

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY**  
**EFFECTS OF THE SETTLEMENT OF SOMALI ALONG KENYA'S HIGHWAYS:**  
**THE CASE OF NAMANGA HIGHWAY- 1995-2010**

**NAME: OTIENO SAMUEL OOKO**

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**SUPERVISOR**

**DR. GEORGE GONA**

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REQUIREMENT OF THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN  
ARMED CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES.**

**2019**

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this is my original work and it has not been presented for examination in any university.

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

**This study has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor**

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

**Dr. George Gona**

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my late parents Anthony Otieno and Loice Okelo who inculcated in me work ethics and to my wife and children for supporting my academic journey and all my undertakings. To all those whom I associated with during the period of study, I also appreciate your encouragement.

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I express my sincere gratitude to every person who inspired me in one way or the other, illuminated and touched me, through their presence, hence made it possible for me to complete this study.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, George Gona, who guided me during the research period. I also wish to appreciate my colleagues who encouraged me throughout the course. We shared a lot and learnt from one another. I will miss the time we spent together in lecture halls, around the University and in group discussions. Special thanks go to my beloved wife Florence, daughters Jackline, Moreen and Maryanne; and sons Washington and Henry.

**ABSTRACT:**

This project seeks to investigate the actual and potential factors that encourage the settlement of Somali along the Namanga Highway and effects of this settlement thereof. Focusing on the factors such as conducive trading environment, mobilization of finances, role of religion and attendant infrastructure, and the project established that these immigrants were encouraged to settle along the highway due to the hospitality of the host community, space and fairly developed road network that connects the area to the Tanzanian market. The study established that faster growth among the immigrant Somali was gifted from risk taking, innovativeness. Their success attracted envy, hate and conflict. The fears of the non-Muslim communities for Islamic influence encroaching in the area was a bone of contention that led to the animosity towards the Somali.

## DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

**In-migration;** is used in reference to the movement of people to a place for temporary or Permanent settlement.

**Islamophobia;** is used in reference to fear, hatred, or prejudice against the Islamic religion or persons who profess the religion, especially when seen in the perspective of radicalization and the threat of terrorism.

**Out-migration** is defined as the movement of people out of a place to another place for whatever reason either as a refugee, alien, an economic migrant, pastoralist or as a transit process.

**Security;** the study assumes the Copenhagen school broadened definition of Societal, Environmental, Economic, Health and Food security respectively as additional concepts besides military, economic and political security. Consequently, the school's recognition of the state as the referent object of Security is also considered.

**Somali Network;** Cultural ways, religious ideologies, economic activities and political aspirations associated with the ethnic Somali people.

**Somalian;** refers to citizens of the Somalia Republic.

**Somalis;** refers to people of Somali ethnicity regardless of citizenship or country of origin.

**Kenyan-Somali;** is used to designate Kenyan citizens of Somali extraction.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AU	African Union
AS	Al-Shabaab
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
EAC	East African Community
EAP	East African Protectorate
EU	European Union
GOK	Government of Kenya
HoA	Horn of Africa
IOM	International Office for Migration
KAR	Kings African Rifles
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNLA	Kenya National Land Alliance
MSF	Medecins San Frontieres
NLC	National Land Commission
NER	North Eastern Region
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NPS	National Police Service
NSC	National Steering Council
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
<u>UNHCR</u>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

Migration is a concept that is difficult to explain since it encompasses people who leave one place for another due to diverse reasons and in agreement with circumstances that are obtaining. The movement affects the area left and the new habitat. A person moving from one place to an alternative space, which could be a modern dwelling within a country, seeking better opportunity or as a result of severe deprivation, hardship and discrimination, represents a migrant. The definition may also include an unemployed person who decides to change place of domicile in search of better opportunities or a person displaced as a result of conflict or natural disaster.<sup>1</sup>An asylum seeker may also qualify to be referred to as a migrant, especially once the person has been admitted and settled in the country of refuge.

The state of migration is widely quoted, and equally disputed because of its impact on the sending and receiving localities. Migration tends to be viewed as a social problem due to tensions and conflicts associated with it, more so in the receiving areas as competition for scarce resources and pressure on amenities take shape. Thompson sees migration as a socio-political problem that promotes tension and conflicts. His thoughts bring to the fore the significance of the subject and the need to understand the problems associated with it. This study is an attempt to add voice to this problematic subject and also suggest policy decisions that could address the challenges brought about by migration.<sup>2</sup>

The phenomenon has been around since time immemorial and is considered to be as old as the human existence. It takes both international and internal forms with people migrating from their native homes in search of new opportunities and better life. Opportunities range from new markets, hospitable climate, and fertile land, among others. Movements cause tensions and frictions with the natives as immigrants are most often seen as intruders coming to compete for

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<sup>1</sup>Michelle, F., "International Refugee Law and Socio-Economic Rights": *Refuge from Deprivation* (Vol. 51). Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 1-34.

<sup>2</sup>Thompson C., "Frontiers and Threats: Should Transnational Migration Be Considered a Security Issue", *Global Policy Journal*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 61.

resources while at times offering cheap labour and benefitting from what would ordinarily be the preserve of the natives.<sup>3</sup>

Two key terms of emigration, which is when one leaves a country to another and immigration, which refers to when one enters a country are critical in the understanding of people's movement. For the purposes of this research, migration is demarcated as the movement of human beings from one particular place to another, in a given pattern that is influenced by push and pull factors coupled with networks of clan, religion and business.<sup>4</sup>

Migration process disrupts settlements as it separates and depletes population from the place of origin and correspondingly increases the population in the place of destination. These consequences of migration have important societal implications. The immediate effect of migration is the separation of individual migrants from the areas of origin and scramble for resources in the new place of domicile. The reasons for such movement differ and key among them are environmental, political, social or economic, which could also fit within the explanation of push or pull factors.<sup>5</sup> Since relocation takes place under diverse conditions, the population count in the receiver inhabitants also transforms with increased number of new arrivals.

Some of the noted impacts include the filling of skills gap, immigrants come along with fresh energy and imagination, and care for an ageing population can be maintained with arrival of cheap labour. On the flip side, the new arrivals put pressure on local amenities, unemployment may rise if there are unrestricted numbers of incomers while they may also face integration difficulties hence friction with local people. Issues such as take-over of business opportunities, including spaces that initially belonged to the receiving community, may arise hence causing conflict.<sup>6</sup>

This study focuses on the Somali since it is one of the Kenyan communities that has attained high affinity to move and settle in new dwellings to open unimagined opportunities and thrive.

