



NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY-KENYA

EFFECTS OF PERSISTENT INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ISIOLO COUNTY, KENYA

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DECLARATION

This research proposal is my original work and has not been presented to any university for an academic award.



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ABBREVIATIONS

DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport
NFD	Northern Frontier District
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
CIAT	International Centre for Tropical Agriculture
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
AFIDEP	African Institute for Development Policy
IHME	Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to investigate the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of Isiolo County. Specifically, the study assessed key drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County, examine the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County and established public policy interventions on inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County. The study used theoretical framework based on conflict theory as most appropriate and suitable after critically reviewing other theories in theoretical literature such as Constructivism Theory, Instrumentalism and the Game Theory in order to identify the effect of inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County. The study employed descriptive research designed and used stratified random sampling and purposive sampling methods to select 399 out of **3,950 respondents**. The data was collected through semi-structured questionnaires and analyzed through descriptive statistical analysis methods that include frequency and percentage. The study established that Increased population, water resources, Competition of Grazing Resources, Land ownership and un-resolved boundary demarcations, Increased population, Cross border migration, Access to mineral resources, Climate change, Cultural practices Historical political exclusion and representations and Economic marginalization to be the drivers of inter-ethnic conflict. The effects of inter-ethnic conflict included increased poverty, low income due to insecurity, dropping in quality of life and overall low economic development in the area. Policy interventions suggested by the study included among others the national and county government should focus on infrastructural development to open the area for transport, trade, and development. Improving the road network and constructing feeder roads to the main roads, bridges, and all-weather roads will also open the proposed villages to economic opportunities with the outside world, there is a need to work closely with the NGOs in the area to enhance civic education on the negative effects of inter-ethnic conflict and identify specific cultural practice that promote such conflict including cattle rustling.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Inter-ethnic conflicts involve groups identifying themselves along ethnic lines, such as their shared culture, language, or religion. In this context, the concept of socio-economic development relates to an improvement in the lifestyles of the people through income, education, and employment. In Kenya, Isiolo is one of the most affected areas by inter-ethnic conflicts. Isiolo is a cosmopolitan county in the Eastern region of Kenya that is inhabited by people from five ethnic groups, namely Meru, Samburu, Turkana, Borana, and Somali. These conflicts and the associated violence threaten the survival of Isiolo County residents and pose several other adverse socio-economic effects. This study's independent variable is persistent inter-ethnic conflict, and the dependent variable is socio-economic development. Therefore, this study investigates the drivers of ethnic conflicts and their socio-economic impact. This chapter covers the background of the study, the problem statement, the general and specific objectives, the hypothesis, the justification for the study, the theoretical framework, and the methodology.

1.2 Background to the Study

Inter-ethnic conflicts are global problems involving two or more contending ethnic groups with specific markers of ethnic identity, such as language, beliefs, or customs. According to Juma and Simiyu, conflict scholars have argued that some inter-ethnic conflicts can be challenging to resolve,

and the confrontations keep recurring.¹ The conflicts recur due to the cementing of hatred between the groups. This form of conflict can cause significant socio-economic effects.

People are killed and others physically injured, material resources are destroyed, and essential social services, such as healthcare and education, are disrupted. As Kenya continues to face imminent threats from inter-clan conflicts, Nyukuri pointed out that unless serious attention and commitment are undertaken in the area of conflict management, Kenya and the Greater Horn of Africa will sooner or later degenerate into a theatre of turmoil, characterized by animosity, violence, ethnic prejudice and suspicion that may affect social-economic activities in the affected areas.²

While there are many causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in the North Eastern region, access to and control of scarce resources was found to be the main cause of the conflict. Other factors causing the conflict included politics of self-interest, border disputes, land adjudication and government policy, the impacts of these conflicts include disruption of economic activities, environmental degradation, and displacement of people, physical harm and death.³

Conflicts between Pastoralist and agricultural communities are still prevalent in North Eastern Kenya even as these conflicts are directly responsible for increased deaths, disruption of social and economic activities that include destruction of property, poverty, hunger, starvation, disease, fear,

¹ Juma, James O., and Ruth Simiyu. "Nature and Causes of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Nyakach and Sigowet Sub-Counties of Western Kenya." *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, vol. 07, no. 07, 2019, pp. 453-477.

² Nyukuri, Barasa Kundu. "The impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenyan's stability and development." In *Proceedings of the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa*, Nairobi, Kenya, pp. 27-28. 1997.

³ Mworio, and Ndiku, J.M (Inter ethnic conflict in Kenya: a case of Tharaka Tigania conflict, causes, effects and intervention strategies, *Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development* (ISSN: 2251-0036) Vol. 2(7) pp. 162

suspicion, mistrust, insecurity and general hopelessness within the warring communities.⁴

In addition to boundary disputes, historical factors, disregard of community and tribal group rights, broader constitutional, political and social factors are some of the narratives that has fuelled conflicts in Isiolo County. Reports indicated that inter-ethnic fighting between communities in the northern Kenyan region of Isiolo over pasture and water has left at least 14 people dead and affected learning as schools closed amid rising insecurity, say officials. Borana and Turkana pastoralists.⁵ The conflicts have also contributed to the high level of poverty as economic activities are disrupted and increased inability to access social services. Due to this conflict, Isiolo is among the poor countries in Kenya with very little contribution to the country's GDP.⁶ As much as these studies have covered inter-conflict in Kenya, the studies were not focused on the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County. Therefore, establishing the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County, is crucial if the county is going to make progress in development.

1.3 Statement of Research Problem

Persistent inter-ethnic conflicts constitute a significant problem in several regions across Kenya, especially in Isiolo County. The insecurity in Isiolo County has a long history from the times of the Shifta War. From 1965 to 1967, the Shifta insurgents extended their activities from the then Somali

⁴ Gakuo Mwangi, Oscar. "Kenya: Conflict in the 'badlands': the Turbi Massacre in Marsabit district." *Review of African political economy* 33, no. 107 (2006): 81-91.

⁵ Onyango, Rachael. "Participation of children in armed conflict: a case study of Marsabit District, 1991-2005." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2012.

⁶ Boye, Saafo Roba, and Randi Kaarhus. "Competing claims and contested boundaries: Legitimizing land rights in Isiolo District, Northern Kenya." *Africa Spectrum* 46, no. 2 (2011): 99-124.

districts of the Northern Frontier District (NFD), the present Mandera, Garissa, and Wajir. They later spread to Isiolo, where most people were farmers and traders. Within no time, Isiolo became a Shifta's hot spot.⁷ The people became targets for the insurgents as they attempted to undermine the government's control over the area. They instigated attacks on the local people to steal their property, especially cattle. Five decades later, Isiolo is still facing the same problem of widespread insecurity.

Isiolo County holds significant economic potential as the gateway to northern Kenya, which can be noted when there is widespread peace and security. Insecurity produces adverse socio-economic effects, including loss of human capital and properties, disruption of economic activities, absolute poverty, interruption of farmer livelihood and education, and unemployment. In Garbatula, more than 70 teachers have either left or are planning to leave in the same years due to inter-ethnic conflicts in the area with only 61 students transiting to university education in the area.⁸

If the pervasiveness of the inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County continues, the quality of life of the people in this region will continue to deteriorate. For this reason, restoring peace and security should be a priority for local and national governments to promote socio-economic development.

The inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo if not well addressed could hinder the county from achieving its socio-economic potential as the communities' socio-economic activities continue to be hindered as these conflicts persistently occur.

⁷ Whittaker, H. "Pursuing pastoralists: The stigma of shifta during the 'shifta war' in Kenya, 1963-68." 2008, arts.monash.edu/__data/assets/pdf_file/0006/1671045/whittaker-article.pdf.

⁸ Chepkoiywo, James C. "The impact of community-led strategies on conflict resolution and peace building among pastoralist communities in Kenya: a case study of Olmoron Division of Laikipia West District." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2010.

Despite inter-ethnic conflicts occurring in this region for many years, researchers have not adequately studied it, as they have focused more on ethnic conflicts in other parts of Kenya other than Isiolo County. Additionally, the existing literature cannot be generalized to the Isiolo County context. This study, therefore, will analyze the persistent ethnic conflict in Isiolo County and its implications on the socio-economic position of the county. This study specifically seeks to identify key drivers of persistent inter-ethnic, establish the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development and identify public policy interventions that can help deal with inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County.

1.4 Research Questions

- i) What are the drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?
- ii) How do persistent inter-ethnic conflicts affect socio-economic development in Isiolo County?
- iii) What are the public policy interventions for addressing the persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?

1.4.1 Study Objective

This study objective will include both the general and the specific objectives.

1.4.2 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to investigate the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of Isiolo County.

1.4.3 Specific Objectives

To assess key drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

To examine the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County.

To analyze the public policy interventions on inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature review is an essential part of this study. It includes a review of both theoretical and empirical literature that is relevant to matters of inter-ethnic conflicts.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

The study acknowledges the other related theories of inter-ethnic conflicts such as primordialism that argue that ethnic conflicts are a natural phenomenon, which occur as a result of cultural differences, the study posits that ethnic conflicts can be avoided and do not just happen naturally. Therefore, this study will focus on Constructivist Theory, Instrumentalism and Game Theory in order to identify the effect of inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

The study embraces constructivism, instrumentalism, and game theories to identify the drivers, effects, and interventions to inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County.

1.5.1.1 Constructivism Theory

It is believed that the constructivism theory originated from English and British philosophers. According to this theory, the construction, reconstruction, and mobilization of ethnic identities occur according to existing political and social factors. Constructivists suggest that ethnic groups are

fabricated according to cultural norms, so people identify with community or cultural values and norms.⁹ This theory also infers that ethnic groups are a product of their historical processes, so they can emerge, disappear, grow, and shrink.

This theory can be used to explain contributing factors to persistent inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County. According to constructivism, the pastoralist community in Isiolo Country has strong cultural values and attachments to their way of life, which entails keeping large herds of animals, which is their fundamental way of life. Any threats that interfere with this livelihood will always be defended by force using all protective measures. Due to the growing population and diminishing grazing fields, the community mostly grazes their animals on their neighbour's farms. This kind of action threatens the livelihood of the farming communities who believe in and treasure their livelihood through crop farming. Thus, this sets conflicts between the communities because their livelihoods and survival have been threatened. For instance, cattle rustling is a norm among the pastoralist communities. Even though it is a significant source of insecurity between communities, the practice continues.

According to constructivism, ethnicity is an ideology that reinforces legitimacy. It explains why some communities can claim legitimacy over resources such as land in ethnically heterogeneous communities, which creates competition between ethnic groups and ultimately causes conflict to erupt. Constructivists also argue that ethnic conflict will likely erupt during modernization because that is when social exclusion and inequality arise. If the expectations of one ethnic group are not met equally, they perceive themselves to be at a disadvantage to other groups, which becomes a source of

⁹ Yeghiazaryan, Laura. "Which of the three main ethnic conflict theories best explains the Ethnic violence in the post-soviet states of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova?" Undergraduate Journal of Political Science 3, no. 1 (2018), 46–64.

dispute.¹⁰

Constructivism theory attempts to explain how conflict, in this case, inter-ethnic conflict, provides and perceives ethnic identity as a fluid and socially made entity formed through immigration, conquest, or even colonization. According to constructivism theory, identity is a social category with distinct rules for characteristics and membership. Ethnic groups are fluid because they originate with economic, political, and social processes. According to constructivist theory, every society has a built-in master that political self-interest can exploit. Ethnicity is thus flexible, changing, and subjective with the interaction with inter-ethnics to perpetuate and reinforce differences in the social group for a specific gain.

Application of the Theory to the Study

Inter-ethnic violence occurs due to processes of history. These histories tend to influence and affect the relations between the ethnic communities, creating conflict between them and therefore resulting in the politicization of ethnic groups and entities that is contributed by combined factors that evolve and result in violence.¹¹ The Isiolo inter-ethnic conflict in Northern Kenya can be described by constructivist theory because it demonstrates historical and central context issues in conflict due to new dynamics that emerge. There are a lot of political histories surrounding the new decentralized political systems. Complex political systems, devolutionary governance, and social-economic interests have converged to fan the inter-ethnic conflict among the Samburu, Marsabit, Meru, and

¹⁰ Ellingsen, Tanja. "Colourful Community or Ethnic Witches' Brew?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, no. 2 (2000), 228-249. doi:10.1177/0022002700044002004.

¹¹ Ma, Rong. "A new perspective in guiding ethnic relations in the twenty-first century: 'De-politicization' of ethnicity in China." *Asian Ethnicity* 8, no. 3 (2007): 199-217.

Isiolo communities. Although histories of violence and conflicts are associated with traditional pastoral communities competing and fighting over the available pasture land, dominant political and economic interests are the primary drivers of inter-ethnic conflicts and violence. The theory shows that deep contributors to conflicts and the interaction of actors in the social, economic, and political environments play a part in producing inter-ethnic conflicts.

Constructivism theory posits that people actively construct and make their knowledge and that reality is pre-determined by the learner's experience. Constructivists consider identity a social classification separated by membership rules, characteristics (perceived as typical), or behaviour expected in certain circumstances. Social classes are not natural, inevitable, or the same given that they are not genes through an internal sense of social discourses that contribute to identity construction and condition a person's identities with specific sets of people. Thus, inter-ethnic conflicts are fuelled by the labelling and stigmatization of specific communities, whereby distinct identities are ascribed to particular communities to justify attacking them. Their identity, for example, as a clan belonging to this community, is deconstructed; they are assigned a demeaning identity, cease being viewed as humans, and can be labelled animals, aunts, and criminals so that when their community is attacked, the action is justifiable. The perpetrators of violence will, therefore, embrace this approach.

The inter-ethnic clashes in Isiolo have been on for a while now, nearly four decades. Over time, they have continued to become prevalent as the warring communities evolve and find new ways of overpowering others. At first, most of the clashes were based on cattle rustling and land. Other factors have become integrated, including political seats and economic dominance. Most of the residents of Isiolo were born when the clashes had heightened; hence they have grown while taking

the full brunt of the clashes. To seek dominance over their rivals, the communities resolved to arm themselves with illegal firearms to be ready in case of an altercation. Politics has also played a significant role, especially after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution, where the region with its three constituencies became Isiolo County. Moreover, the need to control the region's economy became another source of the clashes. The warring ethnic communities have had to change their tactics over the years to empower themselves through education, businesses, the acquisition of illegal firearms, and political seats.

Additionally, in relationship to this study, the theory explains how inter-ethnic conflict, provides and perceives ethnic identity which is fabricated according to cultural norms, so people identify with community or cultural values and norms. This theory also infers that ethnic groups are a product of their historical processes, so they can emerge, disappear, grow, and shrink. Apart from the collective pushing of their agenda when these groups are under any perceived or real threat, they fight back. These then lead to conflicts as these ethnic groups either push for their community interest or react to a possible threat.

