Analyzing the Social - Economic Ramifications of Trans - Border Conflict in Muhoroni, Kenya from 1963 to 2010

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Abstract: This study examined the social-economic impact of the trans-border ethnic conflict in Muhoroni between the Luo, Nandi, Kipsigis, and Gusii. This study was carried out in Muhoroni Sub - County and Tinderet Sub - county Kenya. Muhoroni is a border area predominantly between two tribes that stay along this borderline, the Luo and the Nandi. The border along Muhoroni over the years has continued to experience conflict for a prolonged period of time and as a result has undermined the social fabric which is the bedrock of inter-communal cooperation for economic development. The trans-border ethnic conflict has resulted in devastating effects on the social and economic livelihoods of communities living along the borderline in Muhoroni. Villages and institutions along the border have suffered socially and economically as the antagonism between the communities along the border persisted. The study also provide some policy recommendations aimed at creating stability region.

Keywords: Ethnic conflict, trans-border ethnic conflict, Muhoroni, social impact, economic impact

1. Introduction

The study discusses the social and economic effects of trans-border conflict in Muhoroni Kenya from 1963 to 2010. The methodology adopted is the case study with in-depth investigation. The result of the study demonstrate multiple social and economic effects that range from disruption of the education system, loss of life, internal displacement of persons to declining agricultural activities and trans border trade. The study concludes that there exists a nexus between the conflict and social and economic stability in Muhoroni region. Further to that the study provides some policy recommendations on the redrawing of the border based on cultural and historical claims of the trans-border communities rather than on the arbitrary administrative orders of the government.

2. Methodology

The study adopted a case study design with an in-depth investigation of several data sources and a phenomenological research design. The case study design provided a more profound insight into the causes of the trans-border ethnic conflict in Muhoroni between the Luo and the Nandi, the social-economic impact and the various conflict management and resolution strategies. The phenomenological research design was also used when focusing on an individual’s lived experiences and reflecting on trans-border ethnic conflict. This research was carried out in Muhoroni Sub - County and Tinderet Sub - county Kenya. Muhoroni is a border area predominantly between two tribes that stay along this borderline, the Luo and the Nandi. However, there are other tribes, such as Kisii, Kikuyu and Luhyia, who stay and work in the region.

The target population in this study constitutes administration from both sides, teachers, religious leaders from the communities, older men and women, chiefs, youths, traders operating in major markets on the conflict areas, the civil society’s organizations and the political class.

This study adopted purposive and snowballing techniques. Because the information sought came from those useful to the researcher, purposeful sampling and snowballing procedures were employed to select the respondents. Forty-five elderly respondents who were conversant with trans-border ethnic conflict in Muhoroni were interviewed. The sample was from the areas of hostility like Kibigori, Songhor East, Songhor West, Chemelil, God Abuoro, Chemase, Songhor, Soba, and Kapkitony.

The study used an interview guide; document analysis guide, focus group discussion guide and observation protocol guide. The procedure for selecting the participants depended on the level of education, the expertise on trans-border ethnic conflict. The data analysis began during data collection. There were identifications of emerging themes in relation to the study objectives, data collected through interviews were analyzed and written in the form of a story, and data collected from the archives and documentary sources were analyzed to provide a detailed description.

The interviews, recorded data and digital photography information were transcribed and well-coded to various sub-themes for analysis. The data were subjected to critical analysis by comparing several sources, looking at the information from the written documents and oral interviews, and backed with evidence with digital photography. They were presented in analytical and descriptive format in themes and sub-themes.

3. Results

The choice of the respondents took into consideration age, gender, level of education, ethnic profile in order to render...
Some people are usually very unfortunate and end up lacking something to eat yet they need the strength to keep moving. Some die before getting to safety and some become so malnourished that it takes years for them to recover back to normal, this has been witnessed in the trans - border conflict in Muhoroni between the warring ethnic communities (Shalom - SCCRR, 2020). When conflicts arise, families are separated. This happens when people are fleeing from the war - prone zone and escaping to safety but in the process, they are separated from other family members. Family and friends are usually scattered as they all try to find somewhere safe to go to and children and women suffer the most. According to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, “the overwhelming majority of internally displaced persons are women and children who are especially at risk of abuse of their basic rights. Some end up being at risk of being used as pawns, targets, or human shields by the belligerents (UNHCR, 2007).