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<sup>3</sup>Buzan, B., Wæver, O. and De Wilde, J., *Security: a new framework for analysis*: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, pp. 21-30.

<sup>4</sup>Salwe, A. I., "The collapse of the Somali State": *The impact of the colonial legacy*: Haan Publishing, London, 1996, pp. 36-45.

<sup>5</sup>Buzan, B., Waever, O. and de Wilde, J., *A New Framework for Analysis*: Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998, pp. 70-83.

<sup>6</sup>Migration Advisory Committee Report, *The Analysis of the Impacts of Migration Flow into the European Union (EU) and non-EU labour in low-skilled jobs and its impact on the UK*: Published 8 July 2014.

Their settlement along Namanga Highway and the visible investment in property and cash intensive businesses has attracted adverse attention from the host. The other communities that have settled in the area and who have joined the host in anti-Somali campaign in order of numerical strength are Kikuyu, Kamba, Kisii, Luhya and Luo. These communities have acquired huge chunks of land and are apparently shifting focus of the host away from themselves.

### **1.1. Historical Background**

Emigration of people in the Horn of African (HoA) countries has been determined by several factors, including search for employment opportunities, high joblessness rates, political volatility, vagaries of regional weather, armed conflict and individual interests such as quest for studies and familial visits. The preference of destination country depends on factors such as geographical nearness, cultural similarity, historical and/or personal links and standards of living. Eastern African countries have also had a long history of trans-border and intra-regional labour movement.<sup>7</sup> Intra-regional relocation is more significant between countries of the Greater Horn of Africa, partially due to their geographical closeness. Over period of time, labour movement has been encouraged within the region by the expansion of labour demanding industries particularly in agriculture and mining sectors.

Evidence show that Somali movement has been very much consistent with global patterns. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, Somalis continuously crossed the Red Sea to the Arabian states, mainly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, to tap into the increasing demand for workers in the construction industry. These were considered as economic migrants, attracted by handsome salaries, just as the South American migrants are enticed by apparent good prospects in the United States. Somalis are risk takers and explore new environments in search of better opportunities, a factor that promotes their presence in almost all major cities internationally hence the branding as international citizens.

The year 1995 is significant to this study because it is around this time that visible Somali populations started to be observed in other parts of the country besides north eastern, eastern parts of Kenya and Nairobi's Eastleigh. By this time, a number of wealthy Kenyan Somali in

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<sup>7</sup> International Office for Migration, Migration Data Portal: <https://migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/eastern-africa>, 2019.

collaboration with wealthy refugees who had escaped from camps started to pool resources together for joint investments and trade in major urban centres in some parts of the country. This new trend for the refugees was to seek better opportunities and identity away from the camp life while for Kenyans, it was a shift from the traditional cattle keeping way of life following devastating droughts that had depleted livestock. Their movement and settlement were basically influenced by clan networks and ties.<sup>8</sup>

The pockets of Somalis who moved and settled along Namanga Highway, established various categories of businesses including hotels and restaurants, butcheries, wholesale/retail shops, forex exchange bureaus and lately there has been intensive investment in petroleum products outlets. The trend was accompanied by systematic but aggressive acquisition of spaces and intensive investment in property. The dimension has contributed to a rise in the value of land coupled with change in land use along the highway. This could have been influenced by the geo-location with respect to Nairobi, road infrastructure, availability of land and proximity to the Tanzania market. This perhaps explains the continued enhancement of the movement of the Somali and other communities to settle along the highway.

According to interviews carried out with key informants, this development has tended to shove away the receiving community to the periphery after selling land to the new owners thereby creating tension as the hosts find themselves landless and outdone in businesses and property development by the entrepreneur immigrants.<sup>9</sup>

The early Somali settlements in Kajiado and Namanga were the descendants of demobilized Kings African Rifles (KAR) soldiers of Isaaq clan, and who were conscripted from British controlled zones of Somali settled land covering Kenya and Somaliland region of Somalia state. They were the most trusted among the Somali clans given that they hailed from areas then under the control of the British. They arrived in East African Protectorate (Kenya) in the late 1920s and were distributed for settlement in Nairobi's Eastleigh and Nakuru, Mombasa and Nanyuki, mainly along the railway line. The Isaaq sought higher status so as to gain better privileges about the rest of the Somali community but they lost the push when Kenya became

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<sup>8</sup>Hopkins, G., "Somali Community Organizations in London and Toronto", *Collaboration and Effectiveness: Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19 (3), 2006, pp. 361-380.

<sup>9</sup> Oral interview, Bishar Ibrahim and Richard Muthanga.

independent.<sup>10</sup> A small number ended up in Namanga as the pioneer Somali settlers in that area. Majority of the Somali Isaaq clan members are found in Somaliland and Djibouti.

Additional numbers of Somali settlers along the highway were those whose parents served as government employees in various capacities in Kajiado who upon transfer or retirement opted to settle along the highway. The last group were opportunity seekers comprising Kenyan Somalis and those who ran-away from the refugee camps using clan networks to find decent lives along the Namanga Highway.<sup>11</sup>

According to the 2009 Kenya National Census, the Somali was the fifth largest non-local community living along the Namanga stretch after the Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya and Kisii.<sup>12</sup> Their presence as opposed to that of the Kikuyu, Kamba, Kisii and other communities, who are largely Christians, has raised concern among the other communities given their Islamic culture that is blamed for non-integration of the community into the local set-up. They are blamed for being reclusive in all spheres of socialization.

Maasai leaders have openly come out to express their misgivings as reflected by speeches from leaders. For example, while addressing a public rally at Maasai Technical Training Institute in Kajiado on 25<sup>th</sup> April, 2015, both County Women Representative and the area Senator said:

“the government should urgently conduct head count of the Somali living in Kajiado and Namanga towns. These people have invaded the county, buying land and putting up huge buildings with money whose source is suspect. The security of the local people is paramount and the interest of the Somali in this County must urgently be established”.<sup>13</sup>

Following such utterances, the Somali settlers have faced systematic discrimination by the host and other settler communities living along the highway on presumption that they are a potential security risk and therefore unwelcome in the area.<sup>14</sup> For that reason, tension has kept building up with some local people who sold land to Somali buyers insisting in reclaiming the same land.

