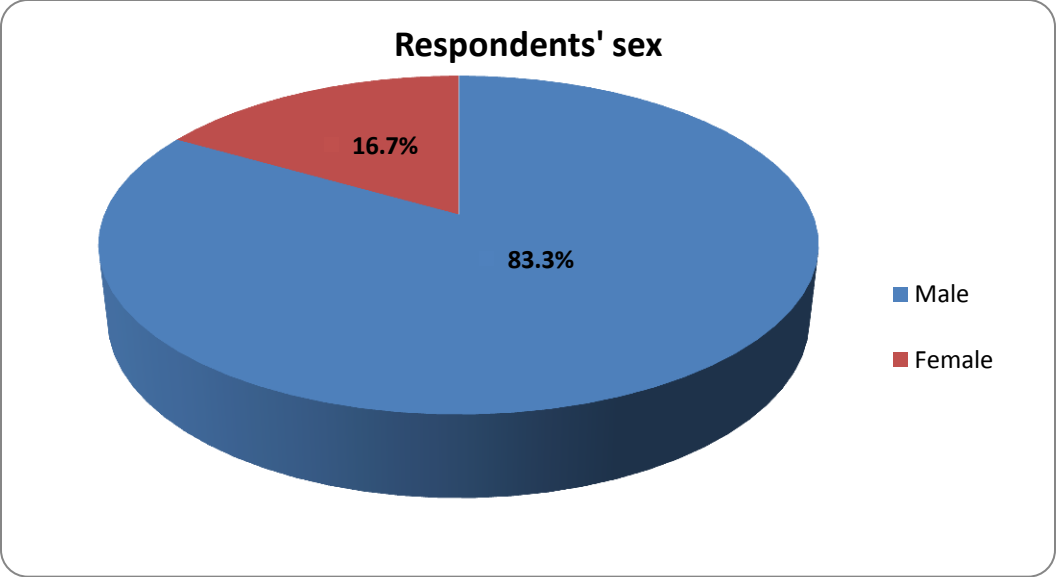
Figure 4.9: Leader Sex

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.7.2 Leaders Work Experience

Work experience for the respondents was significant because this also gave insights on how long the respondent had been residing in the County. The respondents were asked about their work experience and 10(58.3%) of the respondents reported that they had more than 10 years work experience. These are leaders who had an experience of more than one electioneering period and therefore were able to compare experiences and opinions for different election periods. Those who had experience of below 5 years comprised 3(16.7%) of the respondents while 4(25%) had an experience of between 6-10 years. In total, this gives 14(83.3%) of the respondents who have more than 6 years of working in the area, impling that they had experienced more than one electioneering period. During the survey, majority of the respondents were found to be locals who had lived and worked in the County all their life. Figure 4.10 represents the percentages of work experience of the leaders.
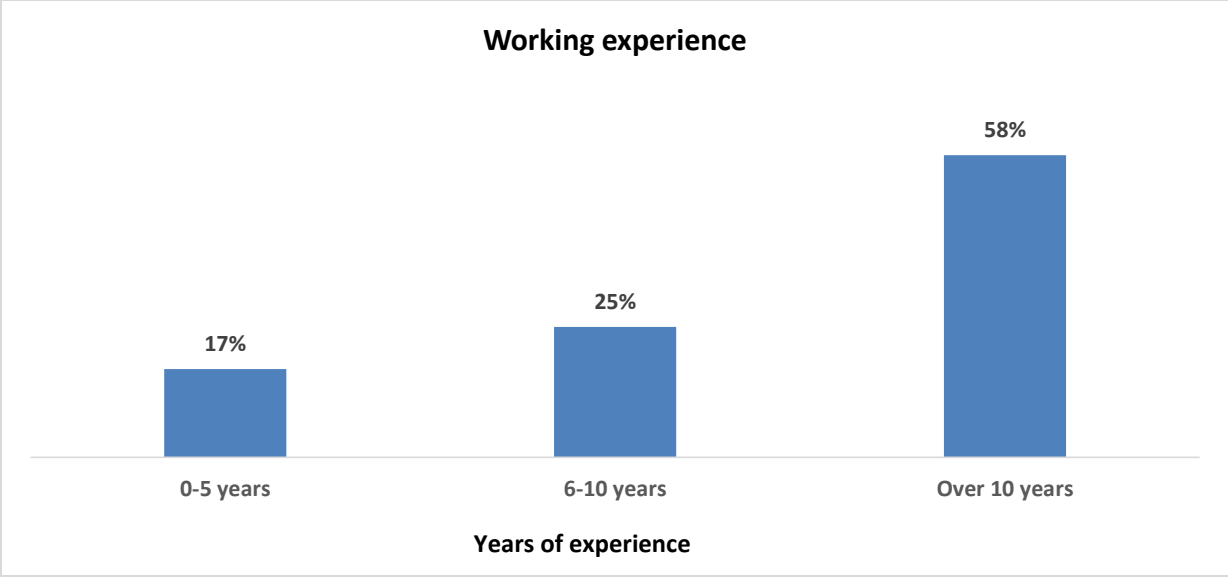
Figure 4.10: Leaders work experience

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.7.3. Leaders highest level of Education

Level of education was significant in this case because in most cases, there are clear differences in opinions and interpretation of events between respondents with a diffence in education level. The study established that 6(33%) had attained their highest level of education as degree while those who had reached the certificate level were 6(34%) of the respondents. Another 3(17%) of the respondents had attained secondary school level of education while those who had attained the diploma and primary school levels of education each constituted1(8%) of the respondents. This study established that those with diploma and above constituted 7(41%) of the respondents and that those with degrees were two MCAs, a Senior Chief and a Deputy Commissioner. Figure 4.11 represents in percentages the highest level of education of the leaders.

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Highest level of education

(Education level — horizontal bar chart)

- Degree: 33%
- Diploma: 8%
- Certificate: 34%
- Secondary: 17%
- Primary: 8%
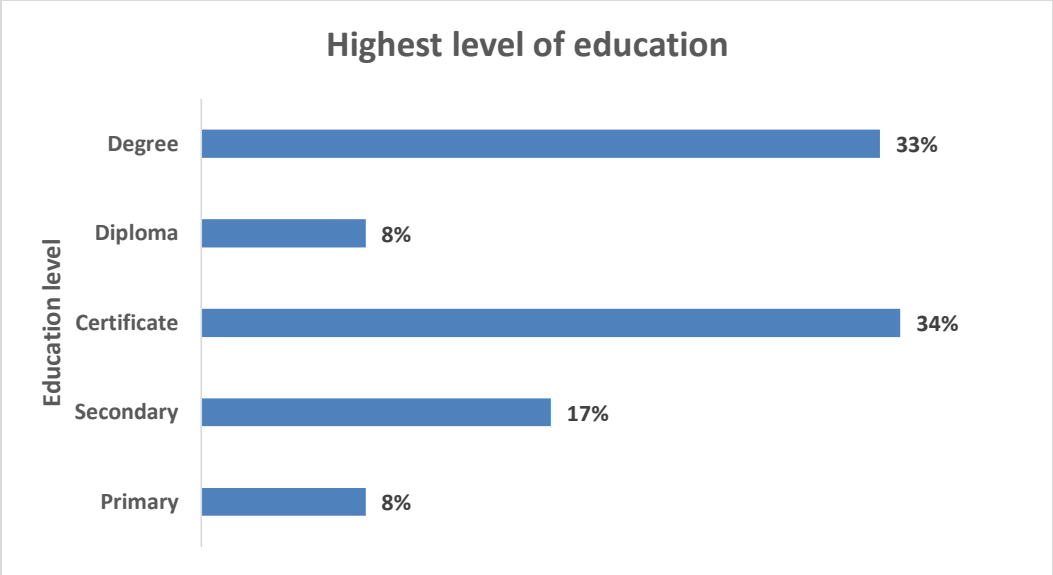
Figure 4.11: Leaders Highest level of education

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.2.7.4 Leaders Age

The findings reviewed that the respondents were aged above 18 years with about 6(33.3%) aged between 46-50years. Another 3(16.7%) were aged between 36 and 45years and 50 to 55 while 1(8.3%) were aged above 55 or below 35 years.This shows that 12(70%) respondents were aged between 40 to 55 years and therefore had a wide experience about the area and also in leadership. Figure 4.12 is a representation of of the respondents ages.
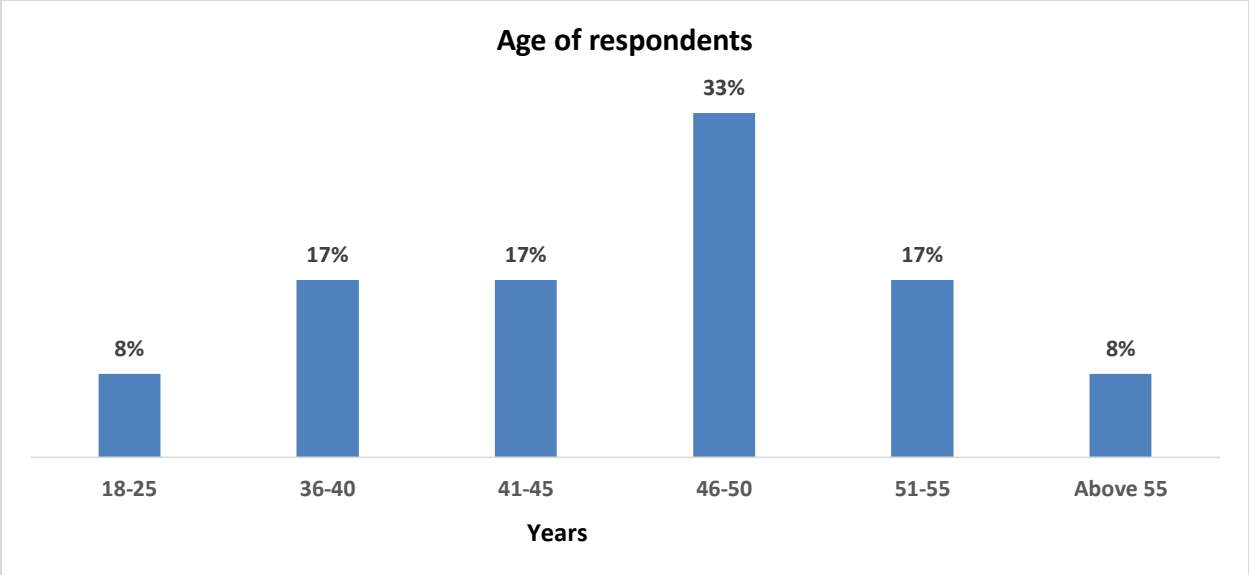
Figure 4.12: Leaders age

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3 Nature of Political Competition and Ethnic Conflict in Nakuru County

The researcher sought to find out the nature of competition that was experienced by Nakuru County residents (men and women), and how the conflicts come about. The study findings from 368 residents (men and women) revealed that overall 296(80.4%) of the respondent indicated that they had ever been a victim of ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County. The study revealed that among the men interviewed, 170(81%) were victims of these conflicts while women accounted for 126(79.6%). Men experienced ethnic conflicts more than women because, they were the main target of the rival group whose main goal was to weaken the resistance by weakening the family fabric. This was also the case of the boy child, who was seen to be a future threat by their attackers. The women were raped, mutilated or used as human shield by the perpetrators. Both men and women were affected when their properties were destroyed or stolen by their attackers. Table 4.2 represents pecentages of the respondents on whether they were ever victims of ethnic conflicts.

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Table 4.2: Study respondents who have been victims of ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County

Gender	Yes	No
Male	81.0	19.0
Female	79.6	20.4
Average	80.4	19.6

Source: Field Data, 2016

The previous table shows that men experienced the violence more than the women and their percentages was higher than the mean percentage of those who experienced violence in the whole County, which was at 80.4%. This was supported by the DPC focus group discussion from Molo sub-County where they confirmed that the perpetrators were specifically looking for men and young boys, and this made them dress in women dresses to disguise their identity.

> "…Hawa wanaume wamekua vichwa ngumu, ndio tunawambia wawarundu makwao na hawataki, tutawamaliza wote.." (All these men have become big-headed, that is why we tell them to go back to their ancestral land and ddo not want, we will finish all of them" (Field Data, 2006)

Majorly the perpetrators targeted those from the Kikuyu ethnic group whom they believed, acquired the land illegally, though they had legal documents. Their main aim was to have them move back to their ancentral lands (Central Kenya). This agrees with Crenshaw, 1994, that political violence, though not of the same nature is deployed using the same approach where the populations are subjected to widespread use of extreme violence. He continues to say that this is aimed at either having non-followers of a certain political bigwig submit to the master or succumb to violence. This was the case in Rift Valley region and Nakuru County in particular, where the population believed to support a certain political party and leader were subjected to

extreme violence, forcing them to run for refuge and would end up not voting. The conflict have seen many get displaced to other areas. This is in agreement with Human Rights Watch 2009, that reported that in 2007/2008 post-election volence, 500,000 people were internally displaced that first errupted in Rift Vally region particularly around Eldoret seemingly taking the ethnic-based clashes before spreading to others in the Country.   The political leaders used this as a campaign tool, by promising the Kalenjin land after the Kikuyu are chased out using incitements such as…

> "… Ni kabla gani ingine inaweza kua Central, lakini ukienda Coast, Rift Valley wamejaa…" (..which other tribe can be seen in Central but when you go to Coast, Rift Valey they are so many..(Field Data, 2016)

The study revealed that, the Kalenjin community believed Rift Valley region was their ancestral land, which was also engineered by the retired President Moi. This made the Kikuyu, and other communities who settled in Rift Valley after buying land from the white settlers when they were leaving for their country, appear to have taken the land illegally from the Kalenjin. The ethnic conflict witnessed in Nakuru County and Rift Valley in general was majorly between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin who are the majority and was determined by the political parties that majority of each ethnic group supported. A revelation by DPC Molo, indicated that the Kalenjin claimed that most of the resources went to the Kikuyu who occupies most of the schemes. They also wanted all other communities to leave Molo, Kuresoi and Keringet so that the area remain dominantly Kalenjin occupied. This has never been addressed well and political leaders take advantage during the electioneering period to revive it using statements such as:

> "….kama hawa wakikuyu hawengekua hapa, mngekua na mashamba kubwa ya kufuga ngombe…" (.. if these Kikuyu were not here, yu would be having large farms for grazing your cattle….) (Field Data, 2016)

These ethnic conflicts are also shaped by the political parties that each ethnic group is affiliated to. According to an FGD group of community elders in Kuresoi (Plate 2) they reported that when the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu are in the same political parties, some peace is experienced unlike when they are in different political parties. Some of the main causes of violence cited by the elders are incitement from the political leaders, unequal distribution of the Government resources especially the CDF, land issues. The Kalenjin, who are the main perpetrators, are made to believe that the non-Kalenjin acquired the land illegally. Land issue as reported by the elders has been the main cause and has never been addressed appropriately by the concerned authority. Every time conflicts break up, the non-Kalenjin have always been targeted by the Kalenjin with the aim of kicking them out from the area. The Kalenjin complain that the Kikuyu call the "*Rumbwa"* which they interpret to mean *"Mbwa"* (*...Dog...*), which has caused a lot of conflict among them. The respondents revealed that their issues are never addressed appropriately because chiefs and most of the police are partisan favouring their community members. The respondents revealed that peace campaigns are only conducted after the conflicts have occurred and never followed-up after, that leave the issues unsettled. These issues accumulate and what is seen during elections is as a result of these unsettled issues.   They also reported that the political parties are ethnic oriented which become voting blocs and the competition between these political parties is seen through their ethnic lines as one participant reported.