Bircan, et al. (2017) observed that physical and psychological trauma is another social impact on trans - border ethnic conflict, war adversely affects combatants and non - combatants alike, both physically and emotionally traumatized. Most of the victims of civil war are civilians, who are subjected to, or witness, war - related traumatic events such as shootings, killings, rape, torture and murder of family members, and sexual violence. Wars cause physical, psychological, social, and ecological destruction. They aim to destroy a people’s identity, culture, beliefs, language, food, etc., in order to make them submit to newly imposed ones. Wars destroy society’s infrastructure and systems e. g., government, families, communities, economy, and environment. Wars are coercive to disempower and indoctrinate. Torture is used to ensure submission. The rape of women is used as a weapon of war to change the genetic makeup. Such traumatic events go beyond normal human experiences and lead to the myriad of post - traumatic sequels we see in society, some of which go on for generations (Musisi, and Kinyanda, 2020).

In addition to those impacts, there is also sexual violence. Such cases are very prevalent especially because of conflict and insecurity and it is mainly prevalent through rape. “They can affect all dimensions of a person’s physical, psychological, and social well - being, sometimes enduring across different stages of life, and can also affect families and communities” (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2022). One particularly horrific aspect of physical injury and trauma in conflict zones is the use of rape as a weapon of war (Thompson, 2021).

Some of the social consequences of sexual violence are stigma and isolation. “Survivors of sexual violence face deep - rooted stigma. It may occur at a personal level or within the family or community, but also at an institutional level, in the judicial system” (TRIAL International, 2020). Social consequences may also be dramatic, forcing victims into isolation due to shame and stigma; this also leads to serious economic consequences (with all family and social links broken, some victims are left with no means of subsistence (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2022).
Wars will lead to the deterioration of public health, caused by the destruction of health infrastructure, the loss of skilled medical personnel, and reductions in government health spending greatly raising risks of death and disability from many infectious diseases in war - affected countries, with women and children as the most common long - term victims. Narrowed opportunities for schooling combined with increased incidence of disease, particularly among already vulnerable groups are expected to cause a rise in human capital inequality, which is likely to be amplified the longer and more intense a conflict is (Bircan, et al., 2017).

The clashes in the Munhoroni border exemplified the potential and real consequences of conflict on inter - ethnic marriage, family, and social life. According to the field information collected in different parts of the Munhoroni conflict - stricken areas, there were cases of breakdown of marriage and family life. Currently, inter - ethnic marriages between the Luo and Kipsigis in Koru, Luo and Nandi in Songhor East and Songhor west, viewed these inter - ethnic marriages with fear and suspicion. This was one of the far - reaching social consequences of clashes that have also created mistrust, prejudice, and psychological trauma characterized by mental anguish and general apathy, among the various ethnic groups in Munhoroni. This emerging negative tendency contradicts the view that the conflicting ethnic communities have coexisted and inter - married for several decades (KHRC, 1996).

The immediate consequences of trans - border ethnic conflict are loss of lives. There have been deaths resulting in injuries sustained during the attacks on the warring communities. While it is possible to recover from the loss of property, given time and favorable conditions, loss of life is an impact that cannot be recovered. Children are orphaned or parents are left childless by death. Since 1991, ethnic violence has claimed numerous lives. InSoghor, Koru, Chemase, Kopere, God Auburo, and Chemelil, most of the respondents had witnessed the killing of the people they knew, close friends and relatives, and their neighbors (Atieno, O. I, July 16, 2022).

Besides deaths directly resulting from the violence, some elderly people were said to have succumbed to “early” deaths in circumstances that related to the violence. There were specific examples of such deaths as some of the deceased were parents or close relatives of the respondents. The burning of houses, including those of the aged during the violence must have created a very disturbing sense of wretchedness among them, having to witness all the labors of their lives come to ruin. The Commission of Inquiry into post - Election Violence noted that violent and sudden displacement from a place one considers their home is often the worst form of loss entailing, as it does, a sense of loss of self (CIPEV, 2008).