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<sup>10</sup> Weitzberg, K., Producing History From Elisions, Fragments and Silences: Public Testimony, the Asiatic Poll Tax Campaign, and Isaaq Somali Population in Kenya, *Northeast African Studies* vol. 13. No. 2, Michigan State University Press, 2013, pp. 187-194.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Bishar Ibrahim

<sup>12</sup> Kenya National Bureau of Statistics: National Population and Housing Census, 2009.

<sup>13</sup> The Star Newspaper of 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2015

<sup>14</sup> Crush J., “The Dark Side of Democracy”, Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa: *International Migration*, No. 38, 2000, pp. 103-110.

The Somali from outward look may appear to be one people. However, differences exist between clans, which at times degenerate in to armed conflicts notwithstanding a near fanatical dedication to Islam.

Despite the loose composite of the Somali as a people, differentiating the local Kenya Somali from a Somali from Somalia is a little bit challenging because of their physical appearance and religious orientation.<sup>15</sup> This notwithstanding, the Somali largely identify themselves through clans and sub-clans. The Kenyan Somali clans are categorized thus; Hawiye- that comprise Murule, Garre, Degodia and are found in Mandera County, Ajuran, Degodia and Mohamed-Zuber found in Wajir and Isiolo Counties; Darood-Ogaden whose composition include Aulihan, Abdwak, Abdalla found in Garissa County; and Darood-Harti, largely found in Nairobi, Mombasa and other Kenyan towns. This is where the Isaaq fall.<sup>16</sup>

The dominant clans found in the northern part of Kenya are further sub-divided in to sub-clans and sub-sub clans that are equally distinct. This categorization and apparent mistrust between the two sets of Somalis will be explored during the study to differentiate the Kenyan Somali from Somali from Somalia both of whom have settled in the area of study.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Settlement of immigrants to new dwellings is often looked at as a source of conflict between the settlers and the host communities who regard them as competitors in all aspects of life. This suspicion often results in to conflicts. Equally the host communities perceive the migrants as benefitting from facilities that should otherwise be their preserve. The additional population often stress the available resources and facilities.<sup>17</sup>

The settlement of Somali along the Namanga Highway has attracted envy and hate at the same time over which tension, disagreements and conflict have been the outcome. Reasons for their movement, settlement and the resultant hate and envy has not been clearly understood or explained and this is an area that this study sought to establish.

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<sup>15</sup> Ehret, C and Mohamed N. A., "Somali Classification", *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies, Linguistics and Literature, Hamburg*: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1983, p.56.

<sup>16</sup> Abbink J., "The Total Somali Clan Genealogy" ASC Working Paper 84 / 2009; African Studies Centre, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15601742.pdf>: Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Walton, O., *Good Practice and Programmes in Preventing Conflict Between Refugees and Host Communities: Governance and Social Development Resource Center*, 2012.

### 1.3 Study Objectives

1. To investigate what encourages Somali in-migration and settlement along Namanga Highway.
2. To examine the impact positive or otherwise of the Somali settlement along the Highway.
3. To examine measures taken to mitigate differences arising from the Somali settlement along the highway.

#### a. Research Questions

1. Which factors encourage the in-migration and settlement of Somali along Namanga highway?
2. What are the consequences of the Somali settlement along the highway?
3. What are the effects of the efforts employed in attempting to mitigate tensions arising from the Somali settlement along the highway?

#### b. Justification of the Study

The influx of a set of migrants into an area of different cultural and religious persuasion backed with higher purchasing capacity is bound to destabilize the host community. There are few studies of this nature in Kenya and therefore this study is an attempt at adding knowledge to this important subject. Unravelling the issues that emerge thereof with this migration can help policy makers to design approaches aimed at addressing the issues that may affect harmonious co-existence between settler and host communities.

The establishment of exclusive facilities for Muslims along the stretch is therefore suspect according to the host and other immigrant communities. Similar trend has been witnessed in other urban settings and along other highways accompanied by aggressive business takeovers in the country. The Maasai perceive the Somali settlement along Namanga highway as intrusive, depriving them of their land hence could lead to conflict. This study endeavoured to give insight into the opportunities that influence such settlements along the highway and the impact thereof.



#### 1.4 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study covered the period between 1995 and 2010, which time the Somali, either from Kenya or Somalia, systematically and aggressively started to move to new areas that were considered as out of the way given their traditional nomadic way of life. The year 2010 is significant since the wave of the movement reduced around this time when Kenya adopted the new constitution that spells varied rights and limitations, some of which were misinterpreted or used to cause fear and discomfort to settler communities in some localities including the area of study.

**Commented [GG1]:** Why 1995 as the year of start of project and 2010 as end of the study period

The study focused on cultural, economic and socio-political aspects, since these aspects seemed to be the drivers of the settlement in an area that had not been studied before. It faced time constraint and inadequate reference materials. Access to a wider population was constrained while some interviewees were reluctant to participate in the study due to discomfort with the topic. Challenges in securing appointments with some of the government officials was also encountered as a result of their work schedule. The culture, religion and language were encumbrances given the fact that the Somali community is largely conservative. The use of assistant researchers and interpreters however helped in circumventing some of these challenges. Despite the limitations, the data collected sufficed in giving insight to the research problem. Proper explanations were given to the respondents that the exercise was purely for academic purposes, hence, there was no need to fear.

#### 1.5 Literature Review

Migration and settlement of people in new environment could be identified and understood as a survival strategy utilized largely by the disadvantaged and sometimes by the educated elite to seek better alternatives. The assessment of the impact of migration and settlement in localities has consequently remained relevant given that relocation acts as a catalyst in the change process not only of the future of the individual settlers but also on the conditions of household members left behind, receiving population and the wider sending regions.<sup>18</sup> In some instances, migration has led to brain drain from poor and underdeveloped countries that cannot offer adequate rewards so as to retain such individuals.

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<sup>18</sup> Ajaero C., K., and Onkola, P., C., *International Journal of Population Research*, Volume No. 4, 2013, p.3.