> "…Afadhali hawa wa kikuyu na wakalenjin wakiwa chama moja juu hakunanga vita na ndio weka huku Nakuru, lakini wakiwa chama tofauti, ndio shinda inakuanga…" (…if kikuyu and kalenjin communities are in the same political parties, conflicts is

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not exerienced but when in different political parties, conflict is experienced….) (Field Data, 2016)

4.3.1 Electioneering period that the residents (men & women) experienced conflict

The study respondents experienced conflict in different durations with some experiencing it more than once. The study revealed that 328(89.1%) of the respondents experienced the conflict in the year 2002-2007, which was the highest. This is the year that many other parts of the Country experienced conflict. The year 2007 had the highest incidences of violence and also highest number of casulties, where the two main political parties were PNU and ODM, which were perceived to be the Kikuyu and ODM political parties respectively. This tends to agree with the report done by International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect (ICRP), 2008, that Kenya's elctions since gaining independence have been dominated by ethnic affiliations. From the findings, the conflicts experienced in 2002 was not as much as for 2007 and the other periods because all other political parties ganged up as opposition parties and fronted one leader to oust the KANU Government. Another 57(15.6%) of the respondents reported having experienced the conflict between 1992-1997. This was after the inception of multipartism in 1992 where majority of the political paties were formed based on ethnic groups which became the voting blocs. The competition between these political parties was seen to be competition between the ethnic groups.

 Only 44(11.9%) of the respondents reported having experienced conflicts in 1997-2002. During 1992 to 2002, the country experienced ethnic conflict mostly in the Rift Valley region and especially Nakuru County. This was the period when KANU was in power and the Rift Valley was predominantly Kalenjin affiliated. This was confirmed by Wambua, 2013 that the highest

goal for political leaders is to gain and maintain political power. The politicians have exploited sensitive issues such as land and the marginalisation for the purpose of inciting political violence during the post-election violence and other times of heightened political tension. For example, in 2007/2008 in Kaptembwa area, as revealed by youth group in Kaptembwa, the perpetrators who were reported to be affiliated to the ODM party, went round using the slogan *"No Raila, no peace"* as they flushed out the Kikuyu, believed to be affiliated to PNU, from their homes and killing them. The other ethnic groups joined them and it became Kikuyu versus all the other at least 41 ethnic groups, who also believed that a Kikuyu does not have to be the leader, having had the first and third Presidents as Kikuyu. Accordinging to the youth group, the kikuyu ethnic group members responded by counter attacking those from the Luo ethnic background and circumcised them with blunt objects. The 2007 violence was majorly based on political party affiliations where the two main parties then, which were PNU and ODM, targeted each other. ODM was composed majorly of Kalenjin and Luo ethnic groups and were led by Raila Odinga while PNU were mainly the Kikuyu ethnic group who were led by Mwai Kibaki.   One respondent during a focus group discussion with the church leaders shared words that were used by the ODM leader during the campaigns reffering to the Kikuyu:

> ".. hii nyasi imemea mpaka kwa nyumba zenu, nitaiondoa…" (.. this grass is grown even in your houses, I will remove it..) (Field Data, 2016)

The study revealed that 1992 -2002, ethnic conflict was not as lumpant as was with the single party system. Rift Valley was dominantly KANU but people were campaigning for a multiparty system of Government because they felt that there was a lot of dominance by one party. This did not go down well with the then KANU Government and therefore, would try anything possible to silence those advocating for it. In 1992, the then President Moi had authorised that people be

allowed to farm in the forests inorder to take care of the trees but in 1998, he chased them from these forests mainly targeting the Kikuyu who were doing so well in farming. During his campaigns, he used inciteful expressions directed to the Kikuyu such as;

> "... ukitaka kufukuza ndege, halibu kiota.." (..if you wish to chase a bird, you have to spoil the nest…) (Field Data, 2016)

This led to many houses and businesses being torched and a large number of people killed and displaced, who were mainly Kikuyu. . In 2002 the Luo and Kikuyu joined hands to form a single party with Mwai Kibaki as the flag bearer, using the slogan "*Kibaki Tosha*". This enabled them to oust out the ruling party KANU which had been in power for twenty four years. This concurs with a report by Human Rights Watch, 2005, that violence during electoral period in Kenya developed as a result of a combination of factors including "winner-takes-all" form of politics perceived as benefiting one ethnic group to the detriment of all others with the perceptions that communities benefit from having one of their own in power. This also agrees with an audit report by NCIC, 2011, on degree of ethnic discrimination in public offices, that establised that the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities had benefited most in appointments in public offices Table 4.3 represents the percentages of the respondents who experienced ethnic conflict in different electioneering years.

Table 4.3: Year the respondents experienced violence

Year of Violence	Percentage
1992-1997	15.6%
1997-2002	11.9%
2002-2007	89.1%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.3.2 Ethnic conflict experienced in Nakuru

The research question on whether ethnic conflict in Nakuru was planned aimed at establishing whether people have prior information of these attacks.

The study revealed that 194(52.6%) of the respondents strongly agreed that ethnic conflict in Nakuru County was planned with 49(13.2%) agreeing on the same. This gives 242(65.8%) of the respondents agreeing that the ethnic conflict in Nakuru County is organised which is a very high number compared to those who disagree and strongly disagree who were 13(3.4%). Another 51(13.8%) of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement that ethnic conflict in Nakuru County is planned. From the total number of residents interviewed, 62(16.9%) of them did not know whether the ethnic conflict are planned or not. A total of 242(65.8%) of the respondents revealed that the mode of attacks was well coordinated where they attacked specific homesteads belonging to their targets. This had so much to do with other underlying issues that were unresolved and the political leaders used campaign and elections as a platform to insight the citizens againist their opponents to gain a political mileage. During the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Githima area, the attackers targeted the Kikuyu; they burnt down their homes and killed them. One respondent in the FGD in Mai Mahiu (Plate 3), who was a survivor reported:

> "…Kalenjin men had been transported from far distances and housed in some houses in the area and were being guided by the residents during the night of the attack, after having alerted their fellow Kalenjin in the area to vacate their homes…"(Field Data, 2016)

This was accelerated by the incitements that the political leaders used during their campaigns against politicians affiliated to other parties or their opponents in their parties, as they gave force promises to their supporters. The respondents revealed that ethnicity took lead, with the

distribution of Government resources like the CDF fund that depend on the ethnic background of the beneficiary. The Government projects targets certain ethnic group depending on who is in the office. The respondents reported that those holding the top positions in the Government openly exposed their differences to the people at the grass-root and so their differences and fights are a replica. The members also reported that youths are normally used to perpetrate the offences with a small fee but because they have no source of income agree to it. Culture was also reported to be contributing to these conflicts especially in Mai Mahiu where the Masaais are allowed to carry arrows and pangas and thus easily attack peopleFor instance, the locals were promised to be given the plots and lands left behind by the non-local after they had evicted them. This supports Bethwel, 2000 who argues that the underlying causes, the triggers, of ethnic conflict in Kenya have never been comprehensively explained. He also argues that most discussions of ethnic conflict have failed to capture the complexity and dynamic nature of political violence in Africa but have instead labelled Africans as perpetual perpetrators. They believed this was due to bad Government policies that were never implemented. The respondents also reported that the arbitration processes take too long and from one election period to the next, they are never resolved and thus becomes a vicious cycle. Only 62(16.9%) of the respondents who were mainly women reported not to know whether the conflict is planned or not, as reported by one woman who participated in a focus group discussion in Mai Mahiu,

> "…we have very few forums of interactions with each other and also with our local leaders. We are always caught unawares during these attacks but where they plan them and how, we do not know….")

Figure 4.14 represents the percentages of the respondents on whether the ethnic conflict in Nakuru County is planned

Ethnic conflict in Nakuru
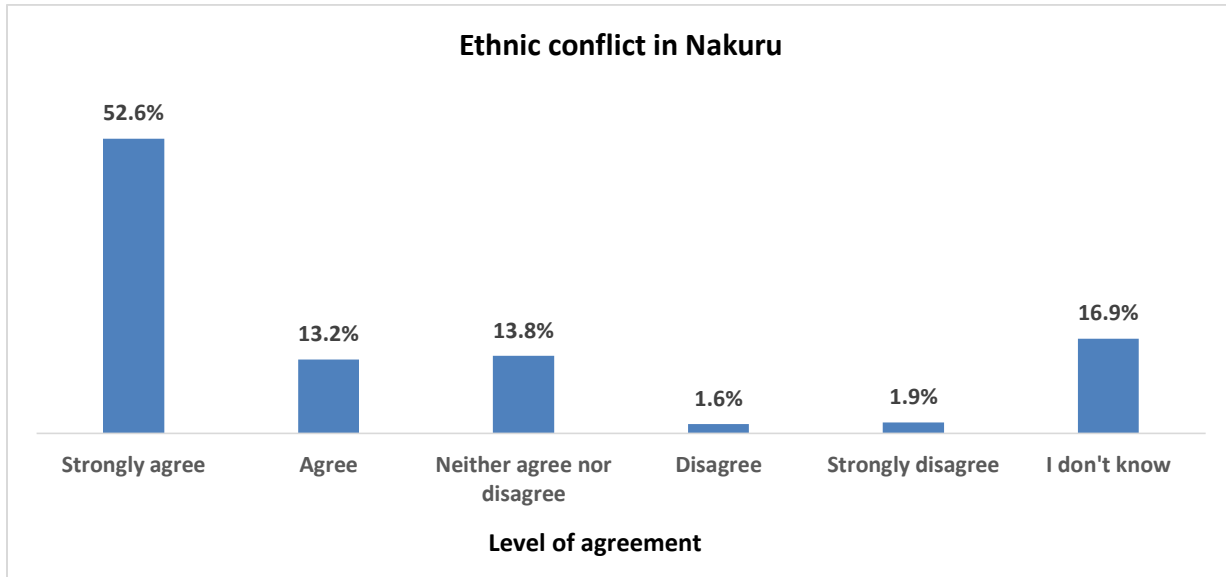
Figure 4.13: Ethnic conflict in Nakuru

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.3 Neighbors' ethnic background and experience of violence

The research question that sought to find out if the neighbours were from the same ethnic background, was aimed at establishing to know whether people from different ethnic background experienced violence the same way or it was different.

The study revealed that from those who came from the same ethnic background, 267(72.6%) experienced the same effect of the violence while 101(27.4%) had a different experience of the violence. The study also revealed that those who came from different ethnic background, 194(52.8%) experienced the same effect of violence while 174(47.2%) did not experience the same effect of the violence. This study revealed that the violence experienced by the residents of Nakuru County was not fully dependent on their ethnic background. This was because people

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from different ethnic background experienced the same effect on violence and there were those from the same ethnic background but with a difference in their experiences. This implied that other than ethnic background, the issue of political party affiliation came into play during these violent attacks, where a number of ethnic groups formed a political party. These political parties were also dominated by one ethnic group, mostly from the five largest ethnic groups, Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, and Kamba, that take lead of the operations of the party, and the competition has always been between them.

This revelation disagrees with Azam (2011), that civil conflicts in African States are due to the failure of African Governments to deliver the type of public expenditure that the people want. This includes provision of social goods such as education and healthcare. It is this that has led to reliance on ethnic elites to redistribute state resources on their behalf. This places the ethnic elites as the necessary intervening agents between the weak state Government and the people under its rule. This also disagrees with Nnoli (1998), who says that, ethnicity *per se*, without its politicisation, does not cause conflict.

The findings agree with International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, 2000, which states that Kenya's elections since gaining independence in 1963 have been dominated by ethnic affiliations, resulting in exclusion and discrimination of those affiliated with the opposition and though Kenya has at least 41 ethnic groups, direction of elections is determined by the five largest (Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, and Kamba). The revelation of the findings also agree with Human Rights Watch, 2005, which argues that violence during electoral period in kenya develop as result of combination of factors including politicisation of ethnicity, corruption, non-adherence to the rule of law and "winner-takes-all" form of politic among others. Table 4.4

represents the percentages of the respondents who experienced ethnic conflict based on their ethnic background.

Table 4.4: Percentages of respondents' violence experience dependent on ethnic background

Ethnic background	Effect of violence	
	Same	Different
Same ethnic background	72.6%	27.4%
Different ethnic background	52.8%	47.2%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.3.4 Neighbors' political affiliation and experience of violence

The research question that sought to find out if the neighbours were from the same political party aimed at establishing how people from different political parties experienced violence in Nakuru county.

The study revealed that from those who had the same political affiliation, 345(93.7%) of the respondents experienced violence the same way while 23(6.3%) of the respondents, had a different experience. The study also revealed that from those who had different political party affiliation 66(17.9%) of the respondent experienced violence same way while 302(82.1%) of the respondents experienced it differently. This study found that political party affiliation is a factor in these violences as the attacks were based on political party affiliation which by extension were formed based on ethnic background.

These study findings agree with the report that was done by Human Rights Watch (2005), that violence during electoral period in Kenya developed as a result of a combination of factors including politicisation of ethnicity, corruption, non-adherence to he rule of law, centralised and highly personalised form of Government and a "winner-takes-all" form of politics perceived as benefiting one ethnic group to the detriment of all others. This is also supported by the Kenya Commision on Human Rights, report 2007, that ethnic protagonists have abused Kenya's voting rules in order to influence the outcome of elections. Table 4.5 represents the percentages of respondents who experienced ethnic conflict due to their political affiliation.

Table 4.5: Percentages of respondents' violence experience dependent on political party affiliations

Political affiliation	Effect of violence	
	Same	Different
Same political party	93.7%	6.3%
Different political party	17.9%	82.1%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.3.5 Beneficiaries of the violence

The study sought to determine the main beneficiaries of ethnic conflict in Nakuru County from the resident, men and women. From the 368 men and women interviewed, 347(94.2%) of the respondents revealed the main beneficiaries of violence to be political leaders vying for the political posts. This is because due to the disruptions, many people get displaced and many were not able to go back during elections, which was to the advantage of these political leaders. The findings agree with a report by KNCHR in 2007 that ethnic protagonist abuse Kenya's voting rules in order to influence the outcome of elections because they have to cast a ballot where they registered as voters. The study also revealed that these political leaders are able to manipulate the community members and create a drift between them based on differences in political parties' affiliations and because these political parties are formed on ethnic lines, the drift became ethnic. Another 91(24.8%) of the respondents revealed that the incumbents are beneficiaries, in that, like the other political leaders, they get less resistance from their opponents once people had been displaced. On the same note, 55(14.9%) of the respondents indicated the beneficiaries to be youth, who gain from the hand-outs given by their sponsors to perpetrate the offences and some

of them end up securing jobs through these leaders once they get the political positions as "pay-back". This revelation agrees with the report by KNCHR (2007) and with Mercy Corps (2011) report that politicians and Government official turn to youth groups and militias to help them carry-out eviction strategies and attack opponents.

Another 55(14.9%) of the respondents revealed that the media was a beneficiary from the documentaries they compiled about the violence and also in their day to day coverage of the events. This made them more famous with viewers unlike the other media houses that do not cover the events. Church leaders who benefited from these conflicts were very few at 4(1.1%) of the total number of respondents. These were the beneficiaries of grants granted by Government and other CSOs, for use in peace building and resettlement of survivors.

Table 4.7 is a tabulation of the percentages of the beneficiaries of violence in Nakuru County

Table 4.7: Beneficiaries of violence

Beneficiaries of violence	Percentage
Political Leaders	94.2%
Incumbents	24.8%
Youth	14.9%
Media	14.9%
Church Leaders	1.1%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.3.6 Targets of violence

The men and women respondents indicated that the main targets of ethnic conflict were the youth at 208(56.6%), who are used as goons by the political leaders in attacking their opponents. These youths are lured by being given money, beer and also being promised jobs after their candidates get to power. The political leaders take advantage of the rate of unemployment amongst the youths and also levels of poverty. The youth from the opponent side are targeted because they are seen as a security threat or they will take over from their fathers. Men followed at 166(45%) as being targets as they are the heads of the households. This implies that, by targeting the youth and men, it weakens the family fabric and becomes easy to target the rest of the family members who have no much resistance. The political leaders motivated the youth with rewards. For instance, in 2008, the political leaders affiliated to ODM, in Kaptembwa and Rodah areas of Nakuru sub-County paid the youth for killing people as was reported by a member of FGD in Kaptembwa (Plate 1). They used incitements such as, "... if you bring a head, you bring a

ksh 1,000..." On the same note, 164(44.7%) of the respondents indicated that the targets are political leaders and 78(21.1%) indicated that the targets are the incumbents. Both the political leaders and the incumbents were being targeted by their competitors or opponents who would incite their followers against them or their supporters in order to destabilise them or weaken them in their campaigns.