Disruption of family values is another social impact of trans - border ethnic conflict in Munhoroni. The traditionally accepted norm among the ethnic groups that live in Munhoroni was that after puberty, boys lived in their own huts separate from their parents. However, the burning of houses during conflicts and subsequent migrations to other areas compelled members of a family to share a room, contrary to common customs. As families relocated to towns, they could not afford to rent houses for such adolescents, especially in the first few months of displacement. Victims who sought asylum in refugee camps were forced to live with their children who were in their late teenage years. The result was that many of the teenagers were exposed to intimate moments between their parents and the large adult population within the camps. The proliferation of prostitution was attributed to the presence of many Internally Displaced Persons in Munhoroni. Pillay et al. (2006) argued that intensive protracted violence and forced movements of people have a significant impact on culture.

Revival of criminal gangs during trans - border ethnic conflicts provides a good breeding ground for criminal gangs to organize themselves. They get directly involved in the conflict as perpetrators or “protectors” of their own people against attacks. Such groups also allegedly provide security to people where the government has not been keen to do so, especially in the slums and villages in which security officers have limited access. Most gangs usually organize themselves along ethnic lines depending on the ethnic groups directly involved in the conflict. The Luo, the Nandi, the Kipsigis, and the Abagusii communities formed criminal gangs to protect their people, these gangs after the conflicts turned against their own people, creating a lot of insecurity (CIPEV, 2008).

**Economic Impact of Conflict in Munhoroni**

Having talked about the social impacts of trans - border ethnic conflicts between the Luo and the Nandi, the study now talks about the economic impacts of trans - border ethnic conflict between the two communities. The total economic impact of the trans - border ethnic conflict in Munhoroni between the warring communities in the affected areas is literally unquantified. There was a gigantic waste of human and economic resources as a result of the Conflict (Kiluki, 1992).

Disruption of agricultural activities along the Munhoroni border is one of the economic impacts of the conflicts among the warring communities. The area along the border of Munhoroni and Nandi has fertile soils and therefore suitable for agriculture. The various ethnic communities who settled here were driven by the desire to earn a living through farming. Tinderetcounty is also known for dairy farming (Akiwumi, 1999). One of the long term economic repercussions of the violence was that land that was previously used for farming and dairy keeping was abandoned by the owners because of insecurity along the border. The Akiwumi Commission had also noted that too many farms in Koru, Chemase were lying idle because of the conflict (Akiwumi, 1999).

Food shortage was one of the far - reaching economic consequences of the trans - border ethnic conflict in Munhoroni. There was a drop in food production, food, supply, and raw materials for agro - based industries such as sugar, tea, coffee, cereal, and other agricultural crops. As a result of food shortages, many victims experienced famine and this necessitated the appeal for local and international food aid and relief (NCC Report 1992). The clashes also resulted in a drop in milk production, particularly in the
Nandi and Kipsigis communities, which is one of the largest milk-producing zones in Muhoroni.

Unemployment is another economic impact: Wars and conflicts in Africa have combined to compound the problem of unemployment in the continent. Today, throughout Africa, the high rate of unemployment, particularly among youths, is a major source of concern. In countries coming out of conflict, many young people not only lack employment; they have also been denied education and economic empowerment because of war. It is instructive to note that without other means of economic support, there is a danger that unemployed former combatants will engage in criminal behavior, especially with the many small arms in circulation in war-torn countries (Olaosebikan, 2010).

Conflicts can have substantial effects both on the revenue and expenditure sides of a country’s public finances. This limits the government’s ability to respond to conflicts in an effective way, thereby aggravating their economic and social costs. On the revenue side, conflicts can reduce collections by disrupting economic activity, destroying part of the tax base, and lowering the efficiency of tax administration (Fang, et al., 2020) Looking at the impact of conflict on public debt, the deterioration in the fiscal balance, combined with lower growth, translates into higher debt levels. The ratio of public debt to GDP increases by an average of 9 percentage points during intense conflicts, which is similar in magnitude to the average annual decline in debt during Heavily Indebted Poor Countries and Multilateral Debt Relief Initiatives (Fang, et al., 2020).