The increased movement of Somali who eventually find home in other areas as a result of adversities in their traditional habitat has been source of fear and stress among the receiving communities following the rise in terrorist attacks not only in Kenya but the entire Horn of African region. The Somali find themselves in this situation perhaps for the reason that Somalia has been a breeding ground for terrorists who coincidentally and unfortunately hide behind Islamic faith.<sup>19</sup> Somali settlements outside North Eastern region of Kenya are found largely within trading centres along Kenya's highways and also within major towns such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Narok, Nakuru, Migori, Kakamega, Bungoma and Kisumu. The Somali settlers in these towns are mostly wealthy and have taken advantage of the opportunities available in their new habitat to set up elaborate business empires and networks that thrive.

The growth of Eastleigh sub-urban for example, was supported by considerable input of wealthy Somalis who were displaced by conflict from Somalia. These Somalis were well-off businessmen from Mogadishu and other towns who could not fit in the harsh conditions in refugee camps. These immigrants exploited weaknesses in Kenyan laws pre-existing networks with Kenyan Somalis to settle down.<sup>20</sup> They replicated Somalia trading methods in Eastleigh that saw rapid growth and displacement of the other traders from the area. Systematically, businesses within Nairobi's central business district have largely been taken over by the Somali.

The Namanga stretch and other areas in the country have witnessed a steady increase of Somali migrants since 1995 when major relocations started taking place. These new dwellers have contributed to emergence of networks of businesses such as hotels, malls, petroleum products outlets and institutions private schools and colleges as witnessed in Eastleigh.<sup>21</sup> It is no surprise that, with such opportunities, one finds the Somali migrant numbers increasing along the areas such Namanga Highway that offers space and serene environment.

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<sup>19</sup> Hopkins G., Somali Community Organizations in London and Toronto; Collaboration and Effectiveness, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19 (3),2006.

<sup>20</sup> Department of Immigration, *Examination Report on the Systems, Policies, Procedures and Practices of the Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons*, "Prepared by Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission", April, 2006, pp. 21-49. Available from eacc.go.ke. Accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> Arango J., "Theories of International Migration", in D. Joly (ed.), *International Migration and the New Millennium*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, p.62.

The opportunities offered along the highway have seen the increasing number of Somali settlers who leverage on the available infrastructure to extract business returns as they also seek to expand Islamic influence by putting up Islamic institutions that offer subsidized services and humanitarian assistance so as to attract non-Muslims.<sup>22</sup> Despite this gesture, the Somalis have faced the challenge of discrimination from native communities as much as from security personnel who treat them as suspects of dubious characters or questionable migration status. The Somalis however, continued to thrive offering economic growth and employment opportunities to unskilled workforce. This study endeavoured to establish the reason for the unease and the unwelcome feeling being exhibited by the host community against the Somali settlers.

### 1.6 Migration and Conflict

Buzan and De Wilde postulate that movement of people to seek new opportunities and better life; new markets, better and hospitable climate causes friction with the host population who view the immigrants as intruders.<sup>23</sup> Buzan further advance that such movement of immigrants to new spheres create discomfort that go beyond the settlements. He qualifies his position by stating that the post-Cold War era came with an upsurge in inter-ethnic conflicts, civil wars, state collapses, acts of terrorism and related incidents, generating a dramatic increase in human suffering and migration.<sup>24</sup> This study sought to understand motivation of Somali settlement along the Namanga Highway and the impact thereof.

Bali, on his part associate people's movement to new habitat with conflict as the hosts react to the realization of competition for dwindling resources as a result of increased pressure occasioned by increased population. He therefore contends that contemporary threats to peace and stability emanates from migration flows and their complex networks.<sup>25</sup> Bali furthermore contends that the world is being confronted by a particular pattern of social and political threat resulting from people's movement from one place to new territories.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Oral interview with Bishar Ibrahim, Somali community leader/Religious leader, Namanga, 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

<sup>23</sup> Buzan, B "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century", *International Affairs*, 67(3),1991, pp.431-451.

<sup>24</sup> Betts A., "Global Migration Group (GMG)", *International Migration and Human Rights; Challenges and Opportunities on the Threshold of the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Right*; Global Migration Group,2008, p.4.

<sup>25</sup> Bali S., "Population Movements" in Paul D. Williams, *Security Studies an Introduction*, Routledge New York, 2008, pp.434-439.

<sup>26</sup> Bali Ibid.

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Khalid, however, raises the question as to when migration symbolizes a threat to the well-being of an area. Common rejoinders to this concern are that migration can be a means for introducing new cultures, law breakers or for dissemination of communicable diseases besides inducing tension between the host and settler communities. He, nevertheless, adds that migration is seldom associated with the spread of diseases that portend danger to substantial numbers of people from the host community. This contention could be challenged in the face of dreaded communicable diseases such as smallpox, polio and Ebola.

In Khalid's view then, migration can present danger to peaceful co-existence of people living in a locality when the movement acquires an unequal pattern and happens on a large scale, bringing together collections of networks of people enjoying fundamental or radical upbringings. The question is whether observing the in-migration through a conflict lens is likely to encourage the desired integration of communities or otherwise.

McSweeney on his part asserts that exceptional consideration should be paid to migration since it is not only the individual migrant that is at stake, but correspondingly, the personality of the locality and the people whose character may be affected by new settlement pattern. The argument is about the manifestation of the settler society in the receiving society and its likely influence upon the culture and tradition of the host community.<sup>27</sup>

The study confirmed existence of fears against the Somali settler along the Namanga highway where non-Somali respondents perceived the Somali as a potential threat to harmonious co-existence due to their reclusive way of life, perceived association with terror networks and spread of Islamic faith which is mistakenly linked to the spread of radicalization and fundamentalist ideology. Access to areas under private ownership for Maasai animal herds is emerging as an excuse being used against the Somali who insist that such spaces should not be violated once the ownership and use had changed. The Maasai hosts think otherwise and demand unhindered access to these spaces for the purposes of grazing their animals. The Maasai maintain that fencing off of spaces bought by immigrant Somali demonstrate mistrust

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<sup>27</sup>McSweeney B., "Identity and Security" Buzan and the Copenhagen School", *A Review of International Studies Vol. 22 Issues No.1*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 81-93.

and bad faith hence tension and conflict. These factors have reinforced the reason for the unwelcome stance by the other communities against the Somali settlers along the highway

### **1.6.1 Population Movements and Conflicts**

Conflict researchers and practitioners are still deeply engaged in the migration-conflict nexus debate. The question being asked is whether the relocation of populations to new dwellings pose challenges to the new environment they migrate to. While Zolberg Aristide contends that this only happens if the out and in-migrants habitually participate, maintain close ties or are part of intimidating systems, such as those involved in criminal activities, smuggling, underground or liberation movements, Ali Bashr thinks otherwise.<sup>28</sup>Zolberg asserts that migration can turn identical people into multi-ethnic groups through the introduction of culturally different societies. The immigrants, according to Zolberg, hypothetically challenge the status and strength of a given area, especially if the people share a common culture (history, language and religion) that bind them into a cohesive unit, with a common sense of oneness. He further contends that this commonality is the basis of the formation of the networks.