Another 59(16.0%) of the respondents indicated that children were a target of the political violence. This was mostly the boy-child who was targeted because he was seen to be the future threat to the opponents, unlike the girl-child who were raped, mutilated and were rarely killed. Women were also targets with 32(8.7%) indication, they were raped, mutilated or killed and some were used as human shield by the perpetrators. Most of the times, the women and children run to the refuge centres which were in either schools or churches while the men and youth stayed behind to confront their enemy and in the process many would be killed.

Another 6(1.6%) of the respondents indicated that church leaders were also targeted. The denominations found in Nakuru County are mainly the mainstream churches that include the Protestant and Catholic which is mainly influenced by the values that the people upheld. Most of the church compounds were used as refuge centres, especially by the women and children under the leadership of the church leaders. This, unlike the Kiambaa Church in Eldoret which was burnt down, was considered to be holy and could not be attacked. The church leaders were also involved in reconciliation processes and were the key members of the District Peace committee (DPC). They played a key role in preaching peace and therefore were seen as a source of solution. Table 4.6 is a tabulation of main targets of political violence in Nakuru County.

Table 4.6: Targets of violence

Targets of violence	Percentage
Political Leaders	44.7%
Incumbents	21.1%
Youth	56.6%
Media	11.4%
Church Leaders	1.6%
Men	45.0%
Women	18.7%
Children	16.0%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.3.7 Perpetrators of violence

According to men and women interviewed, 325(88.3%) of them revealed the main perpetrators of violence to be political leaders. They incited the communities against each other during campaigns and after the results have been announced as reported by one respondent;

> "….The political leaders take advantage of the youth who are
> unemployed and idle with a promise of jobs and also give money
> when they are defeated or their favourite candidates get defeated,
> to fight the supporters of their opponents..." (Field Data, 2016)

This also led to ethnic groups turning against each other as the political parties were based on ethnic lines. The political competition between and within the political parties' was seen as ethnic groups' competition. Political leaders gave promises to the locals such as pieces of land after chasing out the non-locals. Once defeated, this broke their hope and drove them to fighting. This agrees with Obasanjo, 2002, "we fight and sometimes shed blood to achieve and attain

political power because for us in Nigeria, the political kingdom has far too long been the gateway to economic kingdom" This has been the case in Kenyan politics where political position means power and access to economic wealth where the winner gets it all.

Politicians have significantly contributed to violence by inciting people and using hate speech as a tool to disqualify political opponents and their followers. Their highest goal is to gain and maintain political power, even if this goal is achieved by sacrificing the lives of hundreds of ordinary Kenyans. Another 114(30.9%) of the respondents revealed that the youth were perpetrators of violence in that they were used by the political leaders to carry out the killings and the torching of the houses. Most of the youth used were idlers who were unemployed, with the promise and hope of getting rewards after.

On the same note, 110(29.8%) of the respondents indicated the main perpetrators are the incumbent, who gave the same promises as a way of luring voters, during their campaigns. When they did not go through they would incite their supporters with the claim that the votes have been stolen or there was rigging. This results to violence against supporters of those purported to have won illegally. As was reported by one of the respondents in Sachangwani (Plate 4) during a focus group discussions.

> "..kwa nini tukae na watu wenye wanatuibia kula? Ndio
> walituimbia mashamba yetu na hivi karibuni, wataimba mali yetu
> ingine yote..? (...Why should we stay with people who are stealing
> our votes? This is the same way they stole our land and very soon
> they will start stealing our other properties...) (Field data, 2016)

Another 68(18.4%) of the respondents blamed it on media for the information they share through the vernacular stations or otherwise contributes towards spreading the violence. The respondents claimed that the media capitalised more on the negative other than positive

especially where there were killings. This provoked the people whose fellow ethnic group members were affected in other areas of the Country and not necessarily in Nakuru County. This study finding agreed with a report by Weingarten in 2004, who argued that incidences in a political turmoil psychologically affect the victims at the heart of the violence and in effect reach out to other people witnessing the sad state of affairs from different parts of the world. It was also confirmed by the DPC (Plate 3) group in Mai Mahiu who claimed that the killings in Mai Mahiu and Naivasha were as a result of what happened in Eldoret; people were revenging for what happened to those from their ethnic community. As was quoted by one FGD respondent in Mai Mahiu (Plate 3);

> (".. We were caught unawares by our perpetrators because there
> were no signs of any attacks until when the media reported the
> killings in Eldoret and people started screaming and moving out
> and attacking people in revenge for their fellow ethnic community
> members...")

From the respondents, 35(9.6%) of them reported that international parties participated in the perpetration of violence by being biased in distribution of the basic needs and offering psycho-social support to the survivors. Another 15(4%) of the respondents reported that violence was based on ethnic background as ethnic groups turned against each other for other reasons and not necessarily what was happening at that particular time. This contributed to many deaths especially in Naivasha and Nakuru sub-counties as reported by the DPC.

Another 14(3.7%) of the respondents reported that business men/women funded the different parties involved in the violence depending on the side they were supporting. This was because they needed to secure their property. This agreed with Sudirman 2006 who observed that the perpetrators of political violence principally carried out their atrocities based on political

association and at times based on gender, religion and ethnic background. The table 4.8 represents the percentages of respondents on the main perpetrators of violence based on men and women who were interviewed.

Table 4.8: Perpetrators of violence according to men and women interviewed

Perpetrators of violence	Percentages
Political Leaders	88.3%
Incumbents	29.8%
Youth	30.9%
Media	18.4%
Church Leaders	3.5%
International parties	9.6%
Business people	3.7%
Ethnic group	4.0%
Idlers	1.9%

Source: Field Data, 2016

According to the children interviewed, 15(90.9%), revealed the perpetrators of violence to be the political leaders who used hate speech during their campaigns as ways of winning voters. They took advantage of other issues such as land and resources that had not been addressed by the authorites and used them as triggers for violence. They gave high hopes of winning to the electorates, and convinced them that they can only lose through rigging or stealing of votes. This agreed with the revelation from men and women on whom they believed to be the main perpetrators of violence who cited the political leaders at 14(88.3%).

Media was the second 4(27.3%), unlike the men and women where it was fourth, the children respondents indicated that they were affected by what happened in other areas very far away from their homes and people got the information through the media. The media reported more on the killings and destructions other than making peace. This made communites to go on a revenge mission for their kin ethnic members. The DPC members in Molo revealed that what affected the non-Kalenjin in Molo was more on what happened in Naivasha when the Mungiki killed the non-Kikuyu indiscriminately.

Political incumbents, who follow the footsteps of the political leaders in the way they conduct their campaigns in trying to outdo their opponents, were also reported to cause violence. This was revealed by 3(18.2%) of the respondents, while another 3(18.2%) of the them revealed that international parties caused conflict by being biased when offering humanitarian services. Table 4.9 representes percentages of the main perpetrators according to children

Table 4.9: Perpetrators of violence according to children

Perpetrators of violence	Percentage
Political Leaders	90.9%
Incumbents	18.2%
Media	27.3%
International parties	18.2%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.4 Political Competition in Nakuru County

Political competition in Nakuru County has been experienced during electioneering periods and has resulted in ethnic conflicts. Many of the political parties are formed along ethnic line and become voting blocs and thus the competition amongst these political parties is perceived to be competition amongst the ethnic groups. These conflicts have resulted to loss of life and destruction of property. Plate 6 shows the remains of a house that belonged to Kagiri, after it was torched by the perpetrators during the 2007/8 post-election violence that rocked the area. In 2007/8 most of those from the Kikuyu ethnic background were being targeted by the perpetrators and many lost their properties.

4.4.1 How Violence comes about according to MCAs and Administrators

From the 17 leaders who were interviewed, 8(44.4%) of them reported that the violence experienced in Nakuru County is mainly due to political leaders' instigation during their campaigns and meetings. They incite the community members against their opponents or people from other ethnic background who were mainly affiliated to a different political party. This is seen as competition between individuals or political parties which resulted in ethnic conflicts. This being the main cause of conflict according to leaders, it agrees with the conceptual model, where political rivalry, electioneering and lack of political will are part of the political competition experienced that resulted in ethnic discrimination, animosity and rivalry. One of the MCA reported;

> "…If only these political leaders can carry out their campaigns without negatively attacking their opponents, am very sure that these conflicts can be avoided..?

Another 4(22.2%) of the respondents reported that these attacks were spontaneous and not necessarily during the elections with undefined triggers. This got members of the community

unaware who only realized after it has spread to many places. The spreading was normally influenced by the information shared through the media and leads people to wanting to revenge for their own because it is perceived to be an issue based on ethnic line. From those interviewed, 2(11.1%) revealed that tribalism brought about the violence where some ethnic groups felt superior to the others or others felt marginalized at the expense of the others. This made them attack in revenge. Like what was echoed by the FGD (plate 1) in Kaptembwa, the Kikuyu are believed to have benefited so much in almost all the regimes at the expense of the other ethnic groups. They believe that politics is used as a trigger to this violence while the main causes of these differences are not addressed. Land was cited to be one of the main triggers where Nakuru being a settlement area, the other ethnic groups believed that the Kikuyu were favoured by the first President. Skewed distribution of resources, job distribution and tribalism were also cited as triggers. The respondents revealed that those affected depended on the political divide for instance in 2008, the Luo community was targeted by the Kikuyu community and were circumcised with blunt objects. Women and children were majorly affected by being raped, relocated and beating. This agrees with a report by Human Rights Watch, 2005, that violence during electioneering period in Kenya develop as a result of combination of factors including "winner-takes-all" form of politics which is perceived to be benefiting one ethnic group to the detriment of all others.

Another 4(22.2%) of the respondents revealed that rigging of election brought about the violence. This is because they felt that they have been denied their democratic right and the leaders were imposed on them. The year 2007/2008 was cited to be a year when the violence was triggered by the mare mention by the ODM affiliated members that the PNU party has rigged the

elections. This led to ODM members, who were mainly Luo and Kalenjin, to turn against the PNU members who were mainly the Kikuyu. This was based on the competition that there was between the ODM and PNU parties (ICRtoP, 2008). The finding agrees with Macharia, 2006, that ethnic conflict follows the pattern of forcible alienation and appropriation of land by the colonial and subsequent post-colonial Government. This combined with the unequal distribution of resources, the suppression of dissent, and selective distribution of public positions, to ethnic groups allied to those in power, has been a powerful historical driver to conflict. People believe that public positions bring advantage to the entire community, due to the many privileges that go with holding power, has encouraged communities to promote and protect their own. This pattern of expectation and behavior has been extended from junior positions to the Presidency and has turned electoral politics into an ethnic, rather than an issue-based contestation. The study findings agree with, electioneering comprising of stolen elections and irregularities as part of political competition, in the conceptual model, that influences ethnic conflicts. Table 4.10 represents the percentages of how the violence came about.

Table 4.10: How Violence Came About

Causes	Percentage
Attacks are spontaneous	22.2%
Leaders/ political instigation	44.4%
Rigging of election results	22.2%
Tribalism	11.1%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.4.2 Causes of political competition according to MCAs and Administrators

The study sought to determine the causes of political competition in Nakuru County from the MCAs and Administrators where 11(62.5%) of the respondents strongly agreed that political competition is as a result of differences in political party affiliation among the community members. This agrees with a report by International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect in 2008, which pointed out that Kenya's elections since independence have been dominated by ethnic affiliations, which have resulted in exclusion and discrimination of those affiliated with the opposition.

Another 10(58.2%) of the respondents strongly agreed that the political competition is as a result of election results, where much of the violence is experienced after announcement of results. This is when the election results do not meet their expectation since each and every group, has their preferred candidate. Another 9(50.5%) of the respondents agreed strongly that it is as a result of leaders' instigation which started during the campaign period and this has been so common. The leaders' incite their supporters by giving them false promises of what their expectations would be once elected to the position, which they claimed to have been denied because they either did not support a particular political party or the candidate from a particular ethnic group.

In addition, 7(38.4%) strongly agreed that political competition resulted in rigging of election results especially during the 2002 and 2007 elections where there was the people were made to believe that retired President Kibaki never won fairly. This was so with the KANU (2002) and ODM (2007) supporters and they targeted their opponents, based on their difference in political party affiliation. On the same note 6(33.3%) of the respondents gave no response on rigging of

the election results being a cause of the violence experienced in Nakuru County. However, 6(35.4%) of the respondents strongly agreed that political competition comes about during campaigns where political leaders incite the community members against each other, based on the political parties they are affiliated to, which are mainly formed along ethnic lines. This confirms a report by Nnoli in 1998 that ethnicity by itself, in the absence of politicization, does not cause conflict. On the same note 8(45.8%) of the respondents gave no response as to whether polling is a main cause of violence, with only 2(14.6%) agreeing strongly that it is a cause of ethnic conflict, while 3(15.9%) of the respondents gave no response on election results being the main cause of violence. Figure 4.15 represents the percentages of the main causes of political violence and ethnic conflict in Nakuru County:
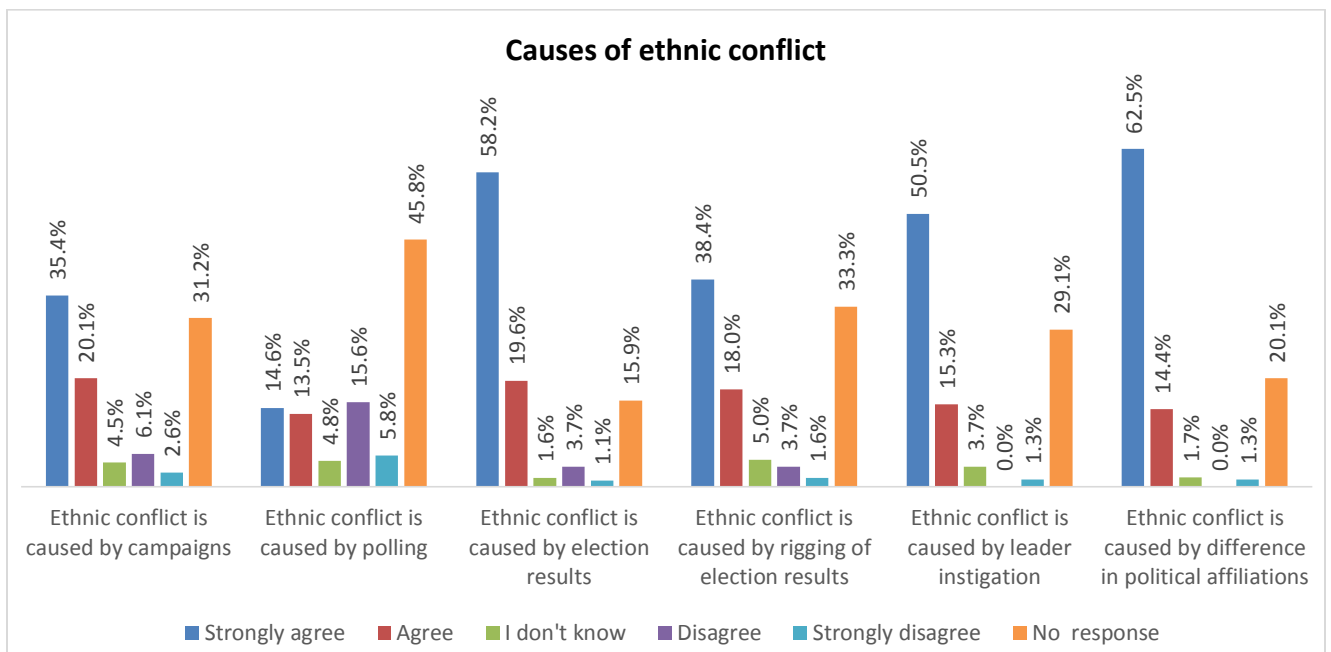
Figure 4.14: Percentages showing the causes of competition in Nakuru County

Source: Researcher, 2016

The researcher went deeper to find out the other triggers of political competition experienced in Nakuru County. This revealed that there were other causes of violence in Nakuru County other than those directly related to elections and are mostly experienced during the electioneering period where they are used as triggers, due to competition amongst the political leaders.