1.5.1.2 Critics of Constructivist Theory

The critics of the constructivist theory believe that it is flawed because it does not explain why some groups can retain their ethnic identities for a longer time. They also argue that it does not recognize that literacy plays a role in hardening ethnic identities, so it cannot be reconstructed.¹²

Although the theory has aided in acquiring deep meaning in inter-ethnic conflicts, it has limitations

¹²Kaufmann, Chaim. "Possible and impossible solutions to ethnic civil wars." *International security* 20, no. 4 (1996): 136-175.

because it has failed to adequately explain why societies with similar structural and historical features involved in conflicts fail to produce identical conflict histories. Additionally, the theory fails to show conflicts in timing in the historical processes.

Considering people are rational actors, they are likely to pursue their interests in the easiest way to achieve their goals. Given the strong cohesion between members of a similar group, local leaders can quickly mobilize their group to fight another ethnic group by convincing them the other group is a threat.¹³ They can also cause conflict by blaming the other group for their misfortunes or magnifying the differences between them and the out-group. Horowitz, one of the proponents of instrumentalism theory, explains that tension develops when one ethnic group compares its situation, life, and abilities to the other group.¹⁴ If they perceive the other group as better, they resort to violence because they believe their group identity is threatened. Additionally, critics argue that instrumentalism ignores the actual conflict's viability. Notably, this is because it is not always that a conflict develops.¹⁵

Instrumentalism theory complements the constructivism theory by explaining how people from one ethnic group can move in harmony against another ethnic group. Instrumentalism theory explains that it is possible because people who share ethnic identities can be mobilized and organized efficiently.

¹³ Comaroff, John L., and Paul C. Stern. *Perspectives on Nationalism and War*. London: Psychology Press, 1995.

¹⁴ Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 1985.

¹⁵ Yeghiazaryan, Laura. "Which of the three main ethnic conflict theories best explains the Ethnic violence in the post-soviet states of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova?" *Undergraduate Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2018), 46–64.

1.5.1.3 Instrumentalism theory

Instrumentalism theory explains that ethnicity is neither innately valuable nor a part of human nature. Ethnicity is seen as a process of parties working together to acquire a larger share of political power and economic benefits, thus acting as a strategy for concentrating resources on a few individuals. According to the theory, it is reasonable for groups to plan and arrange alongside ethnic areas based on the advantages and benefits they receive. Many inter-ethnic conflicts and violence occur due to benefits and opportunities for own commodity predation. The theory states that greed is the leading cause of inter-ethnic conflicts¹⁶. Ethnic conflicts arise due to rational agent groups competing for scarce resources for political leaders to gain political power, economic benefits, and easy manipulation to incite inter-ethnic war. According to the instrumentalist theory, inter-ethnic conflict results from actors acting rationally to pursue interests such as security, power, and prosperity.

In addition, the theory explains why fragmented ethnic communities choose to agree rather than disagree, mainly associated with the benefits and costs the groups will gain. When the cost of agreeing is greater than the gains, then ethnic wars are unavoidable. Additionally, the theory explains why people engage in ethnic conflict even when unsure why they are doing it but choose to follow the group involved¹⁷. An example of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo Elite groups' political and economic interests are the primary source of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County. The desire of a few people has led to young men becoming involved in banditry and illegally armed militias to

¹⁶ Williams, Dodeye Uduak. "How useful are the main existing theories of ethnic conflict?" *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 4, no. 1 (2015): 147.

¹⁷ Leader Maynard, Jonathan. "Ideology and armed conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 5 (2019): 635-649.

affect the economic gain and power of those few people. With the establishment of key infrastructure like the LAPSSET corridor, a railway line connecting Lamu to Lokichogio and Ethiopia, an international airport, and a resort, both political and economic interests have brought conflict tensions to Isiolo.

More so, conflicts between the inter-ethnic communities in Isiolo have acted as a means of generating alternative profits and wealth. Dominant political and economic groups have built up ethnic fears and, by doing so, secured their interests. In most cases, political mobilization in the county has promoted ethnically-based violence and conflicts. Additionally, the politics in wildlife conservancies have emerged, fuelling the ethnic war in Isiolo. The political dominance of other communities and compensation of unregistered community land during the implementation of LAPSSET may trigger conflict¹⁸. The Borana and Somali communities have blamed the Turkana community for getting support to secure their interests in expanding their land by settling three conservancies in Isiolo without involving the community in consultation and decision-making processes. We can conclude that inter-ethnic conflicts are primarily caused by elite individuals manipulating political, economic, and social interests to scare community resources.

Instrumentalism is a methodological approach in that ideas are essential tools, and the idea value is considered on how effective it is in defining and explaining the possible outcome of the phenomenon. According to this theory, ethnic conflict is a strategic basis for coalitions looking for a larger share of scarce resources, such as economic and political power. Ethnic conflict is thus said to

¹⁸ Mkutu, Kennedy. "Anticipation and Contestation along the Lapsset Infrastructure Corridor in Kenya." *Nomadic Peoples* 26, no. 2 (2022): 190-218.

arise among critical representatives of limited resources pushed by the objective of political or monetary gain or these politicians choosing to manipulate the masses based on sound decisions to incite or encourage ethnic violence. In a context of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County, this explains why some individuals participating in group violence participate in ethnic violence even when they are not individually persuaded. However, they decide to cooperate as long as they see others cooperating.

Application of the Theory to the Study

The inter-ethnic clashes in Isiolo have made the region an insecurity hot spot. This has massively slowed down growth in the region due to the security instability, as investors are not ready to commit their resources to the region. This has also destroyed the agricultural sector in the region as it remains one of the top areas in Kenya that experience food insecurity almost every season. Even though the region experiences harsh climatic conditions, irrigation can provide a lasting solution if well executed. Since the clashes have attracted national and international attention, interventions have been employed to help curb the issue. The National Government has tried to improve security in the region through the construction of more police posts and increased security personnel. Also, policies have been formulated and implemented to help solve the issues through the help of the research carried out by many scholars concerning the inter-ethnic clashes in the region. Most of the scientific research that has been carried out in the area has helped the National and County Governments to plan well and come up with solutions for the clashes. These studies have shown a similar pattern of conflicts that occur among the pastoral communities in Kenya and the factors that make them more prevalent.

In addition to above, ethnicity is seen as a process of parties (different communities in the county) working together to acquire a larger share of political power and economic benefits, thus acting as a strategy for concentrating resources on a few individuals. They sometimes resort to violence as they pursue their individual community interest.

Critics of the Theory

The argument against instrumentalism compares science to perception. In most cases, people do not observe the theoretical entities of science, so we don't have the justification to believe in them. However, some argue that our reason for belief in the academic entities of science is just as strong as our perceptual justification for belief in external objects. Finally, although the theory explains why some individuals participating in groups violence take part in ethnic violence even when they are not personally convinced but follow the corporate as long as they see others cooperating, there are cases where the people in a group critically evaluate the situation and may refuse to track the group influence who in this case is the ethnic member¹⁹.

1.5.1.4 Game Theory

Game theory was first introduced in 1944 by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern in their publication, *Theory of Games and Economic behaviour*.²⁰ The impact of this book was enormous, and game theory started penetrating the field of economics. Soon afterward, it underwent several modifications and appeared in several other areas, including security studies, political science,

¹⁹ Leader Maynard, Jonathan. "Ideology and armed conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 5 (2019): 635-649.

²⁰ Zagare, Frank C. "Game Theory and Security Studies." *Game Theory, Diplomatic History and Security Studies*, 2019, 7-24. doi:10.1093/oso/9780198831587.003.0002.

anthropology, political science, and psychology. The central concept of this theory is the game itself; in this case, 'game' is any situation where decision-makers choices determine the outcome.²¹ This theory terms the groups involved in the game as players, and a player could either be a group of people who form a coherent unit or one individual. Since the term is not restricted, inter-ethnic conflict qualifies as a game.

In game theory, the players' decisions lead to an outcome. Terms such as 'conflict' and 'compromise' portray outcomes. In basic game theory, players know all the elements, so the game includes the payoffs, and the action they take against the other is known as a strategy. A strategy is a concrete plan that can be written down and executed. In aggression, there are four (4) strategy pairs: Aggress-Appease; Aggress-Retaliates; Refrain-Appease; Refrain-Retaliates.²² The strategy that the player chooses determines the payoff. In this game of aggression, each player selects an action depending on how they believe the other player. The theory also articulates what qualifies as the solution by introducing the concept of Nash Equilibrium. It is a concept that describes the optimal outcome where the player chooses not to deviate from their strategy after carefully considering the opponent's choice.²³ For instance, if A believes B would retaliate, their best approach would be to Appear because this would produce the best outcome for A.

This theory is relevant to this study because it explains how conflict arises between ethnic groups, their effects, and solutions. Applying game theory in Isiolo County, the disputing ethnic groups are players who make decisions that result in conflicts. The groups engaging in the conflicts know what

²¹ Ibid

²² Zagare. "Game Theory and Security Studies."

²³ Ibid

they are contesting for. As the theory explains, players can be individuals or groups and know all the elements of the conflict. For instance, when two pastoralist communities clash, they are fully aware that the purpose of the violence is to occupy land or steal livestock. The theory explains that there is an outcome for every strategy the players choose. When one ethnic group decides to aggression, the other group retaliates. This can be used to explain the adverse socio-economic effects that arise when two ethnic groups clash. This theory suggests that the right solution is where one player sticks to the decision to refrain from aggression because it produces a higher payoff. Therefore, the most effective solutions to inter-ethnic conflicts are those that encourage the groups to refrain from attack permanently.

Application of the Theory

There is a direct connection between competing interests and cooperation in conflicts. Game theory has been widely used in understanding the conflicts on the local level and broader global relations²¹. The game theory stresses the incidence of strategy-based decision-making, which can result in positive or negative outcomes. In this case, each player actor has specific control over the activities of the other player actor in the game. It also consists of strategies available to each player actor. Further, game theory provides the basis for ongoing interaction that establishes game conventions and rules standards in dispute resolution.

In Isiolo, a game theory model for the two ethnic groups, in this case, can be Borana and Somali or Meru and Turkana ethnic groups which can choose to fight, cooperate, or avoid each other. These

collective actions result in either positive, negative, or neutral outcomes²⁴. For example, ethnic groups sometimes cooperate in resource scarcity to ensure survival. Additionally, there is a fight where groups fight each other. For example, Somali and Borana violently fight with their Turkana neighbors, stealing hundreds of livestock and many people losing their lives. The above criteria result in either positive or negative scenarios.

Inter-ethnic conflicts have contributed to loss of lives, material and property loss, and human rights violations. Isiolo County and neighboring counties continue to suffer; therefore, it is high time for effective policies and strategies to prevent, intervene and resolve the conflict. The theory of constructivism, instrumentalism, and game theory each inform assumptions about inter-ethnic relations and ethnic identity and have helped address sensitive and critical issues in the conflict phenomenon.

The theory is seen as a methodology rather than a theory whose approach is to examine strategic characteristics among interacting and interdependent elements. The interacting units are called players. The identification of players depends on the analyst's purpose and the specific resources in question. The players are assumed to make choices that, along with other players, lead to particular outcomes. The players are considered to evaluate (subjectively) the utility or value of individual expected outcomes and choose options that maximize their desired results. Engaging in inter-ethnic in Isiolo County is determined by many factors, including water, pasture, and revenge. The players involved will specify their choices and the consequences of their choices, attack a particular

²⁴ Dietz, Ton, Wario Adano, and Karen Witsenburg. "Natural resources and conflicts: theoretical flaws and empirical evidence from northern Kenya." *Africa Environmental Review Journal* 2 (2015): 16-31.

community/clan, and their utility for each outcome.

Almost five communities are involved in the clashes in Isiolo: Somalis, Borana, Turkana, Sakuye, and Meru. These communities have been competing for limited resources, i.e., water, grazing lands, and arable land. The Somalis and the Borana are the largest of the five. They hold the most powerful positions in the county government and have more influence. With the help of powerful politicians, the members of these communities have been armed with powerful weapons and ammunition. They have also dominated the county's economy; hence they can flex their financial muscle. Therefore, all the involved communities know each other's strengths and weaknesses. They all know the community that holds more firearms has more political power and controls the economy. Therefore, before one of the communities decides to attack the other one, it has to consider the force that might be used in retaliation. This makes it even more difficult to make peace operations in the region successful.

Game theory in relation to the inter-ethnic clashes in Isiolo shows how the involved communities plan out their activities while considering how their rivals might react to them. In addition, players' decisions to fight for space, react, respond through aggression to the other ethnic formation is a decision that leads to conflicts as an outcome of this decision.

Critics of the Theory

The criticism of the game theory is that it requires that protocols for interaction are precise, whereas, in the real world, they are often ambiguous. The approach often provides many equilibria and no way to choose among them. Although it works on equilibrium refinements, the theory does not explain how persons react to counter-theoretical in dynamic interactions. Always, equilibria are

incredibly delicate, based on states of nature with minimal probability a priori. Additionally, the theory does not explain how the rules of a specific game are what they are, even as particular groups use them.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review

1.5.2.1 Drivers of Persistent Ethnic Conflicts

Social exclusion is a pertinent issue in discussions regarding ethnic conflict. Haider expresses that social exclusion generates conditions that cause conflict.²⁵ In such situations, the socially or economically disadvantaged group resorts to violence to redress the inequality or claim a share of the social or economic resources. Haider explains that imbalances create a fertile ground for community mobilization. In areas such as the coastal region in Kenya, the call for secession by the Mombasa Republican Council resulted from social and economic frustrations. In many African states, the practice of politics of ethnicity is common. This is where a particular community affiliated with the leader dominates the national agenda.²⁶ This creates anger and resentment in the out-group, and this “We-versus-them” situation makes the country vulnerable to conflict.

Barron et al. concur that the socially excluded suffer economic deprivation and lack access to political power.²⁷ Since they are poor, they do not have much to lose in case of violence, and some

²⁵ Haider, H. Conflict: Topic Guide. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, 2014.

²⁶ Ncube, M., and B. Jones. "Drivers and Dynamics of Fragility in Africa." Africa Economic Brief 4, no. 5 (2013). https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Economic_Brief_-_Drivers_and_Dynamics_of_Fragility_in_Africa.pdf.

²⁷ Barron, M., G. Brown, and M. Hartwell. Social Exclusion and Conflict: Analysis and Policy Implications. Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, 2005. <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08c4640f0b649740010f0/policypaper.pdf>.

might even end up gaining because violence creates the right conditions to loot or make illicit gains. However, the truth is that in insecure settings, most people end up losing in cases of violence because their communities and their people are affected. It is common for socially excluded people to come together to form a group that acts as a powerful source of mobilization. At first, such a group may use peaceful rallies through marches and peaceful demonstrations, and if the strategy does not produce results, they resort to violence.²⁸

Inter-ethnic conflict is a situation marked by a lack of peaceful coexistence or communication that affects the interaction between people of different ethnic backgrounds. Ethnic conflict features prominently not only in Kenya but in several other regions across the globe. Although it is common in ethnically heterogeneous societies, the nature of the conflicts can differ significantly. They manifest as peaceful competition, ethnic cleansing, civil war, violent clashes, or genocide.²⁹ Since the end of World War II, internal threats have been a growing challenge. Among them are ethnic-based struggles. According to Etefa, the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts continue to baffle policymakers and scholars because of the complexities therein.³⁰

Mwamba et al. studied why inter-ethnic conflicts keep reoccurring in areas like Elburgon, Njoro, Laikipia, and Pwani.³¹ The study established that economic imperialism is a crucial driver of inter-

²⁸ Mwagiru, M. "Approaches to Environmental Conflict Management." (1997).