Arguably, this is a common phenomenon among the Somali wherever they migrate to as they seek to establish clusters of settlement with corresponding cultural, educational and religious facilities such as madrassa and mosques. As the Muslim population along the highway increases, the fears among the host community also rises and relations strained with constant reminder of the threat of terrorism that is associated with Islam. This study sought to validate this aspect or otherwise concerning the new Somali settlement along the highway.

The significant long-established Muslim community in Europe, for example, is today seen in the light of global war on terror. In Britain, the 7<sup>th</sup> July 2005 Subway attacks generated discussions about the hypothetically conflicting nature of cultural mix as a model of integration. These debates are taking place against the background of a problematic condition, involving influx of many refugees, mainly from Syria in Europe through Turkey, and the increased terror activities in the region. The occurrences have resulted to increased crackdown and arrest of many young Muslims. This has put the Muslim minority on their defence while they are unwilling to admit and confront the extent of radicalization amongst their numbers, which is of social concern.

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<sup>28</sup>Aristide Z.R., ‘‘Wanted but Not Welcome’’; *Alien Labour in Western Development*, in: William Alonso (ed.), *Population in an Interacting World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987, pp.36-73.

The degree and form of integration and assimilation or otherwise of the Somali community, and the impression it has on societal cohesiveness and security has also recently come under scrutiny along the highway with some of the local Maasai leaders demanding for their expulsion if not scrutiny of their activities and support networks that mobilizes finances they use to set up businesses and construction of Islamic facilities along the corridor.<sup>29</sup>

Ali Bashr Issa, in his study of the Somali community migrants to Eastleigh, Nairobi contends that the Somalis have socially and economically integrated into the Kenyan system and established livelihoods equivalent to, or even higher than the standard of living of many locals. He asserts that the Somali refugees seamlessly integrated in Eastleigh because of networks with fellow Kenyan Somalis who had set base in the area and established functional business associations dating back to the end of the Second World War.<sup>30</sup> Ali however, fails to highlight the negative impact, mainly security challenges and apparent unfriendliness of the society to the other Kenyan communities. The Somali migrants are perceived to be pursuing a deliberate strategy to drive away other Kenyans so as to establish an all Somali settlement in the area through buyout of the other communities. Whether a similar pattern applies to the study area has not been established.

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Anna Lindley on her part posits that it is difficult to distinguish between a Kenyan Somali in Eastleigh from those who have migrated from Somalia, which she argues is because of their close kinship.<sup>31</sup> This relationship, she argues, helps in mobilizing social capital through elaborate networks; hence helping the immigrants to integrate with ease in to Kenyan Somali community. Social networks which are global in nature because of clannism and kinship, she argues, may provide access to resources and social support; and facilitate the migration of the Somali people to other places for settlement as they run away from adversities and vagaries of weather.

Ali concurs, arguing that it is through such networks that Somalis end in specific destinations with ready capital to start businesses.<sup>32</sup> The entrepreneurial acumen displayed by the immigrant

<sup>29</sup>Wæver, O., Buzan, B., Kelstrup, M. and Lemaitre, P., Identity migration and the new security agenda in Europe, London Printer, 1993, pp.1-11.

<sup>30</sup>Ali, I. B., "Home Near Home: Somali migrants to Kenya, 1991-2013", MA Research Project; University of Nairobi, Faculty of Arts, Department of History and Archaeology, 2013.

<sup>31</sup>Lindley, A., "New Issues in Refugee Research"; Protracted Displacement and Remittances in Liisa Laakso, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* vol.20 (1), 2011.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, Issa A. B.;

Somali, though serving as their source of livelihood is a source of unease among the hosts where Somalis have settled outside their traditional dwellings. The Somali tend to outperform the hosts with successful businesses and heavy investments as they expand their businesses in the new habitat. This is a point of interest that this study seeks to interrogate further.

The International Crisis Group research project tends to agree that the entrepreneurial spirit among the Somali is partly driven by a close-knit community of businesspersons, linked to similar networks in Somalia, Dubai and the Gulf of Aden.<sup>33</sup> Farah Abdulsamed, while affirming the statement, argues that the Somali businesses in Kenya have attracted new investment from Somali in the Middle East, and further afield, who have contributed funds and invested in varied businesses. He agrees with Ali Bashr that Somali migrants, out of their hard work have acquired higher levels of livelihood than the host communities.<sup>34</sup>

Trevor Stanley, in his study argues that majority of the Somali subscribe to the moderate Sunni sect but others still practise Wahabbism/Salafism, which is a movement of Sunni Islam that aims to change society through evangelization and violence.<sup>35</sup> Wahabism and/or Salafism form the ideological heritage of groups such as the Al-Shabaab, which is associated with terrorism in the Horn of Africa.<sup>36</sup> Basing on this argument, this study therefore, endeavoured to establish whether the Somali community living along Namanga stretch subscribe to any form of hard-line religious belief that may orchestrate untoward feeling against them.

These literatures referred to in this section gave the insight and understanding of how movement of populations or people from one locality to another affect the places demographically, socially, politically and economically.

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

The mere fact that one moves from a place to another comes with consequences to the place moved from and the new domicile. Such movement, as observed by Ernest Georg Ravenstein, the originator of migration theory is controlled by the Push-Pull factors, which implies that harsh conditions drive away people from their traditional home environment while on the other hand, pull factors tend to attract and incentivize movement to specific places where life is

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<sup>33</sup>Crisis Group., “Kenya Somali Islamist Radicalization”; *Africa Briefing No.85*, Nairobi-Brussels, 2012.