From the respondents, 204(55.7%) of them gave political favours as one of such triggers. This was dependent on the political affiliations where those in power favour their supporters and fellow ethnic members in resource allocations and job opportunities, leaving others marginalised. Political favours has also brought in the issue of nepotism and corruption, which is 37(10%) of the other causes of political competition in Nakuru County. This confirms what Obasanjo 2002 asserted that "we fight and sometimes shed blood to achieve and attain political power because the political kingdom has far too long been gateway to economic kingdom" where political positions are associated with monetary benefits.

Land boundary disputes was cited by 142(38.7%) of the respondents as another cause of political competition in Nakuru. Being Cosmopolitan County that has both farmers (mostly Kikuyu) and animal keepers (mostly Kalenjin) communities, during the dry seasons when grazing areas are few, the animal keepers let/put their animals to graze on peoples farms. There has been cattle rustling 23(6.2%) among the herders which has caused tension and fights among them. Land was used as a trigger in these conflicts in that the Kalenjin, believed that Rift Valley belonged to them, never understood how the Kikuyu got the land and even had title deeds. They were made to believe that the Kikuyu were given the land free by the first President, Jomo Kenyatta, while others believed that the Kikuyu grabbed land from their people. This has always

been an emerging issue whenever there are conflict in the County especially during campaigns which is used as a tool by the political leaders.

Another 109(29.7%) of the respondents revealed that hate speech used by the political leaders especially during campaigns competition contribute to the violence. For instance, from one of the administrators in Molo, the Kikuyu referred to the Kalenjin as '*Rumbwa*' which they interpret to mean '*Mbwa*', and take it to be an insult, without proper understanding of how it came to be. The finding agrees with a report by Wambua, in 2013, which indicated that politics is in the heart of violence in Kenya and that politicians have significantly contributed to violence by inciting the people and using hate speech as a tool to disqualify political opponents and their followers as they compete for different positions in the political sphere.

Another 39(10.6%) of the respondents revealed that corruption / nepotism were causes of political competition in Nakuru County. They felt that some members of the community are more favoured than the others which is dependent on the leaders in power favouring those who voted them in. This was confirmed through the focus group discussion where one respondent reported:

> "…employment is only available for those who have people in
> power and community development is only witnessed in those
> areas that supported the people in power..."

Political favourism, nepotism, corruption and unemployment which were cited as other causes of political competition emanated from the political party that one was affiliated to. The study finding agrees Yieke 2008, who noted that in examining the relationship between power and and domination, there is need to look at situations, where power is used in such a way that it militates against the interests of certain ethnic groups and in favour of others, for example, allocation of

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resources and opportunities. Therefore this agreed with the main cause of competition where 230(62.5%) of the respondents reported to have differences in political party affiliation. This findings agreed with a more recent research, 2011 audit research by National Cohesion and Integration Commission on the degree of ethnic discrimination in public offices that established that the Kikuyu and Kalenjin communities had benefited most in appointments in public offices (NCIC, 2012). Table 4.11 is a percentage tabulation of the other triggers of political violence and ethnic conflict in Nakuru County.

Table 4.11: Causes of Political Competition in Nakuru County

Causes of Political Competition	Percentage
Hate speech	29.7%
Land boundary disputes	38.7%
Natural resources dispute	6.2%
Political favourism in the region	55.7%
Corruption/nepotism	10.6%
Castle rustling	6.2%
Unemployment among youths and other people	2.8%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.4.3 Causes of Political Competition according to the Children

The study carried out on children aged between 16-18 years revealed that 6(40%) of the respondents reported that one of the main causes of political competition is tribalism/ethnicity among the community members, where political parties are formed on ethnic lines. During the interview, some revealed that they never thought of their ethnic background as a hindrance until after these conflicts. They also reported how difficult it has been because they are made to believe that certain ethnic groups are their enemies yet they go to school together but once home cannot be close to each other because they are always reminded of the enemy within.

Another 5(30%) of the respondents indicated that violence is caused by political incitement, especially during the campaigns where the political leaders would always talk ill of other ethnic groups and their opponents. This agrees with 5(29.7%) of MCAs and Administrators who cited hate speech and 163(44.4%) of men and women interviewed who cited political instigation as being main causes of violence in Nakuru County due to the political competition between the

political leaders. In addition, 3(20%) of the children indicated that the violence is caused by misunderstanding among leaders, who share the same political ideologies with their supporters and this is translated to violence. Poor/unfair counting of votes was cited by 3(20%) of the children as a cause of conflict in Nakuru County, where political leaders feel they have lost unfairly, which agrees with 82(22.2%) of women and men who reported rigging of election results as one of the main cause of violence in the County.

On the same note 2(10%) of the children interviewed reported that corruption is a cause of violence and some reported to have been victims as they could not access bursary due to the fact that they are from a different ethnic group from those allocating the funds. This is caused by political competition among the leaders, where those who do not support them, once they come to power marginalises them. The findings agreed with a report by Azam in 2011, that conflicts are as a result of Government failure in provision of social goods such as education and healthcare, which resulted in their reliance on ethnic elites to redistribute state resources on their behalf. The percentages are well presented in Table 4.12:

Table 4.12: Causes of competition according to children

Causes of competition	Percentage
Tribalism/ethnicity	40.0%
Election results	10.0%
Misunderstanding among leaders	20.0%
Poor/unfair counting of votes	20.0%
Corruption	10.0%
Political incitement	30.0%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.4.4 Causes of Political Competition according to CSOs and Religious Leaders

The study sought to establish if the main causes of competition cited by men and women were the same as with 16 members of the CSOs and Religious Leaders. From the CSOs and religious leaders 12(72.9%) strongly agreed their differences in political party affiliations to be mainly the cause of violence experienced in Nakuru County, which was also the leading cause for men and women at 230(62.5%). Another 11(69.2%) of the CSOs and religious leaders strongly agreed that violence was caused by leaders' instigation during their campaigns, which was the leading factor unlike for men and women where it was in the third position with 186(50.5%).

Election results was cited by 10(64.3%) of the respondents from CSOs and Religious Leaders who strongly agreed that it caused violence. This was when the results were not in favour of their candidate, citing the 2002 and 2007 as the two main years where the violence was at its highest after the results were announced. On the same note, 6(36.4%) agreed strongly that campaigns are causes of violence which normally happened before the election. This would normally come about through the leaders' instigation who gave false promises if given the chance to take up the political positions in the County. This was due to competition among the political leaders to their opponents in their parties or from different political parties.

Another 3(20%) agreed strongly that election rigging, which comes about due to competition amongst the political leaders, was a cause of violence. This agreed with 82(22.2%) of men and women who cited rigging of elections results as a cause of violence in Nakuru County. However, none of the respondents strongly agreed that polling causes violence in Nakuru County but 3(20%) agreed that it does and 3(20%) strongly disagreed that polling is a cause of violence.

Table 4.13 gives the percentage tabulation of main causes of violence according to CSOs and Religious Leaders:

Table 4.13: Causes of violence according to CSOs and Religious leaders

Causes of violence	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Campaigns	36.4	36.4	0	18.2	9.1
Polling	0	20	0	60	20
Election results	64.3	14.3	0	14.3	7.1
Rigging of election results	20	20	30	10	20
Leader instigation	69.2	23.1	0	0	7.7
Difference in political affiliations	72.9	22.8	0	0	4.3

Source: Field Data, 2016

Other than the pre-set options for causes of violence cited by the CSOs and religious leaders, the researcher sought to know the other triggers of competition experienced in Nakuru County. Some of the triggers cited included political divide and ethnic stereotyping where 8(50%) of the respondents revealed it as the highest contributor. The respondents reported that this is due to the political parties being formed on ethnic lines which became the voting blocs leading to favourism in distribution of resources and opportunities, in terms of developments, job opportunities and were not on merit. Lack of openness in election results was reported by 2(14.3%) of the respondents as a cause of violence where people were left with the feeling that

the elections were rigged thus raising tension among the community member, who were affiliated to different political parties, and more often led to violence.

The media, especially the vernacular stations were cited by 1(7.1%) of the respondents where each ethnic group used their language to inform and incite against their competitors, taking the advantage of those who did not understand the language. This was made possible by the fact that these political parties were formed on ethnic lines and therefore communication was very easy for people from the same ethnic background. Media was also reported to flare up the violence by concentrating more on the ills than the good which motivated people to revenge on behalf of their own ethnic members from other far away areas as one of the respondents in a focus group discussion in Kuresoi reported;

> "…the media used to report the incidences but in a more exaggerated manner and this provoked others who revenged on behalf of their fellow ethnic member who had been attacked in other places far away from our area. This would come as a surprise because majority of us would be attacked unaware of what is going on especially those of us not keen to follow the news..." (Field data, 2016)

Table 4.14 is a percentage representation of the of the other causes of violence according to CSOs and religious leaders;

Table 4.14: Causes of conflicts according to CSOs and churches

Causes of violence	Percentage
Unequal distribution of resources and opportunities	21.4%
Ignorance	7.1%
Unemployment	7.1%
Media esp. the vernacular stations	7.1%
Political divide and ethnic stereotyping	50.0%
Communication barrier	7.1%
Lack of openness in results	14.3%

Source: Field Data, 2016

4.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter describes the findings and discussions of the data collected from the field for men, women, children, CSO representatives and administrators on conflicts experienced in Nakuru County. This chapter addressed the demographic information of the respondents and the first objective of the study on the nature of political competition in Nakuru County. It also describes the respondents' opinions and views on the experiences, targets beneficiaries and perpetrators of violence. The chapter also looks at the different causes of political competition as revealed by the different respondent categories. The chapter has also looked at neighbour's ethnic background and political affiliation in relation to their experience on violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT DURING NON-ELECTIONEERING PERIOD

This chapter presents research findings and discussions in socio-economic context during non-electioneering period in Nakuru County. This is the period within which there were no active political campaigns either before or after the election year. Included in this chapter is the relationship between the residents and the economic status of Nakuru County residents before and after the election period.

5.1 Relationship between Community members during non-electioneering period according to men and women

Non-electioneering period is when there were no active politics. This was either before or after the election year. From the men and women interviewed, 302(82%) of them indicated that the relationship during non-electioneering period was better/more calm as members worked together in community and social activities. From the focus groups it was confirmed that though they worked together, there was always tension especially when they remembered what happened because those who attacked them were well known to them. The 2007 post-election violence was reported have had the highest number of casualties because the different communities were prepared and therefore easily retaliated. These findings agreed with a report by Myers-Brown in 2003, which indicated that neighbours from different ethnic background who lived in harmony were forced to buy weapons in readiness to defend themselves incase of an outbreak of war after the elections.

Only 24(6.6%) indicated that the relationship was hostile which they attributed to lack of continuous peace building initiatives after the violence and lack of political will to resolved the issues that caused the violence. Another 24(6.6%) of the respondents did not give any response

on the relationship between the community members during non-electioneering period, claiming not to be sure, because according to them there are never indicators until when the enemy strikes. Of the men and women interviewed, 18(4.8%) of them revealed that the various communities were united even after the violence, because some have no alternative and had to remain in their farms. Figure 5.1 represents the percentages of community relationship during non-electioneering period in Nakuru County.

Relationship of Community members during non-electioneering periods

- better/calm
- hostile
- no response
- united
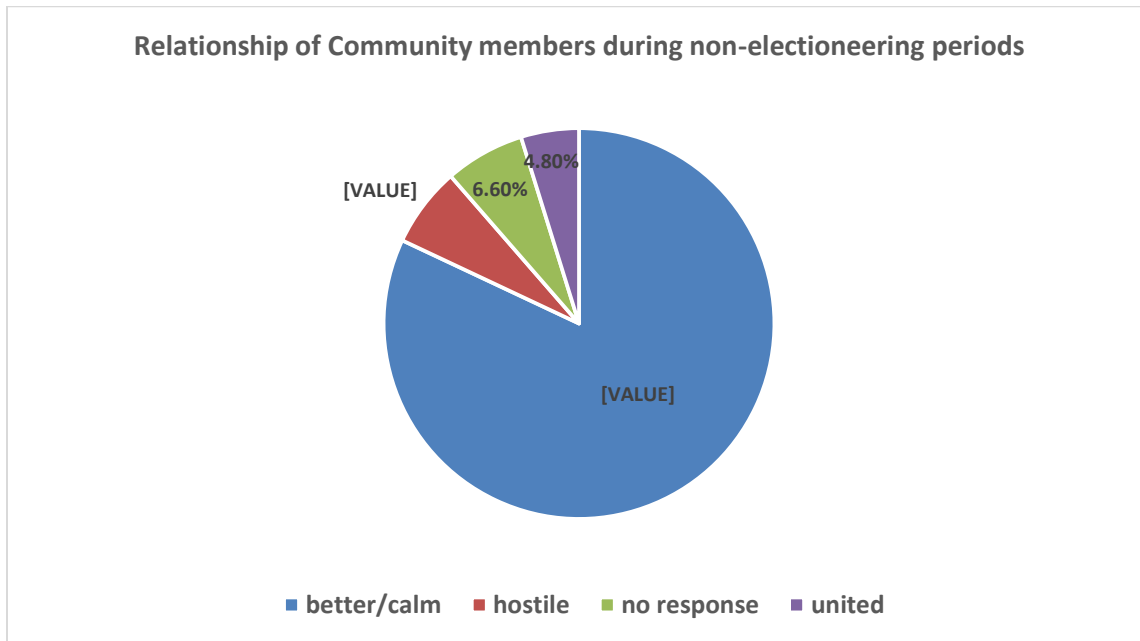
Figure 5.1: Community relationship during non-electioneering period

Source: Researcher, 2016

5.2 Community relationship during non-electioneering period according to CSOs, Administrators and religious leaders

It is also worth noting that the relationship between community members during non-electioneering period is quite good. According to a majority of the respondents from the CSOs, Administrators and religious leaders, 163(44.4%), agreed that the relationship during the non-

electioneering period was very good, with no incidences reported, while 158(42.9%) indicated that the relationship was excellent, and 74(20%) reported it to be good. From the study it was clear that the CSOs, Administrators and religious leaders revealed that the relationship between the community members was very okay where they co-existed harmoniously, given that none of the respondents reported the relationship to fair, poor or very poor. However, it is worth noting that 184(50%) and 92(25%) of the respondents strongly disagreed that the relationship among the community members during non-electioneering period was very poor and poor respectively. This implies that the respondents never experienced any security threat during non-electioneering period. This was confirmed by the DPC members in Kaptembwa where women from different communities were members of the same group and traded with each other during non-electioneering period. The study findings disagree with the report by Dodge 1996, that claimed that the effects of the experiences caused by conflicts can create a vicious circle, which contributes to the obdurate nature of intra-state conflict, which is not the case in Kenyan ethnic conflict.

 Another 82(22.2%) and 53(14.3%) strongly disagreed that the relationship among the community members during non-electioneering period was very good and excellent respectively. The FGD in Sachangwan (Plate 4) reported that as much as they trade with each other and participate in development projects, there is always some tension and fears that they may turn against each other easily. The respondents revealed politics, ethnicity and incitement from the political leaders as the main causes of the violence and that violence was mainly between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin. This is where the Kalenjin were made to believe that the Kikuyu grabbed their land and if driven away, the Kalenjin would have enough land to graze their cattle.

This study findings agrees with Weingarten 2004 report, which indicated that political violence of any kind can lead to a great deal of trauma especially to those who have suffered the consequences of turmoil in the past.