²⁹ Tuse, Dita. "Causes of Inter- Ethnic Conflict in the Greater Horn of African Countries: The Case of Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda." *International Journal of Contemporary Research and Review*, 2017. doi:10.15520/ijcrr/2017/8/12/377.

³⁰ Etefa, Tsega. "Ethnicity as a Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa—A Critical Introduction." *The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in Africa*, 2019, 1-27. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-10540-2_1.

³¹ Mwamba, J. G., D. K. Kageema, and Benjamin Kanga. "Emerging Trends and Persistence of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya." *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 9, no. 16 (2019). doi:10.7176/rhss/9-16-05.

ethnic conflict whereby conflicting communities feel like the other is enjoying more economic benefits. While giving an example, the study explained that, for instance, in Nakuru, the inter-ethnic conflicts in this region involve the Kikuyus and the Kalenjins. The latter community feels that since they are pastoralists, they got tricked into selling their lands cheaply to the Kikuyus, who now appear to have overpowered the natives economically. Now that the Kalenjins are realizing the economic value of land many years after selling large tracts of land to Kikuyus. Now, conflicts keep recurring between them because the Kalenjins want to repossess their lands.³² The Kikuyus feel that the Kalenjins envy their accumulated wealth over the years. When two ethnics begin to compare their abilities and resources with each other, the one with fewer abilities or resources perceives the other as a threat.

A recurrent literature in the studies about the causes of inter-ethnic conflict is the role elite play in manipulating tensions within a community to entrench their power. A survey by Etefa argues that political elites can exploit the ethnic grievances of the people living within a particular location for political mobilization.³³ In ethnically heterogeneous communities, incentives to promote ethnic conflict are usually more substantial than peace. One may ask, do the people allow the elites to lead them to carry out violent acts? According to Etefa, elites incite inter-ethnic conflicts when they risk losing their political position because of public grievances. In such situations, they provoke large-scale ethnic violence to maintain their political power.³⁴ Elites incite ethnic conflicts to decimate their opponents and followers. The conflict serves to divert people's attention from the failures of the regime and also results in the emergence of a group that is heavily dependent on the state for

³² Mwamba et al. "Emerging Trends and Persistence of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts."

³³ Etefa, Tsega. "Ethnicity as a Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa"

³⁴ Ibid

security, which ensures their allegiance

1.5.2.2 Effects of Conflicts on Socio-economic Development

Inter-ethnic conflicts display a degree of complexity in their causes, nature, and extent. Their adverse impact on socioeconomic development is undisputed. The most immediate socio-economic effect is the loss of lives. Aremu explains that men, women, and children lose their lives to ethnic conflicts across the globe.³⁵ A case in point is the inter-ethnic conflict in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis, where hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives. National elites in fragile communities are known for maintaining community-based militias that become the perpetrators of violence in communities. According to the National Salvation Front in South Sudan, about 80 percent of fatalities in 2020 resulted from ethnic-based violence. The perpetrators were tribal-based militias financed and maintained by national elites.³⁶ As mentioned earlier, political elites instigate widespread ethnic conflict for their benefit. Congo is one of the most ethnically diverse nations globally, and the inter-ethnic disputes within its borders have worsened in recent years. The United Nations Human Rights Office reported in 2019 that the violence in the Ituri Province between the Hemu and Lendu resulted in the death of scores of civilians. These two ethnic communities have been disputing oil and gold resources for several years. Between January and March 2019, about 200 civilians had lost their lives in the villages.³⁷ According to Schlein, the perpetrators used machetes

³⁵ Aremu, J. O. "Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution." *African Research Review* 4, no. 4 (2011). doi:10.4314/afrev. v4i4.69251.

³⁶ National Salvation Front. "UN Report: Regime-orchestrated ethnic conflicts and insecurity responsible for 80% of civilian deaths in 2020." www.nassouthsudan.com. Last modified April 7, 2021. <https://www.nassouthsudan.com/blog/2021/04/07/un-report-regime-orchestrated-ethnic-conflicts-and-insecurity-responsible-for-80-of-civilian-deaths-in-2020/>.

³⁷ Ibid

on women and children. Such heinous acts aim to inflict lasting trauma that will force the targeted community to flee.³⁸

According to Akee et al., extensive empirical literature links inter-ethnic conflicts to internally displaced persons (IDPs). The IDP situation has emerged as one of the critical issues in the world today. Conflicts have been the cause of the internal displacement of millions of people. The issue of IDPs is a socio-economic challenge because it results in poor access to food and shelter for the affected persons. The United Nations Guiding Principle on internal displacements defines IDPs as people who leave their habitual residence to avoid situations of violence, effects of armed conflict, or violations of human rights. Still, they do not cross the national border. By the end of 2018, there were millions of IDPs in Africa due to violence or conflict. According to Habib, because of the pervasiveness of ethnic conflict in Ethiopia, the issue of IDPs is one of this country's biggest challenges.³⁹ Ethnic conflicts and violence were the cause of the displacement of 5.1 million people in Ethiopia in 2021, the highest ever to have been recorded. The statistics overtook the 3.5 million recorded in Syria in 2013.

1.5.2.3 The Public Policy Interventions for Addressing the Persistent Inter-Ethnic Conflict

The state is responsible for protecting the welfare of its citizenry, which is why the government strives to identify solutions to resolve conflicts within its borders. Inter-ethnic conflicts cause a wide

³⁸ Schlein, Lisa. "Scores of Civilians Killed in Worsening Inter-Ethnic Violence in DR Congo." VOA. Last modified April 19, 2020. https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_scores-civilians-killed-worsening-inter-ethnic-violence-dr-congo/6187820.html.

³⁹ Habib, J. (2022, May 28). Ethiopia set a world record for displacements in a single year: 5.1 million in 2021. NPR.org. <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2022/05/28/1100469734/ethiopia-set-a-world-record-for-displacements-in-a-single-year-5-1-million-in-20>

range of socio-economic effects. Public policies are among some solutions states use to address inter-ethnic conflicts. According to Wansai, Myanmar is a country in Southeast Asia with about 135 ethnic groups. The diverse ethnicity of the people in this country has contributed to recurrent ethnic conflicts.⁴⁰ To bring peace to this nation, Wansai says that since this country became an independent state in 1948, successive governments have been using the policy of ethnic nationalism to reconcile the country. Peter Rasmussen supports this solution for this country because it can promote nationhood and help build a shared cultural heritage and a sense of identity for the people.⁴¹

According to Lee, a blend of ethnicities in Malaysia triggered conflicts in 1969.⁴² The country suffered a tragic eruption of violence. However, it managed to stop these conflicts by using public policy to shape ethnic relations for the better. The policies implemented focused on promoting equality in access to education and equality in the workplace for all ethnic communities.

Nzioka conducted a study on ethnic conflict management in Moyale. The study established that development policy is one of the strategies employed in this region.⁴³ The study reported that the government has been drilling boreholes in various parts of Moyale; since the water was a significant source of contention. Developing a water point was a suitable solution in the area. Other countries have also used infrastructure development to restore security and stability. According to Ali et al.,

⁴⁰ Wansai, Sai. "Resolving Ethnic Conflict - Civic Nationalism: A Theoretical Tool for the Ending of Civil War?" Transnational Institute. n.d. <https://www.tni.org/en/article/resolving-ethnic-conflict>.

⁴¹ Rasmussen, P. "Nations' or 'States': an Attempt at Definition." Global Policy Forum. Last modified 2001. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/172/30341.html> 9 Ibid.

⁴² Lee, H. "Majority Affirmative Action in Malaysia: Imperatives, Compromises and Challenges." Global Centre for Pluralism, 2017.

⁴³ Nzioka, B. M. "Factor Influencing the Implementation of Ethnic Conflict Management Strategies in Kenya: A case of Moyale District." Master's thesis, University of Nairobi, 2012.

the justification here is that infrastructure can spur economic growth, revive the fragile economy, and stave off conflict.⁴⁴

Infrastructure development of a region includes the availability of roads, airways, and railways. It also has many services, such as health, education, banking, energy, water, sanitation, and other public utility concerns. The availability of these infrastructures and services can impact the productivity of a region and its economic growth in the long run.

1.5.3 Literature Gap

The literature review has highlighted the drivers and impact of inter-ethnic conflicts and the public policy interventions used to restore security and stability in areas affected by ethnic conflict. Countries like Malaysia and Myanmar have identified policies that work for them, and the policies implemented by one state differ. Isiolo County is a strategic location of great importance to other parts of Kenya and the neighbouring states. Maintenance of peace in Isiolo County can spur socio-economic growth. But in the true sense, most people in Isiolo County still live below the poverty line. Therefore, it is essential to explore persistent inter-ethnic conflict as the underlying cause of the socioeconomic backwardness of this County and determine the performance of existing public policy interventions in resolving this problem.

Table 1-1 Summary of Literature Gap

⁴⁴ Ali, R., A. Barra, C. Berg, R. Damania, J. Nash, and J. Russ. "Infrastructure in Conflict-Prone and Fragile Environments." World Bank Group, 2015. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/22005/Infrastructure0ic0Republic0of0Congo.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

Author	Study	Findings	Study Gap
Mwamba et al	Emerging Trends and Persistence of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts	Economic imperialism is a crucial driver of inter-ethnic conflict whereby conflicting communities feel like the other is enjoying more economic benefits	The study is not focused on the effects of ethnic-conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo county and therefore the results cannot be generalized.
Tsega. E.	Tsega. E Ethnicity as a Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa	The causes of inter-ethnic conflicts continue to baffle policymakers and scholars because of the complexities therein	The study is not focused on Isiolo County and therefore the results cannot be generalized and therefore the results cannot be generalized.
Habib, J.	Ethiopia set a world record for displacements in a single year	Ethnic conflicts and violence were the cause of the displacement of 5.1 million people in Ethiopia in 2021, the highest ever to have been recorded	The study is not focused on Isiolo county and therefore the results cannot be generalized and therefore the results

			cannot be generalized.
Schlein, L	"Scores of Civilians Killed in Worsening Inter-Ethnic Violence in DR Congo."	The conflict is aimed at inflict lasting trauma that will force the targeted community to flee	The study is not focused on Isiolo county and therefore the results cannot be generalized and therefore the results cannot be generalized.
Nzioka, B. M.	"Factor Influencing the Implementation of Ethnic Conflict Management Strategies in Kenya	The government has been drilling boreholes in various parts of Moyale; since the water was a significant source of contention	This study focuses on Ethnic Conflict Management Strategies in Kenya and socio0economic factors.
Ali et al	Infrastructure in Conflict-Prone and Fragile Environments.	Infrastructure can spur economic growth, revive the fragile economy and in the long run help in dealing with inter-ethnic conflict	The study focused on the infrastructure of conflict and not its effect on the socio-economy of the area.

1.6 Study Hypothesis

H0: Inter-ethnic conflicts have adversely affected socio-economic development in Isiolo County.

H1: Inter-ethnic conflicts have not affected socio-economic development in Isiolo County.

1.7 Justification of the Study

This study's academic and policy justifications are in the subsections below.

The rationale of this study is that inter-ethnic conflicts have been reoccurring in Isiolo County for over five decades. As inter-ethnic conflicts continue to be more prevalent even as the government increases intervention to eradicate conflicts, it has a huge socio-economic effect on the on the communities involved in such conflicts as economic and social activities are disrupted and therefore important to establish of these effects.

The study is critical as it will help policymakers understand the impediments to promoting lasting security and cohesion in this county and offer them insight into possible conflict management solutions. Additionally, the findings of this study will also guide other relevant stakeholders in supporting solutions for peace in this region. Most importantly, this research will contribute to formulating efficient public policies to address the underlying contributors to persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County and other communities facing a similar issue.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Conflict theory will guide this study. According to Bayar, ethnicity is constructed around their

assumed geography, religion, language, culture, race, and kinship.⁴⁵ He further advances that the primordial element in the development of ethnicity is that a person cannot choose the kinship, tongue, or culture they will be born. The second assumption of this theory is that an individual can only assume one identity, but there are multiple dimensions to each ethnic group. Therefore, under the primordialism theory, a person's identity is fixed, and cooperative interaction is expected from people who share ethnic identities. Still, conflict can arise when there is interaction with an out-group.

In this case, the primordialism theory explains that the foundational basis of conflict, hatred, and fear is the differences in ethnic identities. The diverse ethnic identities in Isiolo County differ in their languages, beliefs, kinship, and culture. The ethnicities include Somali, Meru, Turkana, and Borana people. Therefore, primordialism theory can explain the foundational basis for ethnic conflict. This theory helps us understand how the various dimensions of each ethnic group could contribute to the emergence of ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

Conflict theory, attributed to Karl Marx, emphasizes social groups' material, social, and political inequality. However, other subsequent thinkers have significantly contributed to conflict theory. This approach draws attention to power differentials. This theory's central proposition is that society comprises competing actors, and conflicts are inherent in the social structure. Also, one of its central ideas is that the limited resources available in the community result in competition between groups.⁴⁶

Karl Marx views society as a class system; each class comprises individuals who share life

⁴⁵ Bayar, Murat. "Primordialism." *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, 2017, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁶ Allan, Kenneth. *The Social Lens: An Invitation to Social and Sociological Theory*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2006.

situations. The theory explains that one group's sense of deprivation is the source of class consciousness.⁴⁷

Conflict theory applies to the study and is a good guide for this study. As the theory explains, the limited resources in society can create a sense of relative deprivation in one group, resulting in class struggle. The inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County can be attributed to competition over resources, and class division occurs between those that own means of production or other resources and those that do not. For instance, land is a significant source of contention in ethnically heterogeneous societies like Isiolo County. The group with little of this resource can use violence to achieve their goal. Because of the inequality, the gap between ethnic groups widens until a conflict erupts and the social structure collapses. When the structure of the society is not functioning well, various adverse social and economic effects emerge.

In conclusion, limited resources have made the communities engage in conflict in their struggle for the available resources, resulting in disputes. The conflicts have taken many forms, including inter-ethnic conflict and cattle rustling⁴⁸. Due to stress and overexploitation of existing resources, the environment has drastically changed, resulting in incidences such as famines, droughts, and other natural catastrophes. In addition, the border communities, in this case, Meru County, which majorly engages in agricultural activities, wildlife conservancies, and commercial ranching, have contributed significantly to the conflicts in Isiolo as they compete for the limited available resources⁴⁹. Small

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Mbijiwe, Isaac M. "Conflicting Methods of Armed Conflict Resolution in Meru-isiolo Border: a Case of Ngaremara Division, 1990-2018." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2021.