<sup>34</sup>Abdulsamed, F., *Somali investment in Kenya*. Chatham House, 2011.

<sup>35</sup>Stanley, T., “Understanding the origins of Wahhabism and Salafism”. *Terrorism Monitor*, 3(14), 2005, pp.8-10.

<sup>36</sup>Sageman, M., *Understanding terror networks*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, pp. 120-130.

tolerable due to welcoming conditions.<sup>37</sup> This notwithstanding, the receiving community perceive immigrants as competitors who do not deserve to share social goods with them hence generating tensions and conflicts. Common among the Somali is the movement to an area already settled by their kinsmen. These pioneers serve as networks and pull factor for the new arrivals.

This is the philosophy behind migration networks theory, which is the second theory for this study. This second theory addresses the Somali networks that acted as ‘magnet’ that attracted more Somali settlement and investment along the highway. The migration theory identifies the networks as encouragement and attraction that pulls settlers to a given area. The Somali community along the highway has increased in numbers and investment as a result of the networks founded by early settlers comprising demobilized colonial Kings African Rifles soldiers, relatives of civil servants that served in the area and independent persons who wondered and settled along the highway to extract opportunities offered by the environment. These networks have been exploited by the community to penetrate the area resulting in disdain and hatred with all manner of accusations against the Somali.<sup>38</sup> The resultant misgiving has depicted the Somali, as a common target of the other communities living along the highway. In certain instances, the networks of local Somalis and those in the diaspora have been instrumental in mobilizing resources and assisted in settlement of new arrivals within the case study area and also intervened on their behalf through the peace committees in resolving disputes whenever they arose.<sup>39</sup> Looked at critically, the success of Somali entrepreneurs, their culture and association with Islamic faith could be the main source of envy and hate campaign against them.

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<sup>37</sup> Mabogunje, A.L “Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural- urban Migration”. *Geographical Analysis*, 2(1), 1970, pp.1-18.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor, J. E., “Differential Migration”, Networks, Information and Risk’, *Human Capital and Development*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1986, pp. 147–153

<sup>39</sup> Oral interview with Afyare Mohamed Abdi, a business woman, landlord and village elder at Kitengela on 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2017



### 1.8 Hypotheses

The Somali settlement along the Namanga Highway is encouraged by conducive investment environment.

The Somali settlement along the highway have had both positive and negative impacts on the host and the area in general.

The mechanisms put in place to mitigate conflicts arising from interaction between Somali settlers and the host along the highway contributed to harmonious co-existence.

### 1.9 Study Methodology

The study sought to investigate and understand the factors that attracted the Somali to settle along the Namanga Highway, how they chose specific areas of settlement and how they interact with the host community. The survey concentrated along the highway which happens to be the point of attraction for the Somali settlers who are largely involved in commerce.

Secondary data was obtained from books, scholarly journal articles, official government records and the internet. Additionally, surveys and purposive sampling were conducted to identify people who could provide the desired information due to their standing among the communities that are settled in the area. Oral interviews with twenty-five persons purposefully selected to represent the various communities, sectors and organizations in the urban centres covering the Namanga stretch and semi structured questionnaire were formulated and employed to gain further information on the subject of study. The key informants provided further details (snow-balling) of persons who provided more information on the subject.

The individuals interviewed represented the clergy (Imams and priests/pastors) members of Peace Committees, government officials (chiefs, Assistant County Commissioners, County Officers, Immigration Officers, Police Officers, teachers and Kenya Revenue Authority officials). The other persons who availed information were madrassa teachers, business persons, the 'nyumba kumi' structure representatives and elders. Data collection was done for 7-days spread over three months period after which, it was collated and analysed using document and thematic techniques based on the emerging issues under investigation.

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## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

### **1.10.1 Chapter One: Introduction to the Study:**

Introduces the topic under study by first setting the broad context of the research study, the statement of the problem and justification. The study is premised on the push-pull theory, which asserts that unfriendly factors would push people to other localities where their needs such as employment, business opportunities and amenities may be available. However, with such movements come resistance and tensions from receiving communities, which may lead to conflicts. Secondary information was resourced from available data while primary information was obtained through interviews with informants. This chapter in addition contains, study questions, and the methodology of the study.

### **1.10.2 Chapter Two: Typologies and perspectives of the Somali settlement along Namanga Highway;**

The chapter endeavours to locate the pull-push theory in the settlement of the Somali within a global context but with focus on Namanga highway. In doing so, it explores the factors that encourages the in-migration and settlement, and linking such settlement with already existing networks.

### **1.10.3 Chapter Three: Consequences of Somali settlement along the Namanga Highway**

This chapter discusses the consequences associated with settlement of the Somali including the relationships between the in-migrants and the host community along the highway.

### **1.10.4 Chapter Four: Mitigating Efforts to addressing conflicts arising from the settlement of Somali along the Namanga Highway**

This chapter, in light of the information obtained examines the mitigating efforts towards addressing tensions and conflicts arising from the settlement.

### **1.10.5 Chapter Five: Conclusion:**

Contains the findings derived from the study.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**BACKGROUND TO THE SOMALI SETTLEMENT ALONG NAMANGA**  
**HIGHWAY TO 1995**

**2.0 Introduction**

This chapter brings out the background of Somali settlement along the highway, which is the area of study.

For a comprehensive understanding of the subject of study, the definition of the subject and its variance from the term ‘migrant’, which is often confused to mean the same thing is necessary. A settler is a person who out of necessity finds home in a new environment that can support such life due to availability of income sources and social amenities whether created by self or an authority administering the area. A migrant conversely is a person who consciously choose to leave original or traditional home to seek a better life elsewhere.

Before a migrant departs, he/she may consider to seek information about their desired home, study the cultures and dialects of the local population and even seek to know employment opportunities available.<sup>40</sup> They would then plan their travel, take along the belongings they would require with them and bid goodbye to the important people left behind. A migrant is therefore free to return home at any time if things fail to work out as they had hoped or if they wish to visit family members and friends. Both may retain contact with the people back at their traditional homes and also give support to kinspersons left behind.