Table 5.1: Relationship among the community members during non-electioneering period according to CSOs, Administrators and Religious leaders

Relationship	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Excellent	35.7	42.9	0	7.1	14.3
Very good	33.3	44.4	0	0	22.2
Good	20	70	0	0	10
Fair	0	77.8	11.1	0	11.1
Poor	0	0	0	75	25
Very poor	0	0	0	50	50

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.3 Types of relationship

The study sought to find out the types of relationship that existed in the community through the CSOs, Administrators and religious leaders, where 16(66.7%) of the respondents revealed that the community members coexisted peacefully. Another 8(33%) of the respondents revealed that there was cooperation in trade and development, which they did together, irrespective of their ethnic background and political party affiliations.

In addition, 2(8%) indicated that there were inter-marriages amongst themselves. This was seen with the young people, who attended the same school and held many activities such as clubs and youth groups together. This bond them together irrespective of their ethnic background and

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political party affiliations, though once they go back home were reminded of the animosity against their opponents. Only 2(8%) indicated that people follow their ethnic lines, where the trade and development projects are for specific ethnic group. From the youth FGD (Plate 5), one woman reported that the merry-go-rounds are formed by women from one specific ethnic group without involving those with different ethnic background. The study findings concurs with Stathis 2004 report that indicated bitterness and resentment were deeply engulfed in the hearts of survivors of political violence who passed them on the next generation. This was the experience in Nakuru County, where recurrence of the conflict was a reminder of those who lost their life and the survivors of these conflicts, thus bringing back bitterness and revenge to the aggrieved group.

Table 5.2 gives the percentages of the types of relationship among community members in Nakuru County according to the CSOs, Administrators and religious leaders.

Table 5.2: Types of relationship among community members

Type of Relationship	Percentage
Cooperation in trade and development agenda	33.3%
Peaceful coexistence	66.7%
Inter-marriages	8.3%
People follow their ethnic lines	8.3%

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.4 Influence of Political Competition on the Socioeconomic status of Nakuru County Residents

This section sought to find out the influence of political competition amongst the political leaders, and the impact it has had, on the socioeconomic status of men, women and children in Nakuru County.

5.4.1 Influence on men.

The study revealed that the greatest influence that political competition had on men, which resulted in conflicts, is loss of life and property according to 315(85.6%) of the men and women interviewed. Plate 7 shows remains of a building torched down during the 2007/8 political violence and had not been re-constructed. The house and shop is in Githima village, in Nakuru sub-County the owner had re-located to Nakuru town. The violence in this area was mainly between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin, where the Kalenjin were transporting their people at night, from this area in readiness to attack the Kikuyu

. The attackers were being transported from other areas at night and would be guided by the locals during the attacks which were discriminative.

Men were always the main target of the perpetrators and would easily be killed as they try to fight back to protect their families and properties. Their properties would either be burnt or taken away by the perpetrators. One respondent from Matumaini - Molo reported:

> ".. hawa watu ni wabaya, walichukua ngombe and mbuzi zetu na bado tunaziona kwa mboma zao lakini hakuna kitu tunaweza fanya. Ni uchungu sana..." (".. These people are so bad, they took away our cows and goats which we can see in their homesteads but there is nothing we can do, it's too painful...") (Field Data, 2016)

However, 128(34.8%) of the respondents reported that men were displaced or forced to migrate to escape the wrath of the attackers. It was difficult for men to stay in their homes, especially

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during the nights, for the attacks were carried out during this time. Other times they would use female dresses to disguise their identity from the attackers. Men also relocated to other areas and not in the IDP sites after their homes are torched. As was reported by one man from Kuresoi;

> (..”siwesi kavumilia kuwaona watoto wangu na bibi wakitezeka kwa camp, ni kikubuka vile nilikua na mali mingi kabla ya hii vita...”). (“.. I can’t bear the pain of seeing my children and wife suffer in the IDP camps when l remember the property that l had before the violence...”) (Field Data, 2016)

This agrees with Weingarten 2004, who argued that incidences in a political turmoil psychologically affect the victims at the heart of the violence.

Most men lost their job after relocation to other areas where they were not able to commute to work or out of fear of a recurrent attack. This was reported by 115(31.3%) of the respondents. Family separation was also very common as men remained in the farms while the women left for the IDP site with the children. Other times the men would disappear to unknown destinations, to run away from their responsibilities after losing their jobs or destruction of their properties. The study findings agrees with Myers-Bowman, 2003, who says that poverty is a predicament experienced by many in the society and war only aggravates the situation. However, Carns, 1996, disagrees and says that many developing countries never grow economically and the cumulative negative effects on poor families are not only because of political violence but also because of the social and economic disadvantages.

Another 8(2.2%) of the respondents revealed that men got sick with depressions and other opportunistic diseases after the attacks and died. This they reported was caused by a sense of hopelessness, despair and egocentrism. These findings agree with Weingarten, 2004, who argues that incidences in a political turmoil psychologically affect the victims at the heart of the

violence. It also agrees with Fortuna, Porche and Alegria in 2008, who argued that remnants of war are mostly associated with alcohol abuse which they used to console their souls. Most men spend their days in beer dens recalling the events of war and blaming their enemies for their predicaments. Men were left unattended with an expectation that they were strong enough to recover from devastating consequences of political violence. On the contrary, the same care accorded to others should have been given to men. Table 5.3 summarises the different influences of conflict on men in Nakuru County:

Table 5.3: Influence on men

Influence	Percentage
Loss of life and properties	85.6%
Displacement/ forced migration	34.8%
Family separation	6.3%
Unemployment/ loss of job	31.3%
Diseases attacks/ stress	2.2%

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.4.2 Influence on women

This question sought to find out how political competition influenced women's socioeconomic status in Nakuru County. According to 204(55.3%) of the respondents, one of the highest effect is that they are raped by the perpetrators and fellow men especially in the IDP sites. They ended up contracting diseases such as STIs and HIV/AIDs and unwanted pregnancies. This is confirmed by Munyiri in 2007, who argued that in both events of the political skirmishes of 1992 and 2007 in Kenya, women faced the most devastating effects. Many were displaced from their homes, widowed and sexually abused. Women candidates for elective posts were intimidated, some forced to quit vying for positions in the Government and many others were left severely injured. As was expressed by one man;

> ("..These men were so inhuman, l witnessed them rape my own
> wife in front of my children, and l could not say or do anything,
> and her pleas got to deaf ears… ") (Field Data, 2016)

Another 202(54.8%) of the respondents revealed that women were also killed and their property stolen. The perpetrators killed indiscriminately so long as one belonged to the targeted ethnic

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group especially the parents. The property carried away was cattle, goats and sheep and also dried food from the granaries.

However, 136(37.0%) of the respondents reported that women were left with a huge family burden of taking care of the children when their husbands were killed or disappeared to unknown destinations. They were also divorced by their husbands especially when they are from different ethnic groups or due to children born out of wedlock, who were as a result of rape or as they sought favours from the humanitarian workers for the rations. The women were also forced to migrate or were displaced from their home to safe places. Majority ended up in the IDP sites while others moved in with relatives in the non-affected areas which was very traumatising. This was reported by 81(21.9%) of the respondents interviewed. This study findings agreed with an affirmation from UNCEF 1996 report that these problems were further aggravated by forceful deportation of populations, who were not only vulnerable to prolonged political skirmishes, but also to other forms of sources of torment and anguish such as the case of harassment and sexual exploitation in the camps.

Women lost their jobs after displacements which was revealed by 30(8.2%) of the respondents. The study findings agrees with Fortuna, Porche and Alegria, 2008, that violence of a political kind wrecks the lives of all in the society especially women and children who suffered the most during the skirmishes. It also agrees with Amnesty International, 2004, that human rights situations across the region of Africa is characterised by widespread armed conflict and political regression and that in all, women were at risk. Table 5.4 summarises the different influences of conflict on women in Nakuru County.

Table 5.4: Influences on women

Influence	Percentage
Raped/ sexual and gender based violence	55.3%
Displacement/ forced migrations	21.9%
Family burden/ separation	37.0%
Unemployment/ loss of job	8.2%
Loss of life and properties	54.8%

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.4.3 Influence on children

Some influences that political competition had on children included loss of life, especially the boy-child, which was reported by 193(52.5%) of the respondents. The boys were seen as a threat to the perpetrators in protection of the family members and property. However, 168(45.6%) of the respondents reported that children were separated from their families and some ended up being orphaned. During the attacks, people run to different directions and the children ended up being separated from their families, while others had their parents killed in the attacks. The rate of school dropout was also high, due to lack of fees, basic needs and displacement, as they moved to areas without the school facility. Others were forced to repeat classes in their new schools for them to be admitted, which was reported by 121(32.8%) of the respondents.

Another 46(12.5%) of the respondents reported to have experienced sexual gender based violence, where boys were killed and girls raped or mutilated by the perpetrators. However, 21(5.6%) of the respondents revealed that children experienced emotional stress, as some could not comprehend what was happening. Some reported that they would see neighbours, whom they had known all through as friendly attacking them and destroying their property and carrying

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away some. As children witnessed their parents or other people being killed or dehumanised, left them with the urge of revenge without necessarily being forced to join in these groups, as Wessells, 2005, reported.

The study findings were affirmed by UNCEF 1996 report that these problems were further aggravated by forceful deportation of populations, who were not only vulnerable to prolonged political skirmishes, but also to other forms of sources of torment and anguish such as the case of harassment and sexual exploitation in the camps. The study findings also agree with a study by Sagi-Swart *et al* 2008, which found that political violence and war have negative effects on children. Such negative effects include heightened aggression and violence, revenge seeking, depression, withdrawal and poor school performance. Table 5.5 tabulates the influence conflict had on children in Nakuru County.

Table 5.5: Influence on children

Influence	Percentage
Lacked basic needs	18.1%
Family separation/ orphaned	45.6%
School drop out	32.8%
Violence based on gender	12.5%
Forced labour	12.5%
Emotional stress	5.6%
Loss of life	52.5%

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.4.4 The impacts of political competition on CSOs and church activities

The political competition that resulted in violence, affected the operations of the CSOs and those of church in the County in different ways. From the respondents, 6(40%) resported that there was suspicion among the church members from different ethnic group which affected their work. Their peace building initiatives were deterred in that it was not easy to penetrate the affected areas, especially for those from other ethnic groups. Some of their personnel left for fear of being attacked and some insisted on working in areas inhabited by their fellow ethnic members.

However, 3(20%) of the respondents reported that members of the congregation fled to other areas which were considered peaceful for fear of being attacked and where majority of their fellow ethnic members lived. Another 4(26.7%) of the respondents reported that their property was destroyed by the attackers, making it hard for them to carry on with their activities as evidenced in plate 8 where a hotel was burned down. The hotel belonged to a man from Kalenjin ethnic group in Githima village in Nakuru where there fighting was between the kikuyu and Kalenjin communities. While 2(13.3%) reported that there were killings among the church members due to difference in political affiliations and this deterred operations due to lack of enough man power. Lack of enough finances for activities, disruption of activities, education for children, and diversion of funds for peace building initiatives were other effects revealed by the CSOs, and church leaders, representing 1(6.7%) of the total respondents. Table 5.6 represents percentages of the effect that violence has on the NGO and church activities.

Table 5.6: Impacts of conflict on CSOs and Church activities

Impacts	Percentage
Much of the congregation fled to other areas	20.0%
Church members from different communities were suspicious of each other	40.0%
Violence left me disabled	6.7%
Destruction of property	26.7%
Lack of enough finances for activities	6.7%
Members want to work in areas inhabited by their communities	6.7%
Loss of staff through displacement	6.7%
Activities disrupted	6.7%
Funds diverted to creating peace	6.7%
Some members were killed	13.3%
Disruption of education to children	6.7%

Source: Field Data, 2016

5.4.5 Impact of Political Competition on Residents' Occupations

This question sought to find out the impact of political competition between the political leaders on the citizen's occupation, in different periods in between the electioneering years. This is because some businesses may have been affected by the conflicts when people are displaced or when their businesses are destroyed. The careers may also have been affected through displacement to other areas and all this disrupts the economic lives of the people.

5.4.5.1 Occupation between 1992 to 1997

From the study findings, the citizens' occupation in the year 1992 and 1997 was the same before and after for some respondents while for some it changed. Other than 4(1%) of the respondents who retained their occupation as drivers, all the rest 364(99%) had different occupation from 1992 to 1997. This was caused by displacement after the violence where some lost their jobs and others had to start afresh after losing their properties. Slightly above a third of the respondents, 130(35.3%) were farmers before and after while 64(17.3%) were conducting business in the County and still continued with their businesses even after violence. Teachers also remained in their profession even after the violence which was reported by 20(5.3%) of the respondents. On the same note, 55(15%) were students before and after while 25(6.8%) were doing business before and after became farmers. Figure 5.2 represents the impact of conflict on occupation of the respondents between 1992 to1997.

Occupation between 1992 -1997

Category	Percentage
Schooling - Business	4.2%
Student - Farmer	3.8%
Student - Casual labourer	3.8%
Business - Farmer	3.2%
Maid - House wife	3.2%
Teacher - Farmer	2.8%
Driver - Farmer	1.2%
Driver - Driver	1.0%
Student - Teacher	1.0%
Business - Teacher	1.0%
Casual - Employment	0.6%
Employment - Business	0.6%
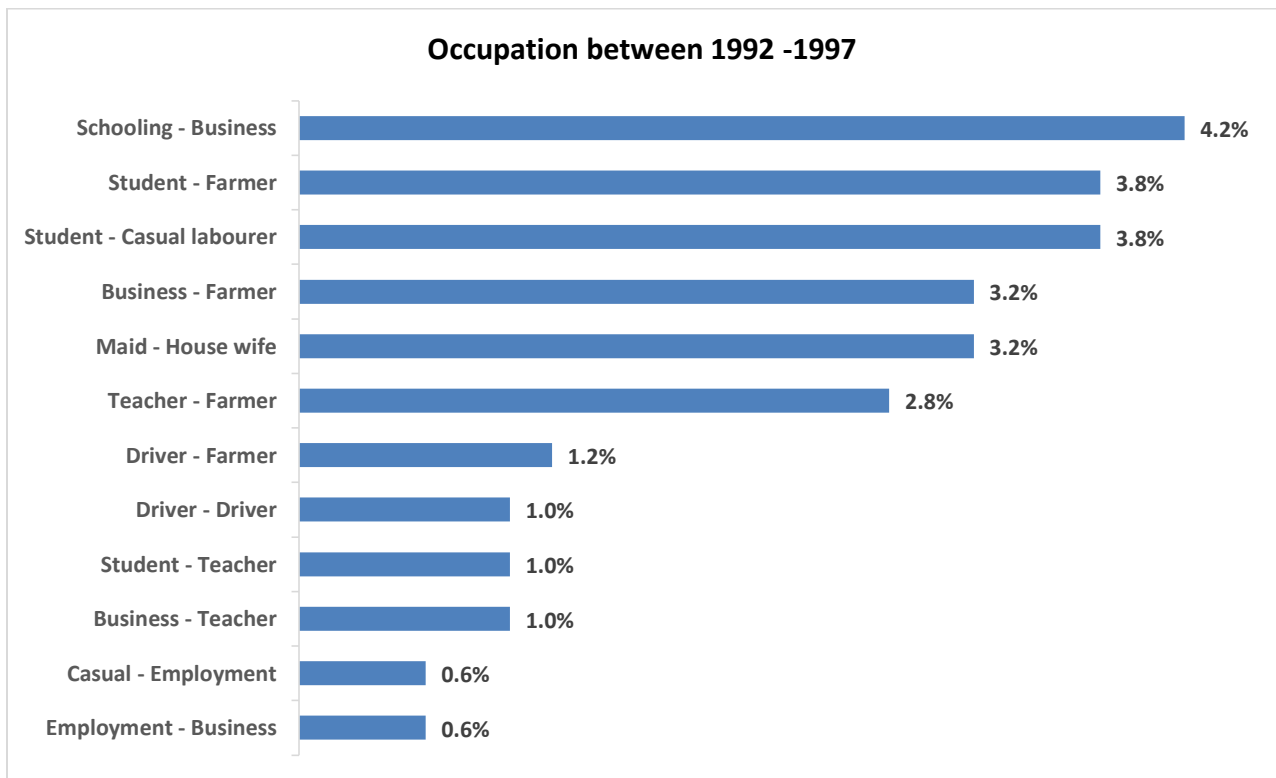
Figure 5.2: Respondent Occupation between 1992 and1997

Source: Researcher, 2016

5.4.5.2 Occupation between 1997 to 2002

The study sought to establish the impact of conflict on the occupation of the respondents between 1997 and 2002. During this period, more than 221(60%) of the respondents retained their occupations before and after the violence. Another 144(39.2%) of the respondents remained farmers before and after the violence while 95(25.8%) still conducted businesses before and after. It is worth noting that 8(2.1%) of the respondents who were working in 1997 became jobless after 2002. Figure 5.3 represents the impact that conflict had on residents' occupation between 1997 and 2002.