⁴⁹ Maelo, Frederick, and Geoffrey Harris. "Conflict Policing in the Pastoral Communities in Isiolo County." *Journal of Conflict Management* 2, no. 1 (2021): 1-13.

arms and light weapons have accelerated and intensified conflicts in Isiolo County. Although theories such as constructivism, instrumentalism, and game theory are used to explain the conflict phenomenon, limitations exist because no single approach can state and explain the dynamics and origin of ethnic conflicts. The following theories explain the phenomenon of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County and provide some meaningful explanations.

The natural language of the unconscious is in dreams and fantasies. The conscious and unconscious are reflected as realms (entering a churchyard at night, for instance). The unconscious is sometimes personified, and the daylight world may change to a father figure. The content is mostly symbolic and not necessarily a linguistic narrative. The concepts that classical models are translatable to conflict theory, such as the latter is a less problematic way of saying the same thing) may not be proved, and it underrates psychic complexity. Conflict theory means a radical departure from the “classic” economy of the psyche, which comprises the transactions between conscious and unconscious, defence and repression, complexes, and symbol formation.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section of the study describes the methods and approaches applied in this research. The location of the study and the target population define the study design. Other study elements described in this section include the study sample, sampling procedure, the data collection and analysis methods to be applied, and the ethical considerations in conducting this research.

1.9.1 Research Design

Research design is the blueprint of a study because it guides the research throughout the entire process. The structure or strategy ensures the study's research problem is addressed effectively. This study adopted the descriptive survey research method employing a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods in the research process. Descriptive research design is appropriate as it allow the research to measure the unquantifiable variables that cannot be measured but can only be described in descriptive statistics. The study seeks to, through descriptive statistics, determine the drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County and their effects on socio-economic development. The study also sought to establish public policy interventions for addressing the endless inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

1.9.2 Study Scope

The study focused on persistent inter-ethnic conflicts' impact on Isiolo County's socio-economic development. Isiolo County is in the Eastern region of Kenya. It shares borders with seven counties: Meru County to the South West, Wajir County to North East, Garissa County to the South East, Marsabit County to the North, Tana River and Kitui Counties to the South, and Samburu and Laikipia Counties to the West. Isiolo County is 25,350.6 square kilometers, divided into two constituencies: Isiolo North and Isiolo South. The three sub-counties of Isiolo County are Merti, Isiolo, and Garbatula. According to the 2019 census, Isiolo County is the least populated, with a population of about 268,002. The population in this county is people from diverse ethnic communities. The main ethnic groups are the Somali, Borana, Meru, Turkana, and Samburu.

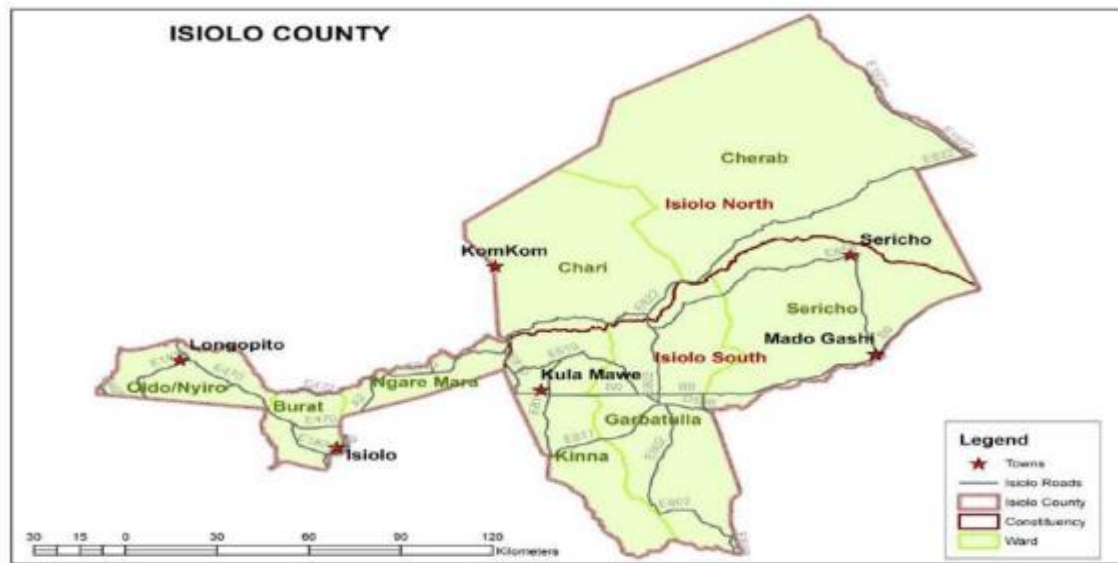


Figure 1-1 Map of Isiolo County

Source: Economic and Social Rights Centre (2017)

1.9.3 Research Target Population

A target population is the total units of interest to the researcher. The study population were residents of Isiolo County. In the 2019 census, Isiolo County was determined to have a population of 268,002 although study targeted National Government administration officers (County Commissioner, Sub-County Commissioners); Security personnel (Anti- Stock Theft Unit); County Government Officials, CSO (International and local NGOs), Council of Elders leaders (Meru, Borana, Samburu, Turkana, Sekuye and Somali); Business community leadership, pastoralist/ group ranches leaders, and private ranches owners, small-holder farmers leaders, religious leaders (Catholic, Protestants, Pentecostal, and Muslim).

The inclusion of the security personnel in this study was significant given that the Anti- Stock Theft

Unit are always involved in the protection of the community against cattle rustling and also in pursuing the suspects involved when such happen in the County. The County Commissioner, the Sub-County Commissioners and County Government Officials are also significant for this study as they are policy makers on socio-economic and security issues in the county. On the other hand, the business community leadership, pastoralist/ group ranches leaders and private ranches owners are crucial as they shape opinions on important issues at the county level. The study also targeted leaders of small-holder farmers in the area as they are involved directly or affected by inter-ethnic conflict when they happen in the area. Lastly, the study targeted religious leaders (Catholic, Protestants, Pentecostal, and Muslim) and Civil organizations in the area since they are always reconciling the communities in the area that are involved in persistent inter-ethnic conflict.

Table 1-2 Target Population

Respondents	Target Population	Percentage Distribution
Farmers	1,087	27.5
Pastoralists/ Ranchers, Traders	1,085	27.5
Community Members that are not farmers	1,084	27.5
County government officials	118	2.5
Government Administration officer	118	3.0
Council of Elders leaders	118	3.0
Security Officers	118	3.0
Civil Society (NGOs)	118	3.0
Religious leaders	118	3.0
Total	3,950	100.0

1.9.4 Research Sample and Sampling Technique

The study sample size was determined using the following Yamane (1967) formula.⁵⁰

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where: n= Sample size, N= Population size e= Level of Precision (0.05).

$$n = 3,950 / 1 + 3,950(0.05)^2$$

$$n = 399.90$$

The study sample was as follows:

⁵⁰ Israel, Glenn. "Determining Sample Size." The Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences (n.d.), 1-5. <https://www.tarleton.edu/academicassessment/documents/samplesize.pdf>.

Table 1-3 Study Sample Size

Respondents	Target Population	Sample Size Distribution	Percentage Distribution	Sampling Procedure
Farmers	1,087	110	27.5	Simple random
Pastoralists/ Ranchers, Traders	1,085	110	27.5	Simple random
Community Members that are not farmers	1,084	110	27.5	Simple random
County government officials (3 from each of the 3 sub-counties of Isiolo)	118	9	2.5	Purposive
Government Administration officer (4 from each of the 3 sub-counties of Isiolo)	118	12	3.0	Purposive
Council of Elders leaders (4 from each of the 3 sub-counties of Isiolo)	118	12	3.0	Purposive
Security Officers (4 from each of the 3 sub-counties of Isiolo)	118	12	3.0	Purposive
Civil Society (NGOs) (4 from each of the 3 sub-counties of Isiolo)	118	12	3.0	Purposive
Religious leaders	118	12	3.0	Purposive
Total	3,950	399	100.0	

1.9.5 Sampling Technique

A sample is a group of cases, participants, events or records that include part of the target population that is properly selected to represent that population (Cooper and Schindler, 2006). The study used stratified random sampling method. The ideal sample size was large enough and served as an

adequate representation of the population that the study wished to generalize. Stratified random sampling method was also used to select the various categories of respondents from the various categories with the required information that is of relevant to this study. Purposive sampling method was also used to select key informants that included security and administration personnel from Isiolo county.

1.9.6 Data Collection Methods

The study relied on both primary and secondary data. The researcher administered a questionnaire to respondents. Secondary data was sourced from scholarly books, journals, newspapers, and government publications. The questionnaire consists of two structured sections namely sections A and B. Section A contains the respondent's profile, offering details such as gender, age bracket, and occupation. Section B consists of questions regarding inter-ethnic conflict and socio-economic development in Isiolo County, arranged according to the study objectives. Questionnaires are easy to use and they also ensure anonymity as the respondents do not indicate their particulars.

1.9.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

This study generated and produced both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data were analyzed using the content analysis method, whereby data was coded to identify various patterns or themes. helps to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material and whereby systematically evaluating texts that include documents, oral communication, and graphics. This method also allowed qualitative data to be converted into quantitative data. The method of content analysis enabled the researcher to include large amounts of textual information and systematically identify its properties, such as the frequencies of most used keywords by locating the

more important structures of its communication content the quantitative data were analyzed using the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS Version 25). The presentation was through statistical images like pie charts, tables, and bar graphs.

1.9.8 Piloting

The pilot study is the first step of the protocol of this study. The questionnaire and interview guide were administered to a smaller population in Moyale County to test the feasibility of this study before the main study was conducted. This includes determining the suitability of the tools identified for data collection. Pre-testing was done to test whether the research questions prepared by the researcher were adequate to collect the required data. This was conducted by testing the understanding of the questions by the respondents as per the expected results. The pre-test for the key informants' questionnaire used 11 respondents not part of the target sample.

1.9.8.1 Reliability and Validity Tests

This ensured that the study tools can help the study answer affirmatively whether the measures would yield the same results on other occasions, whether similar observations would be reached by other observers and whether there is transparency in how sense was to be made from the raw data. Additionally, Reliability and Validity Tests testing was conducted to test the degree of internal consistency of the research instruments. Face validity and pretesting were done to ensure research validity, and the information acquired was used to fine-tune the final questionnaires. Further, to test the reliability and consistency in response to the research questionnaires, the Cronbach Alpha (CA) test was conducted. The CA results should be more than 0.7 and this was considered good.

1.9.9 Ethical Consideration

This study was tailored to guarantee freedom of expression to the respondents, and those unwilling to participate were accorded their wish and hence excused. Also, the confidentiality of the respondents was observed, and personal information, such as telephone numbers, was not a requirement in this study. In addition to this, any information collected via the instruments were never to be used for any other purpose other than for its academic intent, the data were kept in confidence. Moreover, any form of plagiarism or academic theft was avoided, all sources were properly acknowledged any harm that may affect the respondents were also avoided.

1.10 Definition of Terms

Conflict- According to Khan, conflict is the clash between individuals that develops from differing interests, attitudes, thought processes, and perceptions.⁵¹

Socio-economic development- The development of social institutions enhances the society's capacity to fulfil its aspirations and grow its economic wealth. Some indicators of socio-economic development include education, education, health, and high income.

Insecurity is when people face threats to their lives or means of livelihood, risk of bodily harm, human rights violations, and diseases.⁵²

⁵¹ Khan, A. "Understanding Conflict." Lecture, n.d.

⁵² Adegami, Adeleke. "Insecurity: A Threat to Human Existence and Economic Development in Nigeria." Public Policy and Administration Research 3, no. 6 (2013), 8-13.

Ethnicity- It is a collective that has a common culture, descent, and historical memories.⁵³

Persistent inter-ethnic conflict is the continued, frequent, and non-stopping ethnic fighting⁵⁴

Quality of life- is the general well-being of individuals and societies, outlining negative and positive features of life.⁵⁵

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter One introduced the topic of the study concerning persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County and its impact on socioeconomic development in the region. It presents the statement of the problem, theoretical, and empirical literature review. Chapter two will examine the drivers of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County.

Chapter three of the study will present the findings of the second objective about the socio-economic implication of inter-ethnic conflicts. Chapter four will assess the socio-economic support infrastructures in Isiolo County. Chapter five of the study will present the summary of the findings, the study conclusions, and recommendations.

⁵³ Stone, John, Rutledge M. Dennis, Polly Rizova, Anthony D. Smith, and Xiaoshuo Hou. The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016. Lecture.

⁵⁴ Etefa, Tsega. "Ethnicity as a Tool: The Root Causes of Ethnic Conflict in Africa"

⁵⁵ www.slife.org/quality-of-life/

2.0 CHAPTER TWO

DRIVERS OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS

2.1 Introduction

Isiolo County, like all other counties in northern Kenya, is arid. Most of its residents are pastoralists who move from one place to another in search of water and pasture for their livestock. The scarcity of these resources has often resulted in violent conflict as these pastoralist communities struggle to acquire and control the little that is available. This conflict and violence mainly take the form of cattle rustling, inter-ethnic violence, and displacement. The environment has also changed drastically due to stress on existing resources, resulting in an increase in droughts, famines, and other natural catastrophes.⁵⁶

The pastoralists are also facing myriad new land-related conflicts, some of which are related to administrative and electoral boundaries. It is claimed that the recurrent violent conflicts in Isiolo County have been aggravated by the presence of small arms and light weapons; tensions with agricultural communities, especially those at the boundary with Meru County; and human–wildlife conflicts that are intensified by competing uses of land for commercial ranching and wildlife conservation, amongst others.⁵⁷

This chapter will help in assessing what are the key drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in

⁵⁶ Ali, Naser, Joao A. Teixeira, and Abdulmajid Addali. "A review on nanofluids: fabrication, stability, and thermophysical properties." *Journal of Nanomaterials* 2018 (2018).

⁵⁷ Sharamo, Fatuma Fora, Hussein Shimelis, Boluwatife ModupeOluwa OlaOlorun, Hezekiah Korir, Annah Hoka Indetie, and Jacob Mashilo. "Determining ethyl methane sulfonate-mediated (EMS) mutagenesis protocol for inducing high biomass yield in fodder barley ('*Hordeum vulgare*'L.)." *Australian Journal of Crop Science* 15, no. 7 (2021): 983-989.

Isiolo County. Understanding the drivers of these inter-ethical conflicts is important as it will help in establishing the necessary interventions in addressing the drivers to inter-ethnic's conflicts in Isiolo County.

The study targeted a sample size of 399 respondents, 330 Respondents, and 69 key informants. The results indicated that 257 were filled out and returned the questionnaires making a response rate of (77.9%) while 57 key interviews were conducted and represented a (77.9%) response rate. The average response rate was 78.7%. The response rate was satisfactory for making credible deductions from the collected information. A response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a more than 60% rate is reasonable, and a 78.7% and above response rate is excellent. Therefore, the response rate was excellent (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003), as shown in Table 4.1 below.