For the period that the migrants and settlers are in the land of their sojourn, they may cause discomfort to the host community as the two sides compete for resources and social services. The result is untoward sentiments, hate and envy as depicted by populist leaders in South Africa, Europe and the United States of America leading lead to xenophobic reaction.<sup>41</sup> This aspect is discernible in the case of Somali settlers along the Namanga Highway where some local leaders have called for the audit of their activities and businesses to establish whether they have connections with trans-national criminals.

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<sup>40</sup> Amnesty International, Definition as prescribed to draw Distinction Between a Migrant, a Migrant and Settler.

<sup>41</sup> Hutter S, Kriesi H, “Movements of the left, movements of the right reconsidered.” In: Van Stekelenburg J, Roggeband C, Klandermans B, editors. (eds) *The Future of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013, pp. 281–288.

The rising number of migrant settlers and increasing focus on relocation mirrors the concern about the trends, including enhanced civilian-centred nature of recent conflicts and trans-national crimes globally. Consequently, majority of the governments are increasingly displaying reluctance to accommodate migrants and thereby focusing on designing policies that are discriminatory as they seek to protect their sovereignty.<sup>42</sup> Despite this, policymakers still need to work towards justifiable and sustainable long-term solutions since failure to do so can only lead to more human sufferings and casualties since conflicts are not ending.<sup>43</sup>

### **2.1 Population of Somali in Kenya**

The Somali have the highest birth rate among the Kenyan communities with an average Somali woman giving birth to 4.6 children. This figure taken into context would help enhance the community's and Kenya's population by almost a million people every year.<sup>44</sup> Among the Somali population, marriages were traditionally contracted between nonrelated families, explicitly to enable the establishment of new alliances. A Somali man is allowed by faith and culture to live with four wives at any given time. This allows them to sire many children, with each woman averagely giving birth to six children. The divorce rate is however high and a woman is allowed to remarry once divorced. This implies a woman could get more children from the second or even a third marriage.

According to the national population census of 2009, the population of Somali in Kenya was 2,385,572 people. A big leap from 371,391 figure according to the 1989 national census report.<sup>45</sup> The community had surpassed the Kisii (2.2 million) and the Mijikenda (nearly two million).<sup>46</sup> There is also the category of a number of refugees who live illegally in major urban areas. These families escaped from refugee camps or simply crossed into the country without reporting to any authority. Both Kenyan government protection and that of UNHCR are lacking to this category since they cannot be accounted for due to lack of documentation.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> International Organization for Migration, Geneva, Switzerland, *World Migration Report 2018*.

<sup>43</sup> Pettersen, S., D., *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 54, 2017, pp. 1011-1020.

<sup>44</sup> Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, *Analytical Report on Population Projections, Volume XIV* March 2012.

<sup>45</sup> Daily Nation of 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 2010.

<sup>46</sup> National Bureau of Statistics, National Population and Housing Census Report, 2009.

<sup>47</sup> Campbell, H., Elizabeth; *Global Migration Perspectives No.47*, Formalizing the Informal Economy: Somalia Refugee and Migrant Trade Networks in Nairobi, Binghamton, State University of New York, 2005, pp.4-6.

## 2.2. Somali Settlements in Kenya

Historically, Kenya could be said to have been home to native ethnic Somali population since the establishment of the East African Protectorate (EAP), which became the Kenya Colony in 1920. The Somali largely lived in Jubaland Province and in the eastern part of the Northern Frontier District (NFD).<sup>48</sup> Most of them were from the larger pastoral Darod or Hawiye Somali clans, who had migrated to areas south of River Juba around mid-nineteenth century. This area remained under the control of the British even after it relinquished Jubaland to the Italians in 1925. The area is what is today known as the North Eastern Region of Kenya that comprise Garissa, Mandera, and Wajir counties.

The colonial government considered that area to be economically marginal and the inhabitant pastoralists wandered its boundaries in search of water and pasture for their animals. They were less trusted by the British authority who chose to govern the area as a “closed district, under the terms of the 1902 “Outlying Districts Ordinance, rather than integrate it to the rest of Kenya for security reasons. The segregation led to further marginalization of the region in terms of social, political and economic development.

The travel of non-resident to and from this area was forbidden, but only with the authorization of the provincial administration. These guidelines may help to explain the untoward feeling of the pastoral Somali community against the colonial authority, which prompted them to get involved in secessionist (Shifita) war when Kenya gained independence in December 1963.<sup>49</sup> The first Kenyan republic maintained the restrictions imposed by the colonial regime perpetuating the divide that existed; and which created the notion that NFD was another country. In fact, in the 1970s, phrases like going to Kenya when one was proceeding from any part of Northern region to other parts of the country was common, depicting the area as not being part of the country.

Around the period when Somalia was being divided among the colonial powers, the Isaaq who were the most preferred and trusted Somali clan by the British and the Herti progressively moved towards the coast of Kismayu, Mombasa and Zanzibar.<sup>50</sup> They engaged in inland trade in ivory and livestock, besides others getting recruited in to the colonial army, the Kings

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<sup>48</sup> Turton, E., R., “Somali Resistance to Colonial Rule and the Development of Somali Political Activity in Kenya, 1893-1960,” *Journal of African History*, 1972, p. 128.

<sup>49</sup> Whittaker, H., *Insurgency and Counter-insurgency in Kenya: A Social History of the Shifita Conflict, 1963-68*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.

<sup>50</sup> Turton, E. R. “The Isaaq Somali Diaspora and Poll-Tax Agitation in Kenya, 1936-41,” *African Affairs* 73, 1974, pp. 325-330.

African Rifles (KAR) as couriers, or in other government services as office assistants and translators. Successive waves of Isaaq and Herti Somali clans likewise came to Kenya after service in the KAR during the First and Second World Wars and settled in urban areas.<sup>51</sup> Their figure was later enhanced by other immigrants who came from Somalia as colonial workers, independent businessmen or Somalis escaping from the misrule of Siad Barre regime between 1970s and 1980s who also made Kenya their home.<sup>52</sup>

By the year 1920s, there were sizeable number of Isaaq and Herti clans who had settled in Nanyuki, Nyeri, Kakamega, Kajiado, Maralal, Nakuru, Embu, Kitale and Eldoret.<sup>53</sup> The largest urban Somali settlement was nonetheless in Nairobi's Eastleigh sub-urban after dislodging the Asians who were originally set to be the settlers of the area as planned by the colonial government.<sup>54</sup> Eastleigh developed and became a central point from where major political and economic agenda concerning Somalia and the Somali community in general are deliberated and decided. Eastleigh has acquired importance and prominence to both the Somali leaders from Kenyan and those from Somalia in their networking arrangements where trust plays critical importance.