Occupation between 1997-2002

Occupation	Percentage
Schooling - Business	4.2%
Student - Farmer	3.8%
Student - Casual labourer	3.8%
Business - Farmer	3.2%
Maid - House wife	3.2%
Teacher - Farmer	2.8%
Driver - Farmer	1.2%
Driver - Driver	1.0%
Student - Teacher	1.0%
Business - Teacher	1.0%
Casual - Employment	0.6%
Employment - Business	0.6%
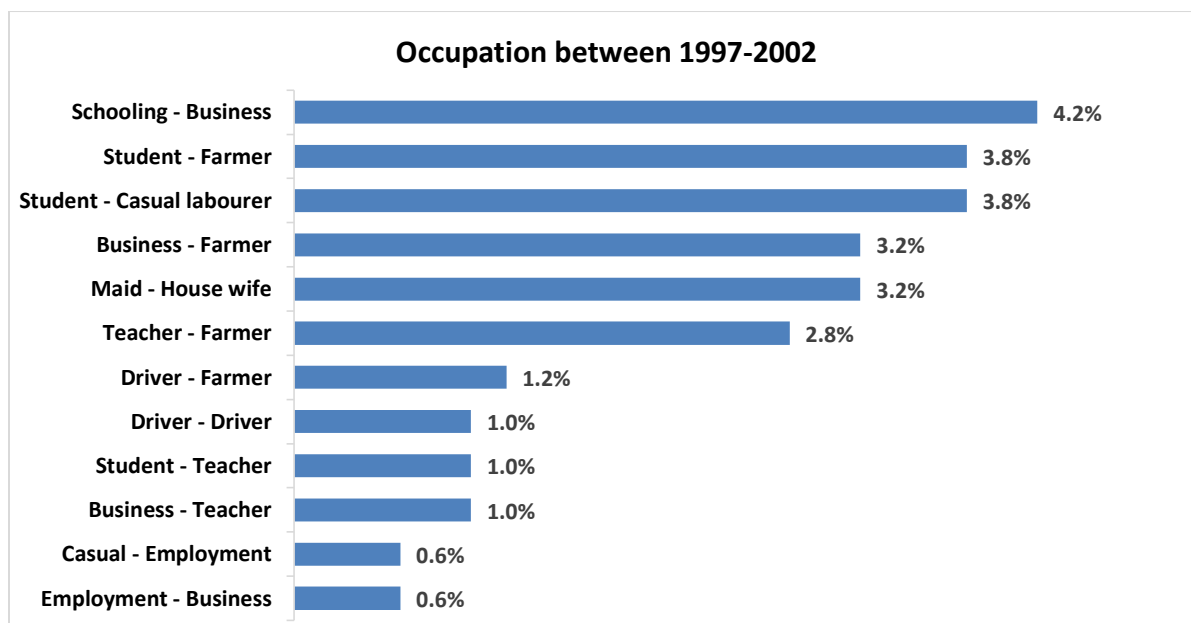
Figure 5.3: Respondents occupation between 1997 and 2002

Source: Researcher, 2016

5.4.5.3 Occupation between 2002 to 2007

There was slight change in occupation as a result of the conflicts before and after 2002 and 2007 that was observed from the respondents. About 44(12%) of the respondents were either working or had a business but after 2007 became jobless. Another 147(40%) did not change their form of employment, 74(20%) of the respondents who were farmers before the violence remained farmers after the violence, while 70(19%) of those who were running businesses continued after the violence.

However, 35(9.5%) of those running businesses became casual workers and 7(2%) of those in business became farmers, while 26(7%) of those running businesses became jobless. Figure 5.4 represents the percentages of the impact of conflict on the occupations of the respondents between 2002 and 2007:

Occupation between 2002 -2007

Category	Percentage
Farmer - Farmer	21.2%
Business - Business	19.2%
Business - Casual worker	10.0%
Business - Jobless	7.4%
Student - Student	6.4%
Job - Jobless	4.8%
Teacher - Teacher	4.8%
Schooling - Business	4.2%
Student - Farmer	3.8%
Student - Casual labourer	3.8%
Business - Farmer	3.2%
Maid - House wife	3.2%
Teacher - Farmer	2.8%
Driver - Farmer	1.2%
Driver - Driver	1.0%
Student - Teacher	1.0%
Business - Teacher	1.0%
Casual - Employment	0.6%
Employment - Business	0.6%

Figure 5.4: Respondents occupation between 2002 and 2007

Source: Researcher, 2016

5.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter describes the findings and discussions from the data collected from the field from men, women, children, CSO representatives and administrators on political competition experienced in Nakuru County. This chapter addressed the second objective of the study on the socioeconomic context during non-electioneering period. It addressed the relationship of the community members during non-electioneering period and the different types of relationships experienced by the community members. The chapter also addresses the influence that political

competition has had on the residents and the impact that it has had on the operations of the CSOs and religious organisations.

CHAPTER SIX

SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL COMPETITION IN NAKURU COUNTY

This chapter discusses the different solutions to political competition experienced in Nakuru County as was shared by the respondents and steps towards achieving it.

6.1 Conflict Management Interventions

The study sought to establish the type and sources of interventions that were put in place during the violence. The men and women who participated in the study acknowledged that there were more than one intervention especially from the civil societies.

6.1.1 Sources of interventions

From the total respondents, 166(45.0%) of them acknowledged that there were interventions on management of conflict from the CSOs who were operating in the County, mostly in the urban centres, where majority of the IDP camps were concentrated. This was through Red Cross which was on the ground offering humanitarian services and was coordinating the other CSOs which were operating in the area.

Another 180(48.8%) of the respondents acknowledged interventions from the Government officials through the Ministry of Special programmes who organised Barazas through the area leaders, formation of District Peace Committees and other peace initiative activities, which included football and drama for the youths.

Peace committees which constituted of religious leaders, community leaders and Government officials was reported by 14(3.7%) of the respondents. They worked with the council of elders and the Government officials in the affected areas in peace building initiatives. However, 9(2.5%) of the respondents acknowledged the interventions from the council of elders from the

warring parties in trying to bring peace, through talking to their people. The study findings agree with Lapidoth analyses of the concept of autonomy in 1996, who assesses its usefulness in resolving ethnic conflicts, which being on the rise, autonomy is often suggested as a solution to such conflicts. Table 6.1 represents the different sources of interventions in conflict management in Nakuru County.

Table 6.1: Sources of interventions

Source of intervention	Percentage
Peace committees	3.7%
CSOs	45.0%
Government officials	48.8%
Council of elders	2.5%

Source: Field Data, 2016

6.1.2 Types of interventions

This research question sought to find out the types of interventions that were being provided during the violence. However, the respondents gave more than one type of intervention where 191(51.8%) of the respondents reported that there were peace preaching fora among people which were championed by the council of elders, and peace committees. This was facilitated by the Government who provided transport for the committee members and for the affected people to safer grounds. They also offered security to the affected areas. Political leaders and other Government officials visited the affected areas and participated in these Barazas. Intervention of

the CSOs, such as Red Cross, USAID, UNDP, Mercy Corps, PeaceNet, CJPC and UN Women was basically on the provision of basic needs which was reported by 188(51.2%) of the respondents, but some were also involved in offering psychosocial support to the affected people. Provision of security was reported at 29(7.9%) by the respondents, which was from the Government for those providing humanitarian aids in the IDP camps and on the ground in the affected areas. Table 6.2 is a tabulation of the types of interventions during the political violence and ethnic conflict in Nakuru County:

Table 6.2: Types of interventions

Types of interventions	Percentage
Preach peace among people	51.8%
Provide basic needs	51.2%
Provide security	7.9%

Source: Field Data, 2016

6.1.2.1: Involvement of CSOs and Religious leaders during conflicts period
The CSOs and Religious Leaders were involved in different ways during the conflict period, 11(67%) of the respondents reported that they had peace building initiatives which involved communal work with the community members irrespective of the ethnic background or political party they were affiliated to. This was in the hope of bringing the communities together to put their differences aside. Some of the CSOs and religious leaders were involved in the provision of the basic needs such as food to the victims of violence who had been displaced from their homes. This was reported by 8(50%) of the respondents. Transportation of the victims and spiritual counselling were reported by 3(17%0 of the respondents, to have been carried by some CSOs

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and religious leaders. Table 6.3 represents the percentages of the different roles played by CSOs and Religious leaders during ethnic conflict.

Table 6.3: Involvement of CSOs and Religious Leaders during conflict period

Involvement	Percentage
Peace building initiatives	67%
Provision of basic needs e.g. food	50%
Transportation of victims	17%
Spiritual counselling to victims	17%

Source: Field Data, 2016

6.1.2.2 Involvement of administration during the conflict period

The Local Government Administrators played different roles during the conflict period with 7(90%) of them indicating that they were part of peace building committees in their various areas of jurisdiction. They participated fully in the outreach programs for the community members, where 2(30%) reported to have had peace forums with the community members. These comprised of representatives from different communities. Some CSOs and religious leaders were involved in initiating youth sensitization programs where they had activities for the youth such as football, which they would play together irrespective of their ethnic background or party affiliations. This was reported by 2(20%) of the respondents. The leaders also had programs for the youth who used as peace ambassadors. Another 1(10%) of the respondents reported to have been involved in the distribution of non-food items which were donated by well-wishers or overseeing the distribution to the victims. Table 6.4 represents the percentages of the different roles played by administrators during ethnic conflict.

Table 6.4 Roles played by administrators during ethnic conflict period

Activity	Percentage
Peace building committees	90%
Forums for peace	30%
Youth sensitization programs	20%
Distribute food and non-food items to victims	10%

Source: Field Data, 2016

6.2 Conflict Resolution

The research question on conflict resolution aimed at establishing the steps that the respondents felt would be more appropriate in resolving conflict to avoid a repeat of the same in the future years. The respondents revealed different steps that can be taken in resolving conflicts towards achieving peace before, during and after elections.

6.2.1 Preaching peace

Men and women, 300(81.6%), CSO 9(53.3%) Administrators 2(20%) Children 3(18%) acknowledged preaching peace as being one solution to conflict experienced in Nakuru county that the political leaders, administrators and community leaders can embrace during their campaigns and other meetings to ensure the community members coexist peacefully. This, they believe should be done throughout the year and not necessarily when election were near or when there was violence. This was also echoed by the FGD in Kaptembwa (Plate 1) who reported that the DPC formed were only active during the conflicts though they did not have enough funding and thus did not have much impact at the grassroots.

The respondents also revealed that the peace committees should comprise representatives from all ethnic groups in the county and people from the grassroots together with the county administrators. This is because they do understand their issues well and the committees should be well funded in order to reach out to all community members. Buchere (2011) argues that, county administrators play an important role in peace building and conflict management, and therefore strengthening their capacities as members of the peace and security committees is necessary to equip them with competences that will enable them eliminate and support effective conflict management. This is particularly true given that the county administrators operate up to the grassroots level and are able to identify and monitor conflict indicators which serve as early warning signs for prevention of conflicts.

6.2.2 Distribution of Resources and Opportunities

Equal distribution of resources was cited by 73(19.9%) of men and women, 2(13.3%) CSOs and Religious leaders, 2(11.1%) Administrators and 1(9.1%) children, as a way of resolving conflict and should not be dictated or determined by the ethnic background or political affiliation that one comes from. This is because most of the political leaders during their campaigns use resource distribution as a campaign tool against their opponents to portray marginalization by those in leadership who favour those who supported them or those from their ethnic groups.

This concurs with Aluko 2011 who argues that the state is the primary source of private wealth accumulation in Africa and this makes the struggle for state power so intense. He continues to argue that distribution of the national resources (resource allocation) must be based upon objectively measurable and generally accepted criteria by all the various ethnic groups in the country where justice, fair play and equity must be ensured in the distribution of these resources.

6.2.3 Civic education

Civic education was cited by 174(47.2%) men and women, 1(6.7%) CSOs and Religious leaders, 6(33.3%) Administrators, and 3(18.2%) Children as a measure that can avert conflict in Nakuru County, by creating awareness to the community members on good governance. The respondents recommended that the government should put in place programs offering civic education to communities to educate them on issues of governance to prevent the political leaders from taking advantage of their ignorance during their campaigns where they give false information and incite them against each other. The study findings agree with Nnoli report in 1998 that empowering the different ethnic nationalities in the nation can help to reduce ethnic problem

6.2.4 Single party

Moving back to a single party system was cited by 74(20%) men and women, 2(13.5%) CSOs and Religious leaders, 2(11.1%) Administrators, as a measure to avert conflicts. The respondents revealed that during the single party era, though the competition was there between the candidates, the conflicts were minimal. However, ethnic conflicts were witnessed though of a lower magnitude. This was echoed by one respondent in the focus group discussion in Keringet who said:

> Single party kind of leadership would be the best for this Country because there are so many ethnic groups and each would wish to have their own as the leader. Therefore, to avoid the competition culminating to violence, we better go back to the 'dark' days of President Moi and Jomo Kenyatta (Field Data, 2016)

This is unlike during the multi-party era where political parties are so many and majority of them are formed along ethnic lines. This makes the competition between the parties to turn out to be competition between the ethnic groups and follows that the loss in elections is seen to be a loss for the ethnic group. This agrees with Aluko 2011 who argued that collective security can

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prevent ethnic problem in the sense that a threatened nation, exercising its inherent right of collective self-defence can call on others for help. He continues to say that collective security is a far more potent weapon for deferring aggression and maintaining peace and security than is the traditional right of self-defence standing alone.

6.2.5 Action against perpetrators

Action against the perpetrators was cited by 55(15%) men and women, 5(33.3%) CSOs and Religious leaders, 2(9.1%) Administrators as a measure to avert conflicts, as a lesson to those with intentions of perpetuating the same. The respondents revealed that most political leaders during their campaigns incite their supporters against their opponents who violate them as a way of intimidating them. This has resulted in loss of life and property and displacement of people.

This agrees with Ibeike in 1995, who argued that there is need for institutionalized indignation whereby both the international community and the various ethnic groups show indignation and condemn brutal or despotic conduct of whatever leader is in power. Ibeike continues to give an example of Jomo Kenyatta and Arap Moi, when they were in power, they victimized and brutalized people from other ethnic groups but their fellow ethnic group members did not condemn their actions.

6.2.6 Employment

Creation of more employment especially for the young people was cited by 85(23.1%) men and women, 2(13.1%) CSOs and Religious leaders, 3(20.0%) Administrators and 6(35%) Children as a solution to violence experienced in Nakuru County. The respondents reported that the young men are used by the political leaders in perpetuating crimes against their opponents as they were promised of opportunities once they get to power. The study findings agree with Nnoli

suggestion in 1998 that empowering the different nationalities in the nation can help to reduce ethnic problem. The study findings also agrees with Aluko 2011 that nations must adapt political arrangements which will accord to all groups meaningful role in national life and which are able to keep ethnic problem within manageable bounds.