Category	Participated (Administered)	Did not Participate	Percentage (%)
Questionnaire	330	257	77.9
Interview	69	57	82.6
Total	399	314	78.7

Table 2-1 Response Rate

2.2 Drivers of Conflict

The respondents indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each by using the following on a scale of 1 to 5: 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 Agree, and 5 strongly agree. The findings are presented in Table 4.2 below.

Table 2-2 Drivers of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts

Drivers of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts	Percentage (%)
Increased population is blamed for conflicts over resources	67.08%
Access to scarce water resources has resulted in ethnic conflict	69.09%
Competition of Grazing Resources in Isiolo County	72.55%
Land ownership and un-resolved boundary demarcations is a contributor to ethnic conflict in Isiolo County	75.07%
Increased population is blamed for conflicts over resources	55.33%
Cross border migration	62.14%
Access to mineral resources	52.15%
Climate change and scarcity of grazing resources in Isiolo County	60.00%
Lack of security due to the proliferation of small arms	65.23%
Cultural practices such as cattle raiding	59.22%
Historical political exclusion and representations	52.66%
Economic marginalization	57.76%
Ineffective and Inadequate governance structures are reasons for conflicts in the area	62.14%
Poverty has contributed to conflicts in the county	55.23%
Limited access to essential social services such as health facilities and educational institutions	75.07%

These findings indicate that most respondents agreed to the greater extent that these factors contribute to conflict: Land ownership 75.07%, access to grazing fields 72.55%, access to water 69.09%, boundary demarcations 67.08%, lack of security 65.23%, cross border migration 62.14%, climate change 60.00%, culture values 59.22%, political representation 52.66%, access to social

services (health and education) 58.45%, economic marginalization 57.76%, population growth 55.33%, poverty 55.23% and mineral resources 52.66%.

Most respondents indicated that the causes of the inter-ethnic conflict lie in political, socio-economic, and ecological factors. These include; economic and social marginalization, competition over resources, access to land, water, and other natural resources due to growing demographic and environmental pressure, and limited or non-existent government social, economic, and livestock extension services for the pastoralist communities. In addition, from the ecology aspects, Kenya's arid and semi-arid areas are reflected by the steady erosion of the natural resources and social asset base from which households construct their livelihoods. Seasonal variations or shocks, such as drought, further intensify this. Pastoral livelihood has aligned considerably with these ecological patterns, characterized by the high mobility for the search of water and grazing land for their livestock. The findings though highlight the traditional drivers of conflicts in the area, evidence shows as highlighted by Sharamo ⁵⁸that the nature of pastoralist conflict has also changed over time and that new dynamics are at play highlighting that recent increase in the importance of northern Kenya and the politics surrounding devolution has had an effect on the conflict context in counties such as Isiolo, which had been ignored in the past

As indicated by the study findings, the climatic changes today have affected the socio-economic lives of the people living in Isiolo. Studies showed that Climate change leading to low rains of less than 200mm per year and prolonged droughts leaves untold suffering to the community due to lack of water and pasture for their livestock. Generally, food insecurity, famine, and drought result in conflict as people consequently set to establish ways to survive. The lack of government support in

⁵⁸ Sharamo, R, (2019) The politics of pastoral violence: A case study of Isiolo County, Northern Kenya', June 2019

drilling water boreholes, dams, abattoirs or purchasing livestock from pastoralists is also a grave concern. The residents have minimal access to education, health services, and safe water supplies compared to most other districts in non-pastoralist areas of Kenya. The relief agencies sprout to support the communities in relief supplies as a stop-gap against famine, hunger, and diseases.

According to the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), Isiolo is one of the most vulnerable counties in Kenya to climate change.⁵⁹ The critical vulnerabilities to this problem are unpredictable rainfall, droughts, desertification, land degradation, and loss of wetlands and forestland. Analysis of the temperature changes in this county shows that between 1980 and 2005, the temperature in Isiolo County increased by 0.5°C, while precipitation remained relatively constant over 35 years from 1980 to 2015.⁶⁰ The combination of temperature rises and reduced rainfall has increased the drought risk and the number of heat-stress days. According to CIAT, climate projections show that temperatures in this area are rising while rainfall is decreasing.⁶¹

The scarcity of resources is a significant contributor to conflict in the study. The study's findings support previous studies that indicated that resources, such as water and pasture, have been a source of contention for these communities. Dry spells and drought have become more frequent in this region, contributing to declining pasture levels and water scarcity.⁶² These conditions have resulted in increased movements of the pastoralists, thereby heightening the competition for grazing resources. Constrained mobility exacerbates over-concentration because security is an issue of

⁵⁹ International Centre for Tropical Agriculture. "Climate Risk Profile: Isiolo County." Kenya County Climate Risk Profile Series (n.d.).

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Saferworld. "Isiolo County conflict analysis." 2015. <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/191933/isiolo-conflict-analysis.pdf>.

concern, which creates an influx of pastoralists in a few water and pasture spots.⁶³ This situation increases the contact between different groups, marking the beginning of a conflict. Safer World reported that agro-pastoralist conflicts had grown. The fight was mainly between the agriculturalists, Meru, and the pastoralist communities.⁶⁴ The pastoralists leave their animals to roam and graze on the available vegetation, including food crops. The agro-pastoralist conflicts are rising as the Meru try to protect their crops and grazing lands from the pastoralist communities who believe they can access the fields as they are within their border. Since the Meru have settled along the Ewaso Nyiro banks and are practicing agriculture, the pastoralist communities will try to force their way into their farms whenever the drought bites. In 2022, Garissa-Isiolo border conflict in Kampi Samaki, five people were killed. In 2023, three (3) more people were killed in an armed dawn raid on villages in the Mlango area in Burat ward in Isiolo County. Scarce resources triggered the conflict.

The land is an emotive issue and is increasingly becoming a source of conflict across the country, especially in ethnically heterogeneous communities. The study's findings indicated that more than 75% of the respondents felt that land ownership and unresolved boundary demarcations contributed to ethnic conflict in Isiolo County. The study findings support fears by earlier studies that despite various land laws in Kenya, they often turn out ineffective and disjointed, and other times they become tools of political marginalization. These inconsistencies and glaring gaps in land laws hinder the dispensation and enforcement of justice.⁶⁵ Community Land Act of 2016 recognizes the communal ownership of land in Isiolo County, which provides opportunities to address the land issues in Isiolo County, but unfortunately, this problem persists. Ethnic considerations in this county

⁶³ Minority Rights Group International. "Conflict Analysis and Mapping."

⁶⁴ Saferworld. "Isiolo County conflict analysis."

⁶⁵ Minority Rights Group International. "Conflict Analysis and Mapping."

are responsible for raising tensions over land. The state's planned development projects in this region have also exacerbated these tensions.

Noticeably, as much as there have been opportunities to address the land issues in Isiolo County, enhancement of ownership rights has been complicated by political and ethnic considerations that have negatively impacted the conflict context in Isiolo County. Politicians in Isiolo have been accused of using land ownership as a political tool, making promises about ensuring ownership of contested parcels of land to get support from people from their own ethnic communities.⁶⁶

Additionally, large tracts of land needed for large-scale infrastructural projects, such as the LAPSET projects, raise land concerns because of the ethnic communities' fear of exclusion and displacement.⁶⁷ The project will restrict the mobility of pastoralists, an essential aspect of their lives as pastoralists, and the loss of water catchment areas, which the pastoralists depend on when there are dry spells. Further, such large-scale development projects will shrink the available land where most people are pastoralists contributing to inter-community conflicts in the area.

As indicated in Table 2.1 above, 65.23% of the respondents felt that lack of security resulted from the proliferation of small arms as the challenges of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts confront Isiolo County because of the high prevalence of small arms and light weapons from the neighbouring countries. The study's findings support earlier conclusions that Illegal weapons first gained entry to this region during the Shifta War and that the Government's efforts to round up these weapons were

⁶⁶ Mworira, and Ndiku, J.M (Inter ethnic conflict in Kenya: a case of Tharaka ,Tigania conflict, causes, effects and intervention strategies, Journal of Research in Peace, Gender and Development (ISSN: 2251-0036) Vol. 2(7) pp. 162

⁶⁷ Ibid

unsuccessful because of the subsequent conflicts that began to emerge after this war.⁶⁸ According to Human Rights Watch, in 1997, law enforcement officers closed down a premise known as an “arms supermarket” in Isiolo. The closure of the premises led to the sale and distribution of arms covertly.⁶⁹ The sources of these weapons, according to the Minority Rights Group, are South Sudan, Somalia, and Ethiopia.⁷⁰ The types of illegal components available to the pastoralists include the M16s and AK47s, sold for between Ksh.160,000 to 80,000 or exchanged for animals.⁷¹ Their availability in Isiolo is manifested by the issue of cattle rustling among the pastoralist communities. As highlighted by earlier studies, illegal firearms are believed to increase the raiders’ confidence and their chances of success during a raid.⁷² According to Jebet, in 2016, the authorities reported about 5,000 illegal arms in Isiolo County in the hands of civilians.⁷³ It is becoming difficult for security officers to control the proliferation of illicit firearms as young people, even primary school kids, are being drawn into these illegal activities. Evidence from other studies indicates that young people, especially boys, are trained as young as 10 to use firearms to increase their chances of conducting successful raids. With this mentality, the use and ownership of illegal guns will continue for generations.

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Human Rights Watch. "Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence, and Human Rights in Kenya." Last modified 2002. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/kenya/Kenya0502.pdf>.

⁷⁰ Minority Rights Group International. “Conflict Analysis and Mapping.”

⁷¹ Agade, K. M., and A. B. Halakhe. Rapid Assessment of the Institutional Architecture for Conflict Mitigation. World Bank Group, 2019. <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/ar/131951587730959660/pdf/Rapid-Assessment-on-Institutional-Architecture-for-Conflict-Mitigation-Isiolo.pdf>.

⁷² Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies. Conflict Assessment Report: Danida Peace, Security and Stability (PSS) Programme-Kenya 2016-2020. Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies, 2020. <https://dlci-hoa.org/assets/upload/peach-and-security-documents/20200804042004651.pdf>.

⁷³ Jebet, Vivian. "5,000 Illegal Firearms to Be Destroyed in Isiolo." Nation. Last modified August 14, 2016. <https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/isiolo/5-000-illegal-firearms-to-be-destroyed-in-isiolo-1228338>.

The study findings indicated that about 62% of the respondents felt that ineffective and inadequate governance structures are reasons for conflicts in the area. While devolution presented an opportunity to promote equality and to make the government structures more accessible, the capacity of county structures remained weak.⁷⁴ This County's institutional weaknesses negatively impact peace building and service delivery. The issue of poor management of communal land is observed out of these weak government structures.⁷⁵ Poor governance in the county is also catalyzed by the kind of political leaders that are elected. Most of the leaders elected are out there to serve their interests or enhance the influence of the communities they originate from rather than helping all the people in the county. As highlighted in the previous studies, poor governance easily attracts corruption in its many states: bribery, embezzlement, patronage, and nepotism. With this kind of governance system, development projects are hard to come by or even implement. Isiolo County is strategically placed and has the resources and potential to become self-sustainable with good governance.

Cultural practices that still place a lot of value on cattle were highlighted by 62% as factors contributing to inter-clan conflicts in the area. The findings emphasize findings from earlier studies that noticed that cattle raiding is rooted in pastoralist customs and continues to drive conflict in Isiolo County and neighbouring counties. The results support the dimension taken by cattle rustling today, where the raids have grown more violent than ever because of the increased use of illegal

⁷⁴ Mkutu, Marani, and Ruteere. Securing the counties: options for security after devolution in Kenya. Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS), 2014. <https://dlci-hoa.org/assets/upload/peach-and-security-documents/20200804042141148.pdf>.

⁷⁵ Agade and Halakhe. "Rapid Assessment of the Institutional Architecture for Conflict Mitigation."

arms flowing from the neighbouring war-torn states.⁷⁶ Samburu and Turkana morans, or youths, are the most involved in the raids in Isiolo County. Community elders are to blame for supporting the continuity of this practice in communities through their involvement in mobilizing the raiders, assisting in planning for the raids, and acquiring arms. Elfversson mentions that this cultural practice has also become increasingly commercialized, whereby communities are no longer raiding each other to increase community wealth, as was the tradition. Still, the stolen livestock is now quickly sold on the black market.⁷⁷ Malicha also highlighted that some of these conflicts within and between pastoral communities, such as raiding and cattle rustling have a long history and have to some extent become an aspect of traditional pastoralist culture which has become increasingly destructive and less manageable in the county.⁷⁸

As noticed by the study, cattle raiding practice has corrupted the youth, leading to loss of lives in the process. The belief that it is a way of showing strength by killing, maiming, and stealing from other communities is barbaric and outdated. This situation makes it difficult for communities to expand their horizons as they constantly fear getting raided and losing their property. Some cultural practices are dehumanizing and should be abandoned for the communities to thrive in the modern era. Efforts by the National government and civil organizations to halt the raiding activities have recorded no successful outcome so far. However, the elected leaders could help mediate peace talks and restore order.

⁷⁶ Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies. "Conflict Assessment Report."

⁷⁷ Elfversson, Emma. "Patterns and Drivers of Communal Conflict in Kenya." *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*, 2019, 1-19. doi:10.1007/978-981-13-0242-8_50-1.

⁷⁸ Osamba, Joshia O. "The sociology of insecurity: cattle rustling and banditry in North-Western Kenya." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 1, no. 2 (2000): 11-37.

Finally, the study also established that increased population is blamed for conflicts over resources, cross-border migration, and increased access to mineral resources have contributed to the inter-ethnic strife in the area. Additionally, historical political exclusion and representations of economic marginalization and poverty continue to be blamed as contributing to county conflicts.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the drivers of Isiolo County that influence the conflict situation and patterns of communal conflict and presented an overview of the key drivers of inter-ethnic conflict in the region. Competition over scarce natural resources, land disputes, availability of small arms and light weapons, weak structures of governance, and cultural practices were the key drivers of conflict in Isiolo County. The analysis of these drivers has shown the ethicized contest among the ethnic groups in Isiolo County for control over resources.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECTS OF PERSISTENT INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ISIOLO COUNTY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to determine the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County. The impact of conflicts due to inter-ethnic clashes in Isiolo County has been well-documented for many years. The media coverage of the clashes clearly illustrates the high number of deaths over the years as the local communities continue to attack and counter-attack one another.⁷⁹ The Borana, Meru, Turkana, Samburu, and Somali ethnic communities have engaged in unending violent tribal clashes triggered by social, economic, or political interests. In 2015, The New Humanitarian reported cases of inter-ethnic clashes amongst the Turkana, Meru, and Borana communities which resulted in hundreds of houses being burnt and tens of people losing their lives.⁸⁰ The persistence of the inter-ethnic clashes was attributed to the lack of government presence and ease of availability of weapons in Isiolo, which lies in the Northern region of Kenya.⁸¹

The conflicts have effectively destabilized the region to the extent of negatively affecting the socioeconomic development of the communities that live in the county. The social fabric in Isiolo County is on the verge of being completely torn as the communities involved continue to drift further from each other every day. These communities continue to deny themselves any form of

⁷⁹ Sharamo, Roba. "The politics of pastoral violence: a case study of Isiolo County, Northern Kenya." Future Agricultures Consortium Working Paper 95 (2014).