An immediate macroeconomic effect of violent conflict is on economic growth. Several empirical analyses have confirmed the substantial negative impact of war on economic output. Typically, the productive forces of the economy are destroyed, transaction costs increase, and economic activity is disrupted due to an unsafe business environment. Agents are involved in dissaving and portfolio substitution as they shift their property out of the country, which further exacerbates the deterioration of the capital stock. Sectors that are relatively intense in capital and/or transactions are therefore expected to contract more in the presence of civil war (Bircan, et al., 2017).

When war impacts differently on labor and capital-intensive goods, we would expect the returns to labor and capital to adjust accordingly. Scarcity of physical and human capital is thereby likely to result in rising relative prices of capital-intensive goods, while, at the same time, owners of unskilled labor face risks of falling wages and unemployment. Conflict-related obstacles to international trade further distort domestic prices. Changes in the relative availability of production factors and resulting price distortions are therefore likely to be important drivers of redistribution in a war-torn economy (Bircan, et al., 2017).

Ethnic conflict, with heightened insecurity and destroyed facilities in conflict areas, certain regions might lose ties with the rest of the economy, causing whole groups of people living in these regions to be disadvantaged. Conflict areas are typically plagued by pillaging, robbery, and the confiscation of private property, with the owners of small-sized production facilities and those with private wealth located in remote areas likely to be the first and most hit by the conflict. As an illegal economic activity, such as the cultivation of drugs or taxation by the militia, picks up in these regions, a viable profiteering market system emerges which benefits a certain small minority and strikes its roots in the region as the duration of the conflict increases (Bircan, et al., 2017; Tui O. I July 16, 2022).

The capital flight during conflict reduced opportunities, and induced people to withdraw themselves and their assets to safety abroad. People with skills are best placed to leave the country: they are better able to finance emigration and they are more welcome in host countries. Hence, society tends to lose its skilled people disproportionately. Alongside the hemorrhage of skills is that of capital. People move assets abroad, simply to keep them safe, and because the return on investment within the economy declines as economic conditions deteriorate. The legacy of this flight of capital is an acute shortage of skills, a large diaspora, a collapse in private investment, and an accumulation of private wealth abroad (African Development Bank, 2009).

Trans-border ethnic conflicts in Muhoroni have caused widespread land use changes through displacement and land abandonment, in some cases causing a reduction of cultivated land and increases in natural vegetation, causing agricultural production decline and land and crops abandonments. The conflicts affected agricultural activity in the Muhoroni area.

Trade and markets are meeting points for diverse ethnic and social groups. There is a strong potential for a range of trade-related issues to lead to conflict. Open-air market places have been destroyed and abandoned due to trans-border ethnic conflict in Muhoroni. The role of trade in conflict creation is particularly obvious when the market place itself becomes a site of strife. However, issues embedded in trading relationships and practices may permeate and become manifest in many conflict situations. Sesay et al. (2003) suggested that youth unemployment and a range of related problems in rural areas have led to youths spontaneously amplifying the scope of any minor conflict. Youth groups have been associated with escalating conflict at market place flash points. They are seen to exploit the atmosphere of mayhem to loot shops and offices. In the Muhoroni border, there has been the destruction of market places in Chemase, Kopere, Koru, and Songhor due to conflict between the communities.

The burning of sugarcane during the conflict in Muhoroni is one of the economic impacts of conflict. Sugar has been "one of the massive demographic forces in world history" (Mintz, 1985), and the sugar commodity frontiers illustrate "the fundamentally restless nature of world capitalism" (Moore, 2000). Muhoroni Sugar Settlement Scheme occupies a major part of the Nyando Valley in Muhoroni constituency, Kisumu county. This area is basically a battleground of the trans-border conflicts between the Luo of Kano, the Nandi, and the Kipsigis of the Kalenjin, ethnic group. During the clashes, the Nandi and the Kipsigis burn sugarcane that belongs to the Luo and Kisii communities, in retaliation, the Luo and the Kisii also burn the sugarcane of...
the Nandi and Kipsigis communities. They burn before the sugarcane becomes fully ripe, such preemptive burnings pose a serious threat to the orderly harvest and efficient production of sugar in Muhoroni, this has even caused the closing of sugar factories in Muhoroni (Shalom - SCCRR, 2020).