6.2.7 Media

Media was cited by 37(10%) men and women, 7(45%) CSOs and religious leaders, 10(52.4%) Administrators, and 2(9.1%) children as a trigger to conflict in Nakuru County. The respondents reported that media, especially the vernacular stations should not be used for campaigns, because the political leaders used them as an incitement platform against their opponents more so those who did not understand the language

6.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented data collected from the field on views, opinions of the respondents on solutions to the political competition experienced in Nakuru County. The chapter addressed different sections. Conflict management and intervention was the first, where sources of intervention and types of intervention was addressed from the different categories of the respondents.

Conflict resolution was the second section, addressing the suggested ways by the respondents to resolve conflicts, which are as a result of the competition amongst political leaders for political positions, measures to avert/avoid and minimise the conflicts experienced in the county. Some of the solutions that were cited by most of the respondents included civic education to educate the community on good governance and also creating awareness on the importance of peaceful coexistence to deter incitement from their political leaders. The respondents also suggested that

going back to a single party system type of government would minimise the conflicts because this will reduce the competition between the political parties which are aligned on ethnic lines, resulting to ethnic competition thus conflicts between the ethnic groups. The respondents suggested there should be equal and fair treatment to all ethnic groups living in the County in terms of resource allocation, job opportunities, leadership position, which are used by the leaders during their campaigns as they incite their supporters against their opponents, thus triggering conflicts. Punishing the perpetrators, where rule of law is to be followed without favour, was cited as a solution, in order to serve as an example to those who may have similar ideas of causing disturbance in the County.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary

This chapter presents the summary of the major findings from the study, conclusions and

recommendations and suggests possible areas for further research. The purpose of this study was

to investigate the influence that political competition has on ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County

with a view to suggest possible solutions to challenges identified by the study.

The specific objectives of the study were to; Examine the nature of political competition in

Nakuru County; Examine the socio-economic context during non-electioneering period and

Establish solutions to ethnic conflict caused by political completion in Nakuru County. The

following are the summary of the findings from each objective.

7.1.1 Nature of political competition in Nakuru County, Kenya.

The first objective of this study was to examine the nature of political competition in Nakuru

County. Ethnic conflict was reported to have been caused by competition between the different

political antagonists where the political parties are formed based on ethnic lines. The competition

between these political parties is seen to be competition between the different ethnic groups since

the political parties are formed along ethnic lines which later become voting blocs.

The study revealed that 230(62.5%) of men and women respondents reported the difference in

political affiliation to be the main cause of ethnic conflict in Nakuru County. Another

214(58.2%) of them reported that elections results caused ethnic conflict especially in the

2007/2008 and 2002 post-election violence. This was followed by leaders' instigations at

185(50.5%) while polling had the least at 54(14.6%). These seemed not to be the only reasons why there has been violence in Nakuru County but there are other underlying causes and elections only triggers.

The study revealed that 205(55.7%) of the residents believed that political favourism was one of the main causes of political violence in Nakuru County. This is where job opportunities and resource allocations is dependent on the political party affiliation and ethnic background of the leaders. This saw those from different ethnic group marginalised. Land dispute and hate speech were revealed by 142(38.7%) and 109(29.7%) of the residents respectively as other causes of ethnic conflict. The two are inter-related in that the political leaders use land issues as a campaign tool by promising to allocate land to their supporters. This has brought in rivalry among the community members, implying that the main causes are not necessarily related to elections but may only be used as trigger.

The CSOs and religious leaders reported difference in political party affiliations and leader instigation at 13(72.9%) and 11(69.2%) respectively to be some of the main causes of political violence and ethnic conflict while polling, at 0%, seem not to have any effect. The CSOs and religious leaders cited the difference in political party affiliation to be the leading at 72.9% which concurs with the response from the residents at 62.5%. Election results campaigns was cited at 10(64.3%) of the respondents. This implies that 'Wananchi' faithfully go to the polling stations, execute their mandate, but are disappointed by what they see as manipulation of results.

However, according to the CSOs and religious leaders, the study revealed that there are other causes of this violence not related to elections where 50% of the respondents reported political divide and ethnic stereotyping to be in the lead, leading to favourism in opportunities and

resource allocation. This was at 3(21.4%) based on political affiliations and ethnic background. Ignorance was reported at 1(7.1%), where political leaders took advantage of the community members by giving them false information on governance. The media, especially vernacular stations was also reported at 1(7.1%) to be a cause of violence especially when they took advantage of those who did not understand the language. This was also echoed by the children during the study where 6(40%) believed ethnicity to be the main cause of violence, while 5(30%) reported political incitement as another cause of political violence.

From the findings, the main causes of political competition during electioneering period is revealed not to be elections but the political leaders use other triggers to incite their supporters against their opponents. Hate speech, job opportunities, land and resource allocation are said to be some of the main causes of ethnic conflict where the political leaders use them as their campaign tools. Political parties are formed along ethnic lines and therefore the competition between political parties is seen as competition between ethnic groups bringing about the ethnic rivalry which leads to ethnic conflict.

7.1.2 Socio-economic context during non-electioneering period

From the second objective of this study on examining the socio-economic context during non-electioneering period in Nakuru County, the study findings revealed the relationship of the community members to be very calm during non-electioneering period with 301(82%) of the residents strongly agreeing to that and only 23(6.2%) and 18(4.8%) reporting the relationship to be hostile and united respectively. However, 24(6.6%) were not sure on the kind of relationship that existed and therefore did not give a response to this question.

The study findings revealed that 245(66.7%) of the residents described the relationship as a peaceful co-existence, 123(33.3%) reported cooperation in trade and development agenda and 31(8.3%) reported that people follow their ethnic lines.

The study findings also revealed loss of life to be a common effect on men, women and children, with 315(85.6%), 202(54.8%) and 193(52.5%) respectively, of the respondents. This is where majority of the people were killed by the perpetrators who targeted mostly the men but also killed the other members of the family. Displacement, migration and family separation was also cutting across the various categories where the men, women and children reported it being 134(34.8%), 84(21.9%) and 175(45.6%) respectively. People had to leave their home and move to safer areas, especially the churches and schools compounds, to avoid being attacked by the enemies. Sexual and gender based violence was cited to affect women this being 204(55.3%) and children, especially the girls with 2(12.5%), which was caused by perpetrators and their own men and husbands after moving to the IDP sites.

The study revealed that children dropped out of schools after the displacement, fear of attacks and due to lack of fees after their parents and guardians lost their jobs and property. The study revealed that 2(12.5%) of the children reported forced labour after the loss of their parents and during the emergency of child headed households and had to feed their siblings.

The findings revealed the relationship amongst the community members was not very strong during non-electioneering period hence did not strengthen their unity and togetherness during the times of violence. This was caused by the experience they went through during the conflict where they are attacked by their neighbour whom they knew all too well who. This weakened their relationship and lived in fear. The conflicts also affect their social welfare where there was

displacement, divorce and separation and loss of life and properties which affect them differently. This resulted in decline in their economic wellbeing to the extent of not being able to provide even the basics to their families.

7.1.3 Solutions to ethnic conflict caused by political competition
The third objective of this study was on possible solutions to ethnic conflict in Nakuru County. The study findings revealed various measures that can be used in minimising or overcome the violence completely, by eliminating competition amongst the political leaders during their campaigning periods. The residents felt that there should be procedures/programmes put in place to resolve and minimise conflict issues to avoid revenge attacks. For instance, 49(13.4%) and 46(12.5%) reported that barazas could be used in arbitration and intermarriages or socialisation activities respectively.

Among the men and women 67(18.2%) of them, 9(53.7%) of the CSOs and religious leaders cited civic education on good governance and awareness creation on importance against peaceful co-existence to be as necessary to empower the communities against being misguided by leaders. Another 67(18.2%) of men and women and 2(13.3%) of the CSOs cited equal and fair treatment to all ethnic groups irrespective of their political affiliations. This would reduce the rate of competition and the concept of leader takes it all. The CSOs and religious leader also recommended the prosecution of rape, theft and murder cases to be a lesson to others who have the intentions of violating others in a similar way. This would intimidate them and make them pull out from the political competition.

The study findings also revealed that the change of Government system from multiparty to a single system form of Government would minimise competition experienced in Nakuru because

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political parties are formed along ethnic lines which leads to competition among the ethnic groups. This was revealed by 50(13.5%), 1(6.6%) and 1(11.1%) of men and women, CSOs and religious leaders and chief and assistant chiefs, respectively, as a way of minimising conflict experience in Nakuru County.

The media, especially the vernacular speaking stations, according to 1(6.7%) of the CSOs and religious leaders, should never be used in the campaigns because they are used as tools to incite people at the expense of those who did not understand the language.

7.2 Conclusion
In the light of the findings of this the following conclusions were made:

The study established that political competition and ethnic alignments were the nexus of violence in Nakuru County. Similarly, it was clear that ethnic conflict can be avoided if only the underlying issues that are used by the political leaders to trigger violence during electioneering periods were addressed.

The study found out that the competition between political leaders from the same or different political parties, where some are based on ethnic lines, is perceived to be competition amongst the ethnic groups. As such these other issues that came into play are only used as triggers for violence. Most Kenyan believe that public positions bring advantage to the entire ethnic community which has encouraged communities to promote and protect their own. Political positions in Kenyan politics means power and access to economic wealth and as such these other factors emerge. These are land issues, political favourism, nepotism, unequal distribution of Government resources as leaders try to pay back those who voted them in. Therefore, ethnic conflicts are used as a platform to vent out anger, grievances and discomfort over other issues.

The study established that the relationship between the community members was said to be very good or excellent during non-electioneering period where members cooperate in trade and development. Though there was an indication of harmonious co-existence the study also found out that they still operate with some fear because they are never sure of when they can turn against each other based on the previous experiences.

The study also established that ethnic conflict that resulted from the competition between the political leaders affect men, women and children differently where women were the most affected, followed by children and then men. Women faced the sexual and gender based violence (SGBV), separation or divorce if they were from different ethnic background from that of their spouse, unemployment and death.

Children were orphaned, dropped out of school, faced violence based on gender where girls were raped while boys were killed by the perpetrators and go through emotional stress as they witness the animosity from the perpetrators. Men, who are normally targeted by the perpetrators are killed, displaced, lose properties through destruction and stealing, unemployed and some have developed health problems such as heart attacks and stress. The study also found out that political competition could be minimised through establishment of stronger peace committee from the grassroots and to be in operation even during non-electioneering period, Government resources to be shared equally and employment for the youth who are usually lured into destruction activities. Therefore, conflicts experienced in Nakuru County have negative socio-economic effect manifested through loss and destruction of property and paralysing functioning of many social institutions.

The study found out that ethnic conflicts in Nakuru are not as a result of elections or the other factors that had been cited by the residents of Nakuru. The main cause of these conflicts is the rivalry between different political parties and also within parties where some political parties are formed along ethnic lines and therefore the competition between the political parties' results to competition between ethnic groups. Thus, all other factors cited to cause ethnic conflict, such as unemployment, unequal distribution of resources, nepotism, and hate speech come into play as those who take over power try to compensate those who supported them and also use them as campaign tools during their campaigns, against their opponents.

The overall conclusion of this study is that ethnic conflicts experienced in Nakuru County during electioneering period is not as a result of ethnic differences but as a result of political competition between and within political parties amongst the political protagonists. Therefore, utilising the various social institutions, for example family, school, religious organisations, government and media to preach peace during the non-electioneering period can reduce ethnic conflict during the electioneering period.

7.3 Recommendation

In view of the foregoing conclusions, the following recommendations were made: the first objective of the study was to establish the nature of political competition in Nakuru County. The findings of the study indicated that the Government should address the issue of political competition where political parties are formed on ethnic lines. This political competition results in competition between the ethnic groups which can be countered by moving back to a single party system where the competition would be minimal. The Government should address the

issues, such as land and resource allocation, that are used as campaign tools against their opponents by the political leaders, bringing division and hatred among the community members

Civic education should be offered to all the community members and their leaders to empower them with information to avoid being misguided by the leaders who take advantage of their ignorance through incitement. The District Peace Committees which were formed after the 2007/2008 post-election violence should have representatives from the grassroots and be well funded to facilitate their activities in peace building activities in the community which should run throughout the years and not only during electioneering period. This would enhance the relationship where members would be allowed to participate and share issues that could be a threat.

There should be building of community agencies to identify and respond to their common problems instead of being left to solve them on their own. This would reduce the level of conflict between them and hence avoid flaring up or being used as trigger during the election period. Security agencies should be well distributed in the County even during non-electioneering period and to comprise of representatives from all ethnic background in order to avoid partisan during the times of conflict. This will also minimise the losses that are incurred during the violence.

The Government and other leaders and representatives should deliberate and review on policies or laws to prohibit the media from being used for the campaigns especially the vernacular stations. Heavy penalties should be put in place to prosecute the perpetrators of rape, theft and murder and the political leaders who are behind the incitement and funding the perpetrators. This will serve as a lesson to others who may have the same intentions and deter them from doing it.

Deliberate policies and programmes are needed to address the level of unemployment especially for the young people who are normally idle and used by the political leaders in perpetrating the offences. The Government should consider reverting back to one single party system of Government. This will reduce political competition amongst the different political parties formed on ethnic lines resulting in ethnic groups' competition which in turn brings about ethnic conflicts before, during and after electioneering periods.

7.4 Suggestions for further study

During the course of this study, certain issues came to light that may warrant further research. The study concentrated on the views expressed by the sample in four Sub-counties in Nakuru County on the influence that political competition has on ethnic conflicts experienced in the County. It is recommended that

i)   Replicate study to other Counties which experience ethnic conflict during electioneering period to establish whether the nature of conflicts are similar or differ.

ii)   Undertake study to establish the rationale behind the socialisation that leads to destruction of property during conflicts

iii)   A similar study should be replicated to other cosmopolitan Counties in Kenya that do not experience ethnic conflict as benchmark for peaceful coexistence before, during and after electioneering period

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Questionnaire for Residents (Men & Women)

Thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. The outcome of this survey will help me be in a position to complete my research paper and the information given will only be used for the research purpose.

This questionnaire sets to analyze the factors that influence political competition in Nakuru and the researcher is interested in your opinion on the political competition and influence on relations between different ethnic groups and also on the socio-economic status of the people in the County.

You have been selected to participate in this study because at one time you may have been violated or witnessed violation. To ensure that your responses are treated with outmost confidentiality, please do not write your name.

Part I: Respondent Details

Please place a tick (√) in the space below the appropriate expression:

1. Gender

	Male	Female
Gender		

2. Working Experience

	0 -5 years	6 -10 years	Over 10years
Working experience			

3. Level of education

Highest Education Level	Primary	Secondary	Certificate	Diploma	Degree	Masters	PHD

4. Age

Age	18-25	26-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	Above 55

Part II: Influence of Political Competition on Ethnic Conflicts in Nakuru County, Kenya

1. Have you ever been a victim of Ethnic conflict in Nakuru County, Kenya?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If yes, please state the year(s) in which you were affected and explain in detail

2. Ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County are planned.

Please place a tick (√) in the space alongside the appropriate expression in response to your level

of agreement with the above statement:

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Very high					
High					
Moderate					
Low					
Very low					

3. Political Competition in Nakuru County are caused by the following factors:

Please place a tick (√) in the appropriate space against each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Campaigns					
Polling					
Election Results					
Rigging of Election Results					
Leader Instigation					
Difference in Political Affiliations					

4. Apart from the factors pre-determined in question 3 above, please state any other reason you believe causes political competition in Nakuru County.

_____

_____

5. In which ways does the political competition influence the socioeconomic status of residents?

(a) Men

_____

_____

(b) Women

_____

_____

(c) Children

_____

_____

6. Has there been any intervention of any kind from any sector/area/ body in the management of the ethnic conflicts that result from the political competition?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If yes, please state who and how in detail

_____

_____

7. What steps have the community members taken in resolving/managing them?

_____

_____

8. How would you describe the relationship of the community members during the non-electioneering periods?

_____

_____

9. Who do you believe are the main perpetrators of these conflicts in Nakuru County?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth   [   ] Media

[   ] Church Leaders   [   ] International parties

[   ] Other

10. Which election period in Kenya's political history do you perceive had the highest incidence

of resulting from political competition?