⁸⁰ The New Humanitarian. "Hundreds displaced by fresh clashes in Isiolo." (2015). <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/94874/kenya-hundreds-displaced-fresh-clashes-isiolo>

⁸¹ Abdille, Abdullahi. "Ethnic Contest and Electoral Violence in Northern Kenya." (2017).

sustainable development that could quantitatively and qualitatively improve the well-being of individuals, families, and society.

While the inter-ethnic conflicts become more prevalent, there is need to establish the extent to which these conflicts have had an effect on the socio-economy of Isiolo order to understand how much it is a problem not only to the local community but its contribution to the Kenyan GDP. Therefore, the objective of the study in this section is to establish the effects of Persistent inter-ethnic Conflicts on socio-economic Development in Isiolo County.

3.2 Effects of Persistent inter-ethnic Conflicts on socio-economic Development in Isiolo County

Persistent inter-ethnic conflict affects the very essence of development and erode the existing potentials for betterment of people's livelihood. Therefore, the study seeks to determine the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County.

Table 3-1 Effects of Persistent inter-ethnic Conflicts on social development in Isiolo County

Statement	SA&A	Neutral	SD&D
	%	%	%
The inter-ethnic conflicts have contributed to the increased poverty in Isiolo County	67.2	19.7	13.1
Businesses in Isiolo County record low income because of the insecurity	60.7	21.3	18.0
The general quality of life in Isiolo County is poor because of inter-ethnic violence	63.9	21.3	14.8
Economic activities have been affected by inter-ethnic conflict in the area, as people cannot go to work	83.6	14.8	1.6
Inter-ethnic conflicts have affected the overall economic development in the area	88.5	8.2	3.3

Source: Field Survey (2023)

The study in this part sought to establish whether the inter-ethnic conflicts have contributed to the increased poverty in Isiolo County. The study's findings indicated that 65.5% of the respondents felt that the inter-ethnic disputes have contributed to the increased poverty in Isiolo County, and 14.8% were neutral. In comparison, 19.7% did not think inter-ethnic conflicts contributed to the increased poverty in Isiolo County. The finding supports the findings by a study by Wario ⁸² that inter-ethnic conflicts have contributed to insecurity thereby leading to increased mobility hampering both social and economic activities in the county.

Businesses in Isiolo County record low income because of insecurity, the study's findings indicated

⁸² Wario, H.G (2020) Conflict Analysis For Isiolo And Marsabit Counties, <https://www.kerosi.com/conflict-analysis-and-mapping-for-isiolo-and-marsabit-counties/>

that 68.9% of the respondents felt that the businesses in Isiolo County record low income because of the insecurity, and 26.2% were neutral. In comparison, 4.9% felt that businesses in Isiolo County had not recorded low income because of insecurity.

When the study sought to establish whether the general quality of life in Isiolo County is poor because of inter-ethnic violence, the findings of the study indicated that 91.8% of the respondents felt that the available quality of life in Isiolo County is poor because of inter-ethnic violence, 3.3% were neutral. In comparison, 4.9% did not think that the general quality of life in Isiolo County is poor because of inter-ethnic violence.

The study also established that 83.6% of the respondents felt that economic activities had been affected by inter-ethnic conflict in the area as people could not go to work, and 14.8% were neutral. In comparison, 1.6% felt that economic activities had not been affected by inter-ethnic conflict in the area as people could not go to work. Lastly, the study's findings also indicated that 88.5% of the respondents felt that inter-ethnic conflicts had affected the overall economic development in the area, and 8.2% were neutral. In comparison, 3.3% felt that inter-ethnic conflicts had not affected the overall economic growth in the area.

Table 3-2 Effects of Persistent inter-ethnic Conflicts on economic development in Isiolo County

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagreed
	%	%	%
There is a loss of human life because of inter-ethnic conflict.	78.7	11.5	9.8
There is the displacement of the population due to conflict	65.5	14.8	19.7
There is loss/theft of livestock as a result of the conflict in Isiolo	68.9	26.2	4.9
There is environmental depletion due because of inter-ethnic conflict	91.8	3.3	4.9
Inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County are a cause for the destruction of properties.	60.6	24.6	14.8
Education in the area has been affected by frequent Inter-ethnic conflicts	68.9	27.9	3.2
Operations of hospitals and other amenities have been affected by Inter-ethnic conflicts	70.5	13.1	16.4

Source: Field Survey (2023)

The study in this part sought to establish whether the displacement of the population was due to conflict. The results indicated that 60.6% of the respondents felt that there is a loss of human life because of inter-ethnic conflict, 24.6% were neutral, and 14.8% felt that there are no losses of human life because of inter-ethnic conflict. On the other hand, 70.5% of the respondents thought the population displacement was due to conflict, and 8.2% were neutral. In comparison, 21.3% felt that the population displacement was due to conflict.

The study sought to establish whether there is a loss/theft of livestock due to the conflict in Isiolo. The study's findings indicated that 80.3% of the respondents felt there was loss/theft of animals due to the conflict in Isiolo, and 13.1% were neutral. In comparison, 6.6% felt that there was no loss/theft of animals due to conflict in Isiolo. The findings of the study emphasizes the result of a study by

OCHA ⁸³that when inter-ethnic conflict happens the most affected are women as they are not able to attend to their small business.

The study's findings also indicated that 75.4% of the respondents felt environmental depletion due to inter-ethnic conflict, and 11.5% were neutral. In comparison, 13.1% felt no ecological depletion due to inter-ethnic conflict. Lastly, the study's findings indicated that 62.2% of the respondents felt that inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County cause the destruction of properties, and 14.8% were neutral. In comparison, 23.0% felt inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County do not destroy properties.

The study in this part sought to establish whether education in the area has been affected by frequent Inter-ethnic conflicts. The study's findings indicated that 68.9% of the respondents felt that education in the area had been affected by frequent Inter-ethnic conflicts, and 27.9% were neutral. In comparison, 3.2% of the respondents felt that education in the area had not been affected by frequent Inter-ethnic conflicts.

The study found that for thousands of children in Isiolo County, their right to education is unfulfilled due to inter-ethnic conflicts. The findings supported the earlier studies, contradicting the United Nations and the Kenyan Constitution that Education is a human right of every child. A Ministry of Devolution records study on Isiolo County further supports the findings. The study findings depict significant gaps in the county concerning education matters and could explain why the illiteracy level is beyond 20 percent of the people in the county. Education facilities in the county include; 160 ECDE centers, 125 and 25 primary and secondary schools, respectively, and two operational youth polytechnics. Estimating that only 10 percent of the Isiolo residents have attained post-primary

⁸³ OCHA (2023) Land, livelihoods and identities: Inter-community conflicts in East Africa, OCHA

education levels also shows how much education has been affected, with inter-ethnic conflicts pointed out as contributing factors.

Findings of a task force to investigate the persistent poor performance in national examinations by students in the county pointed out that inter-clashes between the ethnic communities in the county had left many children without breadwinners who were killed in the clashes.⁸⁴ Secondly, most of the schools in the county are forced to close down for extended periods when conflicts become frequent. The aftermath of inter-ethnic clashes involves the displacement of people from their homes. The effect of inter-ethnic clashes on education is also depicted by the negative impact on teachers' morale, low enrolment and retention, and low transition from one level to the next.

The study's findings also support Kinyua's (2010) investigation of the Effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on academic performance in schools among the pastoralist communities in Kenya-Laikipia West District Olmorani Division.⁸⁵ The study noted that teachers in these regions have to worry about their safety continuously, their family's safety, and students' safety. The teachers were less focused on class duties and likely to change their working stations. Related reports indicated mass exodus by teachers from their workplaces, especially in the former North Eastern Province and parts of the former Eastern Province bordering the abovementioned province. Therefore, as highlighted by these studies, the continued inter-ethnic clashes will further deteriorate the education status in Isiolo County.

⁸⁴ Kamau, Stella. "Influence of ethnic conflicts on learners' access to education in public primary schools at Sigowet sub-county of Kericho county-Kenya." PhD diss., UoN, 2020.

⁸⁵ Kinyua, G.N (2010) on the Effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on academic performance in schools among the pastoralist communities in Kenya-Laikipia West District Olmorani Division, University of Nairobi, Kenya

Lastly, when the study sought to establish whether the operations of the hospital and other amenities have been affected by Inter-ethnic conflicts, the study's findings indicated that 70.5% of the respondents felt that operations of the hospital and other amenities had been affected by Inter-ethnic conflicts, and 13.1% were neutral. In comparison, 16.4% felt inter-ethnic conflicts had not affected the hospital's operations and other amenities.

The effect of inter-ethnic conflict and related insecurity, as highlighted by the study, supports previous studies that pointed out that crucial health indicators in Isiolo County denote a dire need for quality, affordable, and accessible healthcare services. AFIDEP's factsheet (2019) on reproductive and maternal health noted that the adolescent birth rate in the country remains very high because many girls are forced into early marriage due to a lack of better future opportunities.⁸⁶ The findings highlighted that the neonatal death rate is also higher than the national average because most of the community cannot access life-saving interventions. Another related data by IHME (2020) also showed that diseases such as HIV/AIDS, diarrhoea, respiratory diseases, and Tuberculosis remain the leading causes of death in Isiolo County despite being treatable and preventable with increased accessibility to quality care.

Murray and associates revealed a direct relationship between armed conflict in a region and poor public health and high mortality rates. Evidence from earlier studies explains that continued poor general health in Isiolo is mainly due to the insecurity in the region caused by persistent inter-ethnic clashes.⁸⁷ Additionally, violent clashes are likely to cause the loss of human lives and life-

⁸⁶ AFIDEP. "Factsheets: Reproductive, Maternal, Neonatal, and Child Health, Isiolo County." <https://www.afidep.org/publication/reproductive-maternal-neonatal-and-child-health-isiolo-county/>

⁸⁷ Murray, Christopher JL, Gary King, Alan D. Lopez, Niels Tomijima, and Etienne G. Krug. "Armed conflict as a

threatening injuries to survivors.⁸⁸ In addition, a thriving environment for other diseases to manifest is created by the breakdown of health services and displacement of people to unhealthy conditions that allow diseases to be easily transmitted. The effect of ethnic clashes on healthcare has also been established in other studies, such as Vivian Ringo's studies on ethnic clashes in South Sudan. Ringo noted that trauma from ethnic conflicts is a leading cause of health-related problems among those affected by such clashes.⁸⁹

Poor health status leads to a high rate of infections of water-borne diseases, especially after a flooding phenomenon leading to a high mortality rate and loss of livestock. Low levels of hygiene and sanitation in the county exacerbate the poor state of health even further. Notably, the available health centres are poorly equipped and are often understaffed. Ultimately, all the factors compound to create a more significant adverse effect on individuals' health, predominantly women.

The study also supports findings by Global Poverty (2020) on the impact of inter-ethnic conflict on the poverty levels of the community, finding that this conflict raises the possibility of the affected suffering from abject poverty⁹⁰. Additionally, World Bank and USAID reports have cited the effect of inter-ethnic clashes, such as destructing critical infrastructures and institutions that the communities should use to elevate themselves from poverty.⁹¹ Isiolo County has small-unit communities dependent on close social ties and networks to overcome the adverse effects of poverty

public health problem." *Bmj* 324, no. 7333 (2002): 346-349.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ringo, Vivian. "Ethnic Conflict in South Sudan and the Effects on Healthcare." (2015).

⁹⁰ Global Poverty (2020) The impact of conflict on poverty in Mali, Borgen Project, [www. Impact of Conflict on Poverty](http://www.impactofconflict.org/poverty) - The Borgen Project

⁹¹ World Bank. "Fragility, Conflict, and Violence." 2014.

and the harsh living conditions in the region. Conflict often leads to the breakup of these tightly-knit communities, meaning most families lack social support from friends and families.⁹² Most families have orphans, widows, or disabled individuals who cannot work due to the conflict.

Another inter-ethnic factor contributing to poverty in Isiolo is that most of the attacks are conducted by communities that feel aggrieved due to the unequal distribution of wealth or power in the region. The attacks by burning animals and houses target households with better-off economies. Most of the communities in Isiolo are also not educated on economic resilience practices such as migrating and selling assets.⁹³ A study by Menyi on the impact of inter-ethnic conflict on women's participation in economic activities (employment) showed that the insecurity problem creates a scenario where participation in gainful employment is impossible.⁹⁴ The attacks lead to the displacement of people from their homes or the destruction of properties used for work activities.

Clashes lead to the destruction of the built environment, leading to a vicious cycle where the affected communities have to start from scratch again. This situation has made investors shy away from the county hindering business development. Unemployment continues to rise in Isiolo County as the public, private, and public entities cannot sustain most job seekers. Finally, the available jobs are taken mainly by people outside the county. Most natives do not value education and are adamant about retaining their nomadic way of life in the 21st century.

⁹² Ajodo-Adebanjoko, Angela, and Ugwuoke Okwudili Walter. "Poverty and the challenges of insecurity to development." *European Scientific Journal* 10, no. 14 (2014).

⁹³ Sharamo, Roba. "The politics of pastoral violence: a case study of Isiolo County, Northern Kenya." *Future Agricultures Consortium Working Paper* 95 (2014).

⁹⁴ Menyi, Evaline M. "The impact of inter-ethnic conflicts on women's participation in livelihood activities: a case study of Molo, Nakuru District." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2009.

3.3 Conclusion

The study's findings confirm that inter-ethnic conflicts contribute to negative socioeconomic development. The study highlights that the region needs to deal with inter-ethnic disputes to achieve the desired socio-economic factors. The study advises that the area can achieve high socio-economic development if only it can deal with the continued inter-ethnic conflicts.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR

PUBLIC POLICY INTERVENTIONS ON INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT

4.1 Introduction

Policies remain critical in providing direction and guidance for effective inter-ethnic conflict in the area. This should include the proper policies that streamline ownership of land in the area. The policies should include engaging the non-state organizations in offering civic education to communities living in the county on peaceful co-existence, the need to shun conflict, and the negative effects of cultural practices that only fuel the conflict such as cattle rustling. Other policy interventions should include, offering functional skills to the youth who are unemployed in these areas who are always used to fighting wars that they know little about. There is a need to resettle the internally displaced people in the area affected by the conflict to safer areas where they can reconstruct their lives. Additionally, there is a need to improve road and transport infrastructures in Isiolo County along with improving the social amenities in this area. It was also recommended that there is a need to explore new economic ventures in the area. Lastly, there is a need to explore prospects for irrigation along the river sections to support alternative income-generating ventures that provide alternative livelihoods other than cattle farming.