Waste of human Resources is another social impact of trans - border ethnic conflict in Muhoroni, most of the victims of these clashes were left homeless, landless, destitute, injured, dead, and abused, to mention but a few of the atrocities resulting from the conflict. Human resource waste includes unused human skills and talents, absence of knowledge sharing; applying human capital in a way that has an unacceptably huge opportunity cost; utilizing human resources in extremely inefficient or unproductive ways (Shalom - SCCRR, 2020). People across all value chains feared movement across the border because of attacks by another community. Farm workers and herders feared attacks when in the field or grazing animals. Input suppliers had difficulty reaching their customers. Processors dealt with a reduced amount of workers available to operate the sugar factories along the border of Muhoroni. Both traders and consumers limited their movements to markets due to intermittent attacks. In some cases, the fear of attack displaced people outside the conflict zone, further reducing labor pools.

Cattle Rustling and Banditry is another economic impact of trans - border ethnic conflict between the communities in Muhoroni, there has emerged a new system of predatory exploitation of economic resources manifesting itself in the form of banditry and cattle rustling. As the practice gained political character, raiders began to disregard the seasonal aspect of cattle theft and the raids eventually acquired diligent and criminal tendencies (Pkalaya, et al.2003).

Struggles to influence the balance of power and the distribution of economic resources in Muhoroni have a long history of cattle rustling. The Luo and the remnants of the Kisi community could combine the forces and steal cattle from the Kipsigis and the Nandi communities. On the other hand, the Kipsigis and the Nandi could combine forces to steal from the Luo ethnic community.

4. Discussion

Borders have been a constant source of tension and controversy on the continent since the independence of African States. Violent conflict of any nature results in explicit material and human costs to society, and this is undoubtedly true of trans - border conflicts. Conflict is an existing state of disagreement or hostility between two or more people. This means that two or more parties do not have an accord and are, as such, on two different parallels on the same issue (Nicholson, 1992). It thus suggests the pursuit of incompatible goals. Conflict is said to exist when two or more groups struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the opponent aims to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals (Jeong, 2000).

Conflict demonstrates cross - purposes of distinct or similar political groups, often ending in conflict. Throughout history, the trans - border conflict has been an international debate. One significant aspect of Africa’s colonial legacy is colonial boundaries which dates back to the Berlin conference of 1884 - 1885, which climaxed the scramble and partition of the continent. At independence, the confusion was whether to retain or do away with the colonial boundaries. The sporadic boundary disputes have risen since the colonial period in Africa. These disputes threaten the unity among African states. The overall effects of this development have been unwarranted, and the extreme marginalization of most ethnic groups.

Ethnic groups establish boundaries that exist between them (Barth, 1998). Barth portrayed the typical and ideal definition of an ethnic group as “largely biologically self - perpetuating, it shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms, it makes up a field of communication and interaction, and it has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.” He emphasized the boundaries of identity and the differences between ethnic groups. Barth found that these boundaries are of great importance since they are produced and reproduced through social processes that include the interaction of members of one group with a member from another group; however, he maintains his group’s identity. This maintenance clarifies a group’s membership and exclusion of others. Additionally, boundaries are maintained in social relations, where individuals interact and experience similarities and differences.

Barth (1998) argued that ethnic boundaries result from social interactions. He further argued that ethnic boundaries are not sustained because of traditional cultural differences but because of political differences. Barth concluded that ethnicity is a political process where people seek to form groups and differentiate one set of people from another by appealing to the idea of ineluctable cultural practice. Barth contends that ethnicity is the pursuit of political goals – the acquisition or maintenance of power, the mobilization of a following –through the idiom of cultural commonness and difference. In other words, ethnic groups are not a necessary or natural outcome of creating cultural beliefs and practices but a creation of politics and ideology.