[   ] 1992 – 1997   [   ] 1997 – 2002   [   ] 2002 - 2007

11. Are your neighbours from the same ethnic background as yourself?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

12. Did they experience the same violence as you did?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If No, please state the reason why

_____

_____

13. During the year you experienced the violence, were your neighbours from the same political

party as yourself?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

14. Did they experience the same violence as you did?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If No, please state the reason why

_____

_____

15. Who do you believe are the main targets of ethnic conflicts that resulted from political competition?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth   [   ] Media

[   ] Church Leaders   [   ] Men   [   ] Women   [   ] Children   [   ] Others

16. Who do you believe benefit most as a result of ethnic conflicts?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth

[   ] Media   [   ] Church Leaders   [   ] Other

17. What was your occupation as a result of these political competition that have occurred in Nakuru County?

[   ] 1992 – 1997   Before: _____   After: _____

 [   ] 1997 – 2002   Before: _____   After: _____

[   ] 2002 – 2007   Before: _____   After: _____

18. Please explain in detail how political competition has affected your life.

_____

_____

19. What do you think should be done to minimise these political competition or be avoided all together?

_____

_____

20. What measures do you think should be put in place in resolving and managing these ethnic conflicts that result from political competition?

_____

_____

21. If there is anything else you would like to add regarding political competition experienced in Nakuru County, please describe it or state it.

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX II: Questionnaire For Religious Leaders and CSOs

Thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. The outcome of this survey will help me

be in a position to complete my research paper and the information given will only be used for

the research purpose.

This questionnaire sets to analyze the factors that influence ethnic conflicts in Nakuru and the

researcher is interested in your opinion on political competition and its effect on relations

between different ethnic groups and also on the socio-economic status of the people in the

County.

You have been selected to participate in this study because at one time you may have been

violated or witnessed violation in one way or the other. To ensure that your responses are treated

with strict confidentiality, please do not write your name.

Part I: Respondent Details

1. Contact person's position

[ ] CEO/President   [ ] Director   [ ] Administrator   [ ] Officer

[ ] Clerk   [ ] Secretary   [ ] Driver   [ ] Other (specify)

2. How long has your organization been in operation within the area?

[ ] Less than 5 years [ ] 5-10 years   [ ] 11-15 years   [ ] Over 15 years

3. What year did political competition affect your organization?

[ ] 1992   [ ] 1997   [ ] 2002

[ ] 2008   [ ] Other (specify)

4. What does your organization believe instigated these ethnic conflicts that resulted from

political competition?

Please place a tick (√) in the appropriate space against each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Campaigns					
Polling					
Election Results					
Rigging of Election Results					
Leader Instigation					

5. Apart from the factors pre-determined in question 3 above, please state any other reason you believe cause political competition.

_____

_____

6. Apart from the actual election year(s), has your organization witnessed any form of ethnic conflicts?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If yes, please describe

_____

_____

7. Has your organization been involved in any way during any conflicts period?

[ ]Yes [ ]No If yes, please state how

_____

_____

8. Whom does your organization believe were the most affected as a result of the political competition?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth   [   ] Media

[   ] Church Leaders   [   ] Men   [   ] Women   [   ] Children   [   ] Others

Describe briefly how they were affected

_____

_____

9. As an organisation, what role did you play during conflicts in the management and resolution?

_____

_____

10. Please explain in detail how political competition has affected your organization's operations.

_____

_____

11. As an organisation, how would you rate the relationship among the community members during non-electioneering period? Please place a tick (√) in the appropriate space against each of the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Excellent					
Very Good					
Good					
Fair					
Poor					
Very Poor					

Describe briefly your answer in number 11 above

_____

_____

12. What do you think should be done in order to minimise or avoid these kinds of political competition?

_____

_____

13. If there is anything else you would like to add regarding political competition in Nakuru County, please describe it or state it.

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX III : Questionnaire For Respondents (Children)

Thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. The outcome of this survey will help me be in a position to complete my research paper and the information given will only be used for the research purpose.

This interview schedule sets to analyze the factors that influence political competition in Nakuru and the researcher is interested in your opinion on political competition and its effect on relations between different ethnic groups and also on the socio-economic status of the people in the County.

You have been selected to participate in this study because at one time you may have been violated or witnessed violation. To ensure that your responses are treated with strict confidentiality, your name is not required.

Part I: Respondent Details

Please place a tick (√) in the space below the appropriate expression:

1. Sex

[   ] Male   [   ] Female

2. Age

How old are you?

[   ] Below 9 years   [   ] 10-12   [   ] 13-15   [   ] 16-18

3. Highest Level of education

[   ] Primary [   ] Secondary [   ] Certificate   [   ] Diploma   [   ] Degree [   ] Masters [   ] PhD

Part II: Influence of Political Competition on Ethnic Conflicts in Nakuru County, Kenya

1. Have you ever been a victim of political competition in Nakuru County?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If yes, please state the year(s) in which you were affected and explain in detail

_____

_____

2. What was your level of education at the time when you experienced political competition?

[   ] Not started schooling   [   ] Kindergarten   [   ] Primary   [   ] Secondary

[   ] College   [   ] Other

3. Did the violence that erupted as a result of the elections or political arena affect you?

[ ] Yes   [ ] No

If yes, please tell me how?

_____

_____

4. What do you think caused the political competition during that period that you experienced it?

_____

_____

5. As a young person, did that conflict affect your life in any way?

[   ] Yes   [   ] No

If yes, please describe how

_____

_____

6. Who do you believe are the main perpetrators of conflicts in Nakuru County?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth   [   ] Media

[   ] Church Leaders   [   ] International parties

[   ] Other

7. What do you think should be done in order to minimise or avoid this kind of conflicts?

_____

_____

8. If there is anything else you would like to add regarding political competition Nakuru County,

please describe it or state it.

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

APPENDIX IV: Interview Schedule For Local Government Administrators & MCAs

Thank you for allowing me to carry out this interview. The outcome of this survey will help me be in a position to complete my research paper and the information given will only be used for the research purpose.

This Interview schedule sets to analyze the factors that influence political competition in Nakuru and the researcher is interested in your opinion on political competition and its effect on relations between different ethnic groups and also on the socio-economic status of the people in the County.

You have been selected to participate in this study because at one time you may have been violated. To ensure that your responses are treated with strict confidentiality, please do not write your name.

Part I: Respondent Details

Please place a tick (√) in the space below the appropriate expression:

1. Gender

[   ] Male   [   ] Female

2. Working Experience

[   ] 0-5 years [   ] 6-10 years [   ] Over 10 years

3. Highest Level of education

[   ] Primary   [   ] Secondary [   ] Certificate   [   ] Diploma   [   ] Degree [   ] Masters   [   ] PhD

4. Age

[   ] 18-25   [   ] 26-35   [   ] 36-40   [   ] 41-45   [   ] 46-50   [   ] 51-55

[   ] Above 55

5. At what level do you serve the community?

[ ] County   [ ] Division   [ ] Location   [ ] Sub-Location

[ ] Village

6. What is your current position within the community?

[ ] Member of Parliament [ ] Member of County Assembly   [ ] District Commissioner   [

] District Officer

[ ] Chief   [ ] Assistant-Chief   [ ] Village Elder   [ ] Police Officer

[ ] Other (Please specify_____

Part II: Influence of Political Competition on Ethnic Conflicts in Nakuru County

1. Have you ever been a victim of political competition in Nakuru County?

        [ ] Yes   [ ] No

If yes, please state the year(s) in which you were affected and explain in detail how you were

affected

_____

_____

2. Ethnic conflicts in Nakuru County are planned.

Please place a tick (√) in the space alongside the appropriate expression in response to your level

of agreement with the above statements:

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Very high					
High					
Moderate					

Low					
Very low					

Please describe briefly how they are planned.

If you do not agree with the above statements, please describe briefly how they come about.

3. Political competition in Nakuru County is caused by the following factors:

Please place a tick (√) in the appropriate space against each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	*Agree*	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Campaigns					
Polling					
Election Results					
Rigging of Election Results					
Leader Instigation					

4. Apart from the factors pre-determined in question 3 above, please state any other reason you believe causes these political competition in the County.

_____

_____

5. Who do you believe are the main perpetrators of conflict in Nakuru County?

[   ] Political Leaders   [   ] Incumbents   [   ] Youth   [   ] Media

[   ] Church Leaders   [   ] International parties

[ ] Others

6. Which election period in Kenya's political history do you perceive had the highest incidences of political competition?

[ ] 1992 – 1997   [ ] 1997 – 2002   [ ] 2002 - 2007

[ ] Other

7. As an administrator, what role did you play during the violence that erupted during the election period(s)?

_____

_____

8. Were you involved in any way as an administrator in the management and resolution of these conflicts?

    [ ] Yes   [ ] No

If yes, explain briefly how you were involved

_____

_____

9. Who do you believe are the main targets of political competition in the County?

[ ] Political Leaders   [ ] Incumbents   [ ] Youth   [ ] Media

[ ] Church Leaders   [ ] Men   [ ] Women   [ ] Children   [ ] Others

Explain briefly your answer in question 9 above

_____

_____

10. Who do you believe benefit most as a result of these conflicts in the County?

[ ] Political Leaders   [ ] Incumbents   [ ] Youth

[ ] Media   [ ] Church Leaders   [ ] Other

Describe briefly how they benefit

_____

_____

11. Do your community members experience any conflicts during non-electioneering periods?

     [ ] Yes   [ ] No

If yes, explain briefly how

_____

_____

12. How would you rate the relationship among the community members during non-electioneering period?

Please place a tick (√) in the appropriate space against each of the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Excellent					
Very Good					
Good					
Fair					
Poor					
Very Poor					

Describe briefly your answer in number 12 above

_____

_____

13. Please explain in detail how ethnic conflicts have affected your life as an administrator.

_____

_____

14. As an administrator what do you think should be done in order to minimize or avoid the political competition in the County?

_____

_____

15. If there is anything else you would like to add regarding political competition in Nakuru County, please describe it or state it.

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX V: FGD Guide for men and women

Part 1: Respondent Details

1) Introduction by the researcher outlining the purpose of the study and scope of the interview. The researcher will also assure the interviewees of the confidentiality of his/her responses and will only be used for the research purpose.

2) Interviewee to give short background information about themselves.

Part 11: Influence of Political Competition on Ethnic Conflicts in Nakuru County

1) How long have you been residing in Nakuru County?

2) What do you think are the causes of this political competition in Nakuru County?

3) How does this political competition impact on ethnicity?

4) Who do you think are the main organisers of these conflicts in the County?

5) In which ways have ethnic conflict affected your life?

6) Which steps have the community members taken in resolving/managing these conflicts?

7) How would you describe the relationship between the community members during non-electioneering periods in the County?

8) What measures do you think should be put in place in resolving and managing these conflicts?

APPENDIX VI: FGD guide for CSOs & Religious Leaders

Part 1: Respondent Details

1) Introduction by the researcher outlining the purpose of the study and scope of the interview. The researcher will also assure the interviewees of the confidentiality of his/her responses and will only be used for the research purpose.

2) Interviewee to give short background information about themselves.

Part 11: Influence of Political Competition on Ethnic Conflict in Nakuru County, Kenya.

1) How long has your organisation been in operation in this area?

2) Which year did your organisation/institution witness the conflicts in the County?

3) As an organisation/institution, what do you believe instigated the conflicts in the County?

4) Who do you believe were the most affected by these political competition in the County?

5) Did you play any role during the conflicts in management and resolution as an organisation/institution?

6) How would you rate the relationship between community members during non-electioneering periods in the County?

7) What do you think should be done in order to minimise or avoid these political competition in the County?

APPENDIX VII: Observation Checklist

1. Houses burnt
2. People who have been displaced
3. Graves for people who had been killed during the conflicts
4. Property destroyed or lost during the conflict

APPENDIX VIII: Plate 1

Plate 1: The researcher with an FGD in Nakuru comprising the Peace committee and religious leaders

APPENDIX IX: Plate 2

Plate 2: The researcher with an FGD comprising the community elders from Kuresoi at Keringet

APPENDIX X: Plate 3

Plate 3: The researcher with an FGD comprising of men, women and youth leaders from Naivasha, Mai Mahiu who are also IDPs

Plate 4: The researcher facing the camera for a photograph. The Peace committee, community elders and religious leaders sought anonymity as they get in for an FGD

APPENDIX XII: Plate 5

Plate 5: The Researcher at Kaptembwa Chief's camp after conducting an FDG with the youth who sought anonymity.

Plate 6: The researcher walking out of the remains of a house in Sachangwan that belonged to Kagiri that had been burnt down during the 2007/8 post-election violence

APPENDIX XIV: Plate 7

Plate 7: A house and shop in Githima in Nakuru sub-County, which were burnt down during 2007/8 post-election violence

APPENDIX XV: Plate 8

Plate 8: A hotel in Githima, Nakuru, being constructed after having been burnt down in 2007/8 post-election violence

APPENDIX XVI: Letter of Introduction

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology,

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies,

P. O. Box 190-50100,

KAKAMEGA.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: **PERMISSION REQUEST LETTER TO PRINCIPALS**

I am requesting for permission to undertake research in your institution/organization in order to gather data towards developing my PhD thesis.

I am a PhD student at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies. My study topic is, "Political Competition Influencing Ethnic Conflict" in Nakuru County, Kenya.

The findings of this study are not only of importance to me for research analysis, they are also of benefit to you as a stakeholder in governance. The study will develop guidelines that policy makers and implementers could use to socialize the community members in dealing with conflict at the community level and for peaceful co-existence with one another.

The study instruments for data collection will be questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussions. Attached are copies of the instruments for your perusal.

Looking forward to your positive response at your earliest convenience. Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Wathata Kinyua

Judy W. Kinyua
RESEARCHER

APPENDIX XVII: NACOSTI Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. JUDY WATHATA KINYUA
of MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 0-600
NAIROBI, has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nakuru County*

on the topic: *POLITICAL COMPETITION INFLUENCING ETHNIC CONFLICT*

for the period ending:
9th August, 2017

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/2297/12909
Date Of Issue : 11th August, 2016
Fee Recieved : Ksh 2000

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

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

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEACH CLEARANCE PERMIT

10575

Serial No.A

CONDITIONS: see back page

APPENDIX XVIII: County Commissioner's Permit

THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND
CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegrams:" DISTRICTER", Nakuru
Telephone: Nakuru 051-2212515
When replying please quote

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAKURU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 81
NAKURU

REF: *CC.SR.EDU 12/1/2 VOL.II/50*

15th August, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION - JUDY WATHATA KINYUA

The above named has been authorized to carry out research on "*Political competition influencing ethnic conflict*," for the period ending 9th August, 2017.

Kindly accord her all the necessary support to facilitate the success of her research.

JUDITH O. ONYANGO
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAKURU COUNTY

APPENDIX XIX: County Director of Education Permit

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
State Department of Basic Education

Telegrams: "EDUCATION",
Telephone: **051-2216917**
Fax: **051-2217308**
Email: **cdenakurucounty@yahoo.com**
When replying please quote
Ref. NO. **CDE/NKU/GEN//4/1/21/VOL. IV/92**

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
NAKURU COUNTY
 P. O. BOX 259,
NAKURU.

15TH AUGUST, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – JUDY WATHATA KINYUA
 PERMIT NO.NACOSTI/P/16/24057/13129

Reference is made to Permit No. NACOSTI/P/24057/13129 dated 11th August, 2016.

Authority is hereby granted to the above named to carry out research on *"Political competition influencing ethnic conflict,"* **Nakuru County** for a period ending **9th August, 2017.**

Kindly accord her the necessary assistance.

MAURICE W. SAKA
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
NAKURU COUNTY.

Copy to:

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
P. O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA.

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