This chapter analyzed the public policy interventions on the inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo County.

4.2 Policy factors affecting inter-ethnic Conflicts

The study sought to establish policy issues that affected inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County, and the following were the responses.

Table 4-1 Policy factors affecting inter-ethnic Conflicts

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagreed
	%	%	%
The government's mega projects in the county, such as the construction of the Isiolo Airport, have helped to create a sustainable livelihood for the people.	70.5	21.3	8.2
Alternative economic empowerment, such as enterprise development, will reduce inter-community conflicts	80.3	13.1	6.6
The government has adequately resolved the land rights problem in Isiolo County.	13.1	11.5	75.4
Proper measures are being implemented to help cushion the people from the problems caused by climate change and variability in Isiolo County.	62.2	14.8	23.0
The operations of community policing in Isiolo County are adequate for promoting peace.	59.0	36.1	4.9
Political representation will reduce inter-community conflicts	91.8	8.2	0.0
The community people are adequately involved in peace strategies.	88.5	4.9	6.6

Source: Field Survey (2023)

The study sought to establish whether the government's mega projects in the county, such as the construction of the Isiolo Airport, have helped to create a sustainable livelihood for the people in Isiolo County. The study's findings indicated that 70.5% of the respondents felt that the government's mega projects in the county, such as the construction of the Isiolo Airport, have helped create a sustainable livelihood for the people, and 8.2% were neutral. In comparison, 21.3% felt that

the government's mega projects in the county, such as the construction of the Isiolo Airport, have not helped to create a sustainable livelihood for the people.

The study endeavoured to establish whether alternative economic empowerment, such as enterprise development, will reduce inter-community conflicts. The findings indicated that 80.3% of the respondents felt that alternative economic empowerment, such as enterprise development, would reduce inter-community conflicts, and 13.1% were neutral. In comparison, 6.6% felt that alternative economic empowerment, such as enterprise development, would not mitigate inter-community conflicts.

The study's findings also indicated that 13.1% of the respondents felt that the government had adequately resolved the land rights problem in Isiolo County, 11.5% were neutral, and 75.4% thought that the government had not adequately resolved the land rights problem in Isiolo County. While the rights of land ownership require proper policies as a solution to inter-community conflicts in the county, the interventions do not involve women rights to land ownership.⁹⁵ that as the government develops effective policies that promote the value of indigenous peoples' knowledge of resource management and of customary practise, there is also need for policies related to women's rights to hold and use land especially in area such as Isiolo.

Additionally, 62.2% of the respondents felt that proper measures were being implemented to help cushion the people from the problems caused by climate change and variability in Isiolo County, and 14.8% were neutral. In comparison, 23.0% felt that no proper measures were being implemented to help cushion the people from the problems caused by climate change and variability in Isiolo

⁹⁵ OCHA (2023) Land, livelihoods and identities: Inter-community conflicts in East Africa, OCHA

County. Nzioka stressed that development policy around environmental adaptation drilling boreholes in various parts of Moyale is one of the strategies employed in this region and that the government has been; since the water was a significant source of contention. Additionally, developing a water point was a suitable solution in the area.⁹⁶

The study in this part sought to establish whether the operations of community policing in Isiolo County are adequate for promoting peace. The study's findings indicated that 59.0% of the respondents felt that the functions of community policing in Isiolo County are sufficient for promoting peace, and 36.1% were neutral. In comparison, 4.9% did not think that the operations of community policing in Isiolo County are adequate for promoting peace.

The study's findings also indicated that 91.8% of the respondents felt that Political representation would reduce inter-community conflicts, and 8.2% were neutral. In contrast, none of the respondents did not think that Political representation would reduce inter-community disputes. Finally, results indicated that 88.5% of the respondents felt that the community people were adequately involved in peace strategies, and 4.9% were neutral. In comparison, 6.6% thought the community people were not sufficiently engaged in peace strategies.

⁹⁶ Many, Ayub, Jørn Braa, Lars Helge Øverland, Ola Hodne Titlestad, Jeremiah Mumo, and Charles Nzioka. "National roll out of District Health Information Software (DHIS 2) in Kenya, 2011–Central server and Cloud based infrastructure." In IST-Africa 2012 conference proceedings, vol. 5, pp. 1-9. IIMC International Information Management Corporation, 2012.

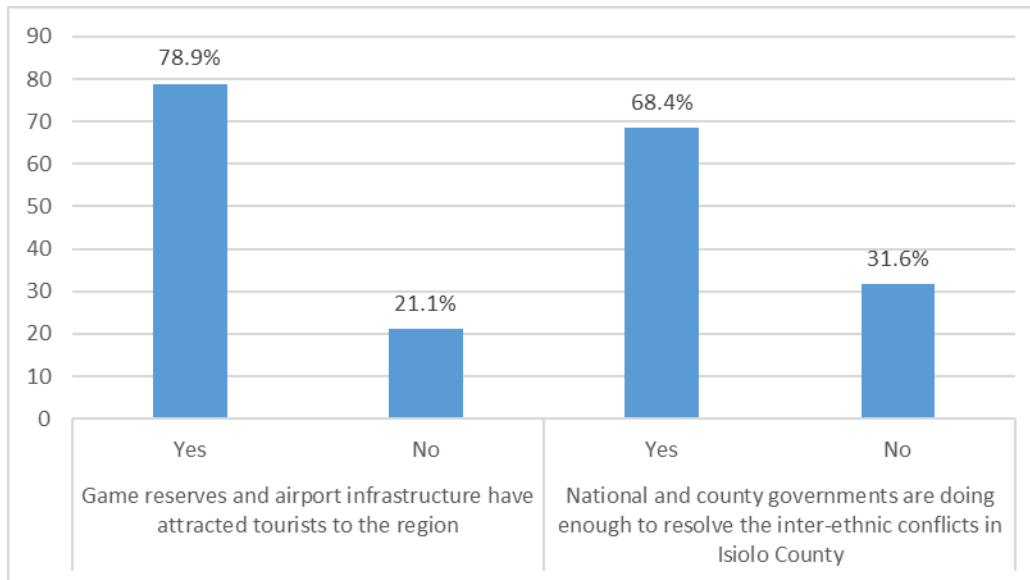


Figure 4-1 Effects of game reserves and airport infrastructure on economic activities

The study's findings indicated that 78.9% of the respondents felt that game reserves and airport infrastructure had attracted tourists to the region and that 68.4% believed that National and county governments are doing enough to resolve the inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

4.3 Public Policy Interventions

The study sought to establish Public Policy Interventions required to solve inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo, and the following were the responses.

Table 4-2 Public Policy Interventions

Public policy Interventions	Percentage (%)
Provision of administration services	59.22
Provision of security	75.07
Provision of water services	78.45
Provision of social amenities	60.00
Development of infrastructure	82.15
Community outreach and reconciliations	84.14
Stakeholder engagement	65.23
Local economic empowerment	89.33
Political representation	72.55

Source: Field Survey (2023)

The study's findings indicated that local economic empowerment would be the intervention with the highest socio-economic effect at 89.33%, followed by community outreach and reconciliations at 84.14% and then infrastructure development at 82.15%. At the same time, the Provision of administration services as an intervention would have the most negligible effect on socioeconomic development at 59.225, followed by the Provision of social amenities at 60.00% and Stakeholder engagement at 65.23%. These findings support recommendations by Kariithi ⁹⁷who stressed on need for economic development that include the availability of roads, airways, railways, health services,

⁹⁷ Kariithi, C. A and Kisilu R, J (2023) Implication of Public Policy Interventions on Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Isiolo County, international Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS),

education, banking, energy, water, sanitation, and other public utility as critical in impacting the productivity of Isiolo County and improving its economic growth in the long run.

While Community outreach and reconciliations remain one of the interventions for peace in the conflict-afflicted areas, the findings indicated that the National and County Governments have not been doing enough to resolve inter-ethnic conflicts. Attacks and casualties were on the rise, indicating that the national and county governments play their role in promoting peace and encouraging inclusivism in the composition of their governments.

Political representation also remains one of the interventions to inter-ethnic conflicts, as 72.55% of respondents pointed out that feelings of political exclusion can contribute to inter-ethnic conflict in the area. In the politics of the winner takes it, the elected leaders choose to award their cronies other than equally working for the people. The losers do not benefit from the government of the day. The findings support earlier studies that divisive politics have played a significant role in side-tracking the efforts being put in place to enhance peace talks in the region. The National and County governments must prioritize regional security to implement their strategies. Additionally, as advised by many studies, the County government needs to ensure that all the communities present have a representative within the county government to address their grievances.

Kamau argues that the National Government needs to be more ruthless when dealing with leaders who incite citizens rather than shielding them from the law due to their affiliations.⁹⁸ Because of this, the National Government also needs to fund the police officers in the county more to improve their

⁹⁸ Shields, Carolyn M. "Leadership for social justice education: A critical transformative approach." In *International handbook of educational leadership and social (in) justice*, pp. 323-339. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013.

working conditions which continues to be a significant challenge. The study did not highlight the provision of administration services as one of the highest-ranked interventions in solving inter-ethnic conflicts in the area.

4.4 Effectiveness of Governance System in Isiolo County.

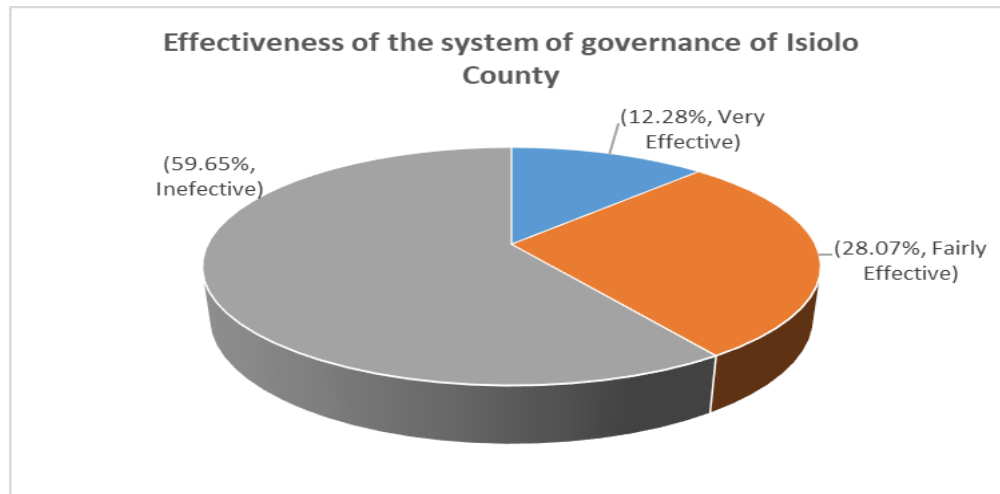


Figure 4-2 Effectiveness of the System of Governance of Isiolo County

The study's findings established that 59.65% of the respondents felt the government was ineffective, 28.07% thought it was reasonably practical, and only 12.28% felt it was effective. The study's findings support earlier studies highlighting that the elected political leaders also catalyze poor governance in the county as they were seemingly seen to serve their interests or enhance the influence of their communities rather than serving all the people in the County.

Findings from interviews also emphasize that government should prioritize security in the region by providing more resources to the police officers. The county needs to have a stable security status that will support the growth of businesses, resolve the pertinent land rights ownership issues, and issue pending title deeds to reduce land ownership conflicts. Subsequently, there is a need to ensure access

to basic social amenities such as healthcare and clean water for domestic consumption.

In addition, respondents mentioned that most residents are forced to be content with the water scarcity problem and compete for the available resources. Further, respondents reported the need to improve the state of infrastructure in the region, for example, feeder roads, to make remote areas more accessible to residents and security officers. Healthcare facilities also need to be increased and equipped with the proper personnel and medicine to serve the communities living in the area effectively. Subsequently, respondents indicated that the government should implement disarmament initiatives and curb the county's easy access to small arms and light weapons. The easy accessibility of SAWs in the county has increased illegal ownership of firearms used in inter-ethnic attacks and banditry.

Respondents indicated that all stakeholders, led by the national and county government, should develop strategies to cushion people from the effects of climate change, which has become prevalent. The county government must prioritize food security by encouraging irrigation and funding agricultural initiatives. There is also a need to build on community policing to help in enhancing security in the region. Residents' involvement in security matters plays a significant role in making the interventions more successful. Community policing as a strategy to enhancing peaceful coexistence in communities with history of inter-community conflicts have been advised by Kariithi ⁹⁹that functions of community policing in Isiolo County are sufficient for promoting peace. Whether politicians or other community leaders are involved, the perpetrators of inter-ethnic

⁹⁹ Kariithi, C. A and Kisilu R, J (2023) Implication of Public Policy Interventions on Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Isiolo County, international Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science (IJRISS),

conflicts should be held accountable and charged within the law. In addition, the perpetrators' prosecution should be executed to serve as an example to others.

The respondent needs to fund poverty alleviation projects to reduce poverty levels in the county and improve livelihoods. Most youths in the county are unemployed and need funding to develop start-up projects. The respondents recommended the need to improve the conditions of the region's education facilities and build more schools to improve access to education. In some areas, school-going children are forced to walk long distances to attend school as most of them are not well equipped, and there is also a need to sensitize pastoralists on keeping manageable herds of cattle, goats and goats, and camels. Lastly, all the stakeholders should be involved in peace and reconciliation-building efforts by holding frequent dialogs and discussions to seek opinions from people on improving peace and identify early signs of possible triggers of inter-ethnic conflicts.

Respondents indicated that all stakeholders, led by the national and County Governments, should develop strategies to cushion people from the effects of climate change, which has become prevalent. The county government must prioritize food security by encouraging irrigation and funding agricultural initiatives. There is also a need to build on community policing to help in enhancing security in the region. Residents' involvement in security matters plays a significant role in making the interventions more successful. Whether politicians or other community leaders are involved, the perpetrators of inter-ethnic conflicts should be held accountable and charged within the law. In addition, the perpetrators' prosecution should be executed to serve as an example to others.

The findings indicate that comparably the policies on infrastructural development in the region

that include feeder roads, to make remote areas more accessible to residents and security officers have not been improve compared to the other parts of the country and neighboring counties. There are no adequate healthcare facilities compared to other counties and therefore there is need for a change in policy to increased and equipped with the proper personnel and medicine to effectively serve the communities in the area. Additionally, respondents indicated that the government should implement disarmament initiatives and curb the County's easy access to small arms and light weapons given that easy accessibility of SAWs in the County has increased illegal ownership of firearms used in inter-ethnic attacks and banditry. This indicated that comparably to other county, the county government of Isiolo have not effectively implemented their policies on disarmament.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter includes the solutions to the drivers of inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County and the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Isiolo County. The chapter also highlighted the Public Policy Interventions that can help deal with the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area. lastly, the chapter assessed the effectiveness of Isiolo County's governance system.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, discussions, and findings of the research. The discussions of the results were based on the study objectives. The chapter also contains the summary and concluding remarks on the discourse, recommendations, and study limitations. The study sought to establish the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of Isiolo County. The study sought to answer the following questions :

- i) What are the drivers of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?
- ii) How do persistent inter-ethnic conflicts affect socio-economic development in Isiolo County?
- iii) What are the public policy interventions for addressing the persistent inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?