Ethnic groups that were split across borders tended to align in the spirit of irredentism, ignore the boundary lines and carry on social relations across them, more or less as in the days before the partition. Some studies of cross - border trade and migrations have demonstrated that such tendencies to ignore the boundaries have often created inter - state problems across borderlines. The demarcations were hastily carried out without due regard to ethnicity and prevailing social, political and economic situations at that period. There have been boundary conflicts in many parts of Africa, such as conflict over the Ilemi Triangle between Sudan and Kenya; the Nadapal boundary dispute between Kenya and South Sudan; the dispute over Lake Malawi between Tanzania and Malawi; the dispute over the Migingo Islands between Kenya and Uganda; the Badme territory dispute between Eritrea and Ethiopia; and border disputes between Sudan and South Sudan, Maritime dispute between Kenya and Somali. Recently, in West Africa, boundaries and borders were the land and maritime disputes between...
Cameroon and Nigeria. Other examples include the territorial disputes on the Island of Mbanié between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, the frontier dispute between Burkina Faso and Niger frontier, and the Benin–Niger frontier dispute. Kenya has not been spared either; there has been boundary conflict between Kenyan communities.

The conflict along the border mainly involves the Luo and the Nandi ethnic groups residing within the Muhoroni Sub - County and Tindere Sub - county border. The conflict areas are Kabigori, Songhor East, Songhor West, Chemelili and God Abuoro from Muhoroni Sub - County, Chemase, Songgor, Soba, and Kapkitony from Tindere Sub - county. The nature of land in this region, combined with the vast estates of sugarcane crops, which are highly valued, has constantly been the cause of the contestations between the two communities, mainly over the actual location of the boundary that divides the two counties. The boundary contest has recently questioned the legitimate ownership of the major sugar factories that are Miwani, Chemelili, and Muhoroni, which are located close to the border and serve the needs of both communities.

The study found a negative effect of trans - border ethnic conflicts on social - economic growth. From the findings, trans - border conflicts in Muhoroni resulted in the burning of houses and schools, vandalism, theft of school equipment and teaching materials, and loss of investments and livelihoods. Property destruction further increased insecurity for children, teachers, and parents, closure of schools, and enhanced school drop - out rates. The study found that there was an unprecedented loss of lives along the border due to wars and conflicts that are debilitating impacting the human resources available in Muhoroni. Physical and psychological trauma was another impact on trans - border ethnic conflict. War adversely affects combatants and non - combatants alike, leaving them both physically and emotionally traumatized. The deterioration of public health is mainly due to the destruction of hospitals and health facilities during conflicts. Unemployment in the health sector task force is also another impact, as there are no jobs due to conflict. Doctors, nurses, and all the other medical personnel are affected when health facilities are destroyed. The insecurity provoke by inter - ethnic conflicts means communities are not engaged in productive economic work.

Physical and human capital scarcity will likely increase the relative prices of capital - intensive goods. At the same time, unskilled labour owners face falling wages and unemployment risks. Looting and robbery of property is another economic impact of trans - border ethnic conflict. With heightened insecurity and destroyed facilities in conflict areas, certain regions might lose ties with the rest of the economy, causing whole groups of people in these regions to be disadvantaged. The capital flight during the conflict, both fear and reduced opportunities, induced people to withdraw themselves and their assets to safety abroad.

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

This study has examined the social–economic impact of the trans - border ethnic conflict between communities in Muhoroni. Trans - border conflicts in Muhoroni resulted in the burning of houses and schools, vandalism, theft of school equipment, teaching materials, and loss of investments and livelihoods. The study found that there was an unprecedented loss of lives along the border as a result of wars and conflicts in Muhoroni. The separation from other family members causes Physical and psychological trauma. Sexual violence as a result of the conflicts. The deterioration of public health is mainly due to the destruction of hospitals and health facilities during conflicts. Unemployment in the health sector task force is also another impact as there are no jobs due to conflict, resulting in Poverty.

Looting and robbery of property is another economic impact of trans - border ethnic conflict, with heightened insecurity and destroyed facilities in conflict areas, certain regions might lose ties with the rest of the economy, causing whole groups of people living in these regions to be disadvantaged. Destruction of infrastructure and the capital flight and military burden was seen to have an impact on social - economic development in Muhoroni. The study recommends the redrawing of the border based on cultural and historical claims of the trans - border communities rather than on the arbitrary administrative orders of the government.

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