As inter-ethnic conflicts continue to be more prevalent even as the government increases intervention to eradicate conflicts, it has a huge socio-economic effect on the communities involved in such conflicts as economic and social activities are disrupted and therefore important to establish of these effect. The study is therefore very significant as it will help policymakers understand the impediments to promoting lasting security and cohesion in this county and offer them insight into possible conflict management solutions.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The study involved men, women, youth, and respondents of different ages to ensure that the study was as representative as possible. The researcher ensured that the questions were explained to the respondents. Therefore, the findings represent the facts on inter-conflicts in the region. Additionally, the study described different respondents' educational backgrounds, given that this is a critical factor in socio-economic development. The results indicated that there was a large percentage of respondents that did not have any formal education. Generally, the population has a low literacy rate due to the many challenges experienced in the region, including lack of access to schools, poor infrastructure, and frequent interruptions by banditry and cattle rustling. Therefore, despite the low literacy level in the area, the responses were credible enough to conclude the research report.

Moreover, the literacy level did not affect the study, and the responses were sufficient for the research. The findings indicated that most respondents had lived in the area for over 15 years. In this regard, the respondents had experienced or witnessed inter-ethnic conflicts at one time or another. The local community had the most significant representation. However, the survey also included other stakeholders in conflict resolution, such as Civil Society, Relief Workers, and Government officials that deal with peace and conflict resolutions in the county in one way or another.

In summary, the respondents covered in this study were quite adequate for the research report. The respondents' prolonged period of residence is correlational to their overall experience with issues under research. Additionally, this gives more credibility to the research findings.

5.2.1 Drivers of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts

The study had sought to establish what were the drivers of inter-ethnic conflict in Isiolo county. The report findings established that many factors caused inter-ethnic conflicts in the study area. The study demonstrated that land-related grievances were the highest drivers of conflict in the area as people fought over land while the situation has been exacerbated by non-proper land ownership and unresolved land boundaries in the county. Unavailability of grazing field, scarce water resources, and general insecurity need to be addressed through drilling of more water holes and improving of the general security in the area. Increased cross-border migration, climate change, cultural values, political representation, access to social services such as health and education, and population growth also still remain drivers of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area. Noticeably, lowest driver of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area was poverty and fighting over mineral resources, the government interventions need to include an exploration of alternative livelihood for the community living in Isiolo County. In summary, the primary drivers to inter-ethnic conflict in the area remain conflicts' primary causes are political, socio-economic, and ecological factors. There is also need of evaluating the effectiveness of government equalization policies that sought to address the historical economic and social marginalization even as the government addressed communities' competition over limited resources, lack of water, increasing population, and climate change-related challenges.

5.2.2 Effects of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts

The study had also sought to establish the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts. The inter-ethnic conflicts have highly impacted inter-ethnic conflicts was some deaths, followed by theft/ loss of livestock and property, displacement of population, negative ethnicity/hatred, and interference with education in the area. The other effects of inter-ethnic conflicts are increased poverty, social inequalities, and serious under-development that affected many parts of the county. Noticeably, inter-community

fighting seriously contributed to environmental degradation and insecurity supporting previous studies that highlighted several consequences of violent conflicts that have negatively impacted the communities' way of life, economic activities, and the loss of livelihoods¹⁰⁰. These conflicts, the communities have survived primarily on relief support from donor organizations with little help from the central government. The consequences of inter-ethnic conflicts are not limited to above effects only, but also include interruptions of education, health care services, lack of water, pasture, and overall insecurity for the lack of adequate police officers to provide protection.¹⁰¹

5.2.3 Public Policy Interventions

Lastly, on what are the Public Policy Interventions that contribute to everlasting peace and harmony among ethnic communities living in the area, the study established that government services did not address the general marginalization of the communities residing there. On the other hand, the government has not addressed administration services, security, water services, and social amenities. Further, the region lacked infrastructure development, and therefore related policy intervention was necessary to spur infrastructural development to open economic opportunities. In addition, the infrastructural developments would allow farmers to transport their cattle product to other markets, increase interaction with the different parts of the country and open the area for security and administrative services. The study also cited community outreach and reconciliations, increased stakeholder engagement, local economic empowerment, and equal political representation as interventions that would solve inter-ethnic conflicts in the area.

¹⁰⁰ Aremu, J. O. "Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution." *African Research Review* 4, no. 4 (2011). doi:10.4314/afrrrev. v4i4.69251.

¹⁰¹ Agade, K. M., and A. B. Halakhe. *Rapid Assessment of the Institutional Architecture for Conflict Mitigation*. World Bank Group, 2019.

5.3 Conclusion

Drivers of regional inter-conflicts were inadequate land ownership, unresolved land boundaries, fights over grazing fields and water, lack of security, and cross-border migration. The other drivers include climate change, cultural practices supporting cattle rustling, political representation favoring certain ethnic groups, lack of access to social services (health and education), poverty, and a growing population that is putting pressure on the limited resources in the area.

The loss of human life, theft loss of livestock and property, population displacement, negative ethnicity/hatred, and interference with education are socio-economic areas that inter-ethnic conflicts have impacted. Inter-ethnic conflicts also influenced increased poverty, social inequalities, and serious under-development in many parts of the county.

Policy interventions cited by the study included improved transport to open viable markets and limit banditry attacks along the highways within and outside Isiolo County. The other interventions suggested included increased economic alternatives, enabling security to allow uninterrupted access to education, availability of social amenities, and developing an early warning system to deter inter-ethnic conflicts before they escalate. In conclusion, these interventions would positively impact the area's social and economic development.

5.4 Study Limitation

The study focused on Isiolo County and not all the other Counties affected by persistent inter-ethnic conflicts. The study was limited to Isiolo County and covered Borana, Meru, Samburu, Turkana, and Somali, who have consistently clashed with each other through inter-ethnic conflicts. The study was

limited to the effects of endless inter-ethnic conflict and its implications on the socio-economic position of the county. The study only covered local communities, civil society, clergy, relief agencies, and government officials who formed the sample, presenting a practical analysis and representation of inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County. The study ensured that the sample selected was as representative as possible.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 General Recommendations

On the drivers of conflict, the government and other stakeholders should identify particular drivers of inter-ethnic disputes, their causes, and what solutions are required to ensure that social and economic development is achieved in the area. Additionally, identifying the drivers that need social transformation approaches, administrative policy, and socio-economic policy interventions is necessary.

There is a need for a collective approach to addressing the drivers of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area. These approaches should involve the national government, religious leaders, and other stakeholders in solving the drivers of inter-ethnic conflicts. These multi-agency approaches should include social transformation strategies with clear goals and timelines for achieving the set social goals.

The multi-agency approaches need to include the collective approach of all security agencies and local and regional administrations in dealing with things that fuel inter-ethnic conflicts, such as small arms that are quickly passed through the border. Therefore, there is a need for a regional approach to

dealing with the availability of these small arms, which contribute to internal conflicts in neighboring countries. Additionally, the local administration needs to work specifically with the community leaders and religious leaders to deal with harmful cultural practices that fuel inter-ethnic conflicts as youths from one community raid villages of other communities as they seek to have as many cattle as possible, as this is considered a success in their culture.

In addressing the effects of inter-ethnic conflicts in the area, the study recommends establishing the specific impact of inter-ethnic violence on individual social and economic factors such as education, quality of life, and interrupted income. There is also a need to identify inter-ethnic conflicts' effect on economic activities, local businesses, loss of livelihoods, general interruption of everyday lives, and the loss of lives that has continued to be experienced in the area.

5.5.2 Public policy interventions

Lastly, the national and county government should focus on infrastructural development to open the area for transport, trade, and development. Improving the road network and constructing feeder roads to the main roads, bridges, and all-weather roads will also open the proposed villages to economic opportunities with the outside world.

There is also need of identifying security related policy challenges and administration in order for proper policy review that can help the county address the inter-ethnic challenges that are prevalent in the area. The National and County Governments need to work closely with the NGOs working in the area to enhance civic education on the negative effects of inter-ethnic conflict and identify specific cultural practice that promote such conflict including cattle rustling.

This study is therefore significant in directing on policy development and acting as a point of reference on the the effects of persistent inter-ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of Isiolo County. Both the central government and the county government may use this study to understand how there can develop their policies on dealing with inter-ethnic conflicts in order to achieve the desired social economic development.

5.6 Suggestion for further studies

There is a need to study the theory of change and social transformation as an approach to inter-ethnic conflict to deal with underlying issues such as cattle rustling, which this study has highlighted as a significant driver of inter-ethnic conflict.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY-KENYA



NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Kariithi Charles Aritho, a Master of National Security and Strategy student at the National Defence College, National Defence University-Kenya. I am carrying out a research study on the topic, 'Effects of Persistent Inter-Ethnic Conflicts on Socio-Economic Development in Isiolo County'. As an important stakeholder, am requesting your assistance by participating in answering a few questions. The information that you will provide will be kept in strict confidence and utilized for

academic purposes only.

SECTION A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Name (Optional):

Age: 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40-49 [] 50-59 [] and above []

Gender: Male [] Female []

Profession: Business Owner [] Pastoralist [] Farmer [] County Official [] KWS Officer []
Clergy []

Education Level: Primary [] Secondary [] College [] Undergraduate [] Graduate [] PhD []

SECTION B

PART 1: DRIVERS OF PERSISTENT INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN ISIOLO COUNTY.

Is competition over scarce resources a source of contention between the ethnic groups in Isiolo County?

Yes [] No []

If yes, list these resources.....

On a scale of 1-5 indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements on the drivers of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in Isiolo County.

1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree (Tick in the boxes)

Drivers of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts	1	2	3	4	5
Increased population is blamed for conflicts over resources					
Access to scarce water resources has resulted to ethnic conflict					
Competition of grazing Resources in Isiolo County					
Land ownership and un-resolved boundary demarcations is a contributor of ethnic conflict in Isiolo County					
Increased population is blamed for conflicts over resources					
Cross border migration					
Access to mineral resources					
Climate change and scarcity of grazing resources in Isiolo County					
Lack of security due to proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) from neighbouring countries					
Limited access to basic social services such as health facilities and educational institutions					
Cultural practices such as cattle raiding					
Historical political exclusion and representations					
Economic marginalization					
Inadequate governance structures are reasons for conflicts in the area					
Poverty has contributed to conflicts in the county					

Limited access to basic social services such as health facilities and educational institutions					
--	--	--	--	--	--

Rate the level of effectiveness of the system of governance of Isiolo County.

Very effective []

Fairly effective []

Ineffective []

In your own opinion what are the main causes of the inter-ethnic conflict in your community?

.....

.....

PART 2: EFFECTS OF PERSISTENT INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ISIOLO COUNTY

Do persistent inter-ethnic conflicts produce adverse socio-economic effects in Isiolo County?

Yes [] No []

The insecurity in Isiolo country has adversely affected access to education.

Yes [] No []

If yes, what problems that are hindering access to education?

.....

.....

Has the insecurity arising from inter-ethnic conflicts impaired operations in the healthcare facilities in Isiolo County?

Yes [] No []

If yes, what are the problems hindering the delivery of quality services?

.....

.....

On a scale of 1-5 indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County.

1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree (Tick in the boxes)

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Economic Effects					
The inter-ethnic conflicts have contributed to the increased poverty in Isiolo County.					
Businesses in Isiolo County record low income because of the insecurity.					
The general quality of life in Isiolo County is poor because of inter-ethnic violence.					
Economic activities have been affected by inter-ethnic conflict in the area as people					

cannot go to work					
Inter-ethnic conflicts have affected the overall economic development in the area					
Social Effects					
There is loss of human life because of inter-ethnic conflict.					
There is displacement of population					
There is loss/theft of livestock					
There is environmental depletion due because of inter-ethnic conflict					
Inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County are a cause for destruction of properties.					
Education in the area has been affect by frequent Inter-ethnic conflicts					
Operations of hospital and other amenities have been affected by Inter-ethnic conflicts					

In your own opinion, apart from the above mentioned, what are the long-term effects of the inter-ethnic conflict in your community?

.....

PART 3: PUBLIC POLICY INTERVENTIONS FOR ADDRESSING THE PERSISTENT

INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT IN ISIOLO COUNTY

What are the mechanisms in place to resolve the inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?

.....

.....

On a scale of 1-5 indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements concerning interventions to eradicate inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?

1=Strongly Agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly Disagree (Tick in the boxes)

	1	2	3	4	5
The government's mega projects in the county, such as the construction of the Isiolo Airport have helped to create sustainable livelihood for the people.					
Alternative economic empowerment such as enterprise development will reduce inter-community conflicts					
The government has adequately resolved the land rights problem in Isiolo County.					
There are proper measures being implemented to help cushion the people from the problems caused by climate change and variability in Isiolo County.					
The operations of community policing in Isiolo County are adequate for promoting peace.					
Political representation will reduce inter-community conflicts					
The community people are adequately involved in peace strategies.					

What are the main challenges facing security personnel in their efforts of promoting security in Isiolo County?

.....

.....

.....

Are the animal reserves and airport infrastructure in Isiolo County been successful in attracting tourists to the region?

Yes [☐] No [☐]

Please explain your answer.....

Do you believe that both the national and country governments are doing enough to resolve the inter-ethnic conflicts in Isiolo County?

Yes [☐] No [☐]

In your own opinion what should the government do to end inter-ethnic conflict in your community?.....

Recommend strategies that could help bring lasting peace in Isiolo County?

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

APPENDIX II: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

RESTRICTED

Telephone: 254-2-3884036
Fax: 254-2-3884036
E-Mail: info@ndc.go.ke



National Defence College
71 Warai North Road
P.O Box 24381-00502
Karen – Nairobi

Ref: NDC/A/141

09 November 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

FACILITATION FOR MR KARIITHI CHARLES ARITHO No.ND601/0013/2022

The above Senior Officer is a course participant at the National Defence College and has been admitted for Masters of Arts in National Security and Strategy, under the National Defence University- Kenya Programme.

As part of academic requirements, Mr Kariithi Charles Aritho is required to undertake a research project in partial fulfillment of MA degree programme he is enrolled in. Her approved research topic is " Effects Of Persistent Inter-Ethnic Conflicts On Socio-Economic Development In Isiolo County, Kenya".

The purpose of this letter is to kindly request your office to facilitate the Officer as he conducts her research project.

Submitted for your kind consideration and facilitation.

Mr. F. M. MABEYA
Head of Programme
for Commandant

APPENDIX III: LETTER FROM NACOSTI



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Ref No: 636215

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr. CHARLES Kariithi ARITHO of National Defence College Kenya, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Isiolo on the topic: **EFFECTS OF PERSISTENT INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ISIOLO COUNTY** for the period ending : 06/December/2023.

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