From 1927, Isiolo town also developed as a strategic base for the colonial military becoming the second most important urban centre favoured by the Somali. The British, by design apparently intended Isiolo to become a permanent domicile for the Isaaq and Herti demobilized soldiers who lived in other townships within the colony (Kenya). Consequently, at the beginning of 1929, groups of Isaaq and Herti from other parts of Kenya began to be moved for settlement in Isiolo. This process was however officially halted in 1930, when it was realized that the demarcation of the boundary between Isiolo and Meru, was done haphazardly with

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<sup>51</sup> Weitzberg, K., "Producing History from Elisions, Fragments and Silences: Public Testimony, the Asiatic Poll-Tax Campaign, and the Isaaq Somali Population of Kenya," *Northeast Africa Studies* 13, no. 2, 2013.

<sup>52</sup> Barnes, C. and Hassan, H, Briefing Paper on the Rise and Fall of Siad Barre, April, 2007: [https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/bp0311\\_abdulsamed](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/bp0311_abdulsamed). Accessed on 24th October, 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Turton, Isaq Diaspora, p.326

<sup>54</sup> Murunga G., African Geography Studies from Below, in *African Studies in Geography from Below*, eds. Michel Ben Arrous and Lazare Ki-Zerbo, Dakar: Codesria, Books on Google, 2009. Accessed on 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2018.

Isiolo Town actually being situated just across the border in Meru district that led to protestations by the Meru.<sup>55</sup>

Critical analysis of the diverse Somali settlement in Kenya brings about their characterization into four categories; the first and largest being the inhabitants of the north eastern region of Kenya, which borders Somalia and Ethiopia. These could be categorized as Kenyan Somalis who found themselves in rural areas of northern Kenya as Africa was being divided among colonial powers during the scramble for the continent. Secondly, there are urbanized Somalis whose ancestors settled in the colonial towns and have been engaged in commerce. They however; maintain clan linkages with those in the rural Kenya of Somalia. The third category is the Somalia nationals who were pushed out of their country due to sustained conflicts and famine/drought.

The last category is the smallest group that comprise the affluent Somali migrants who sought sanctuary in the western world during the peak of Somalia conflict. These migrants accessed opportunities, made money but have since returned to set bases in the urban centres spreading across the East African region. This category comprises wealthy individuals that maintain linkages between themselves and clan networks spanning across the globe. Through the networks, this group mobilize resources to help their kinsmen back in Somalia or settled across the other East African countries. This last group has formed enterprising businesses across the region in collaboration with kinsmen in the diaspora.<sup>56</sup>

The indigenous Kenyan Somali and Somali from Somalia apparently stand out as the most widely spread ethnic group in Africa because of their culture, mobility and adaptation. They are willing to live anywhere in the globe and their social capital, irrespective of clan differences has made them to comfortably reap from opportunities of being in the diaspora. Religion (Islam) serves as the glue that binds them together even though they come from different antagonistic clans back in their traditional settings.<sup>57</sup>

This commonness has been the basis upon which they support one another and mobilize resources and tend to succeed as entrepreneurs with prospects to create massive wealth and

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<sup>55</sup> Hjort, A., *Savanna Town: Rural Ties and Urban Opportunities in Northern*, "Competing Claims and Contested Boundaries: Legitimizing Land Rights in Isiolo District, Northern Kenya," *Africa Spectrum*, 46, 2011.

<sup>56</sup> Sheikh, H., and Healy, S.: *A report for UNDP on the Role of the Diaspora in Somali Development*, March, 2009.

<sup>57</sup> Pew Research Centre Forum on Religion and Public Life Report, August, 2012.

establish real estate in areas they have settled. This position confirms the held belief that people succeed when far away from home. Bitange Ndemo enumerates communities that have succeeded while away from home as the Jews in the United States of America, the Lebanese in West Africa and Indians in East Africa. He adds the Somali in the list and goes further to argue that the Kikuyu who were displaced by colonialists and Kisii due to lack of land have also succeeded in areas of their migration.<sup>58</sup>

### **2.3 Somali Entrepreneurship and the Growth of Eastleigh**

Eastleigh has been home to Somalis for a long time. It also hosts aliens from Ethiopian and Eritrean, some of whom have established profitable businesses in the transport sector. Majority of these people escaped from conflicts and hardships in their countries and found settlement in Eastleigh. home environments. The history of Eastleigh predates Kenya's independence. It was founded by Indians who were part of labour for the construction of the railway line from Mombasa to Kisumu who then settled and developed efficient trading structures.

Neil Carrier and Emma Lochery, postulates that Nairobi's Eastleigh suburb has witnessed tremendous growth since the collapse of the Somalia State, to become one of the major commercial hubs in Eastern Africa. This, they argue had been occasioned by the presence of a huge number of wealthy refugees who chose to settle in Eastleigh. The two further state that the alien population and their global networks have continued to rely on the already existing cross border trade between Somalia and Kenya as well as the diaspora and Kenyan capital sources to enhance trade and investments in the area.

The Somali settled in Eastleigh have consequently been expanding their empire, using clan and business networks to other parts of the country. This expansion has resulted in a chain of business concerns along various highways and urban centres across the country. This conscious move has enhanced the presence of Somali in these areas with corresponding number of mosques and other Islamic institutions being constructed for the benefit of the community and other Muslims. The community has engaged in a conscious but discreet move to win over Christians to convert to Islamic faith and is strategically targeting the youth through offers of

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<sup>58</sup> Bitange Ndemo, Among Somali Business Success Trust Plays a Vital Role, internet, Available from., <https://mobile.nation.co.ke>blogs>. Accessed on 31<sup>st</sup> July, 2018.



sponsorship and other gifts. This study endeavoured to find out if the described trend of expansion and activities have been witnessed in Namanga Highway.<sup>59</sup>

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#### 2.4 Somali Settlement along Namanga Highway

The early settlement of Somalis along the Namanga stretch could be traced to the end of Second World War when the British colonial masters allowed five families of Isaaq Somali clan who served as soldiers in the Kings African Rifles to settle at Namanga. A part from Namanga, some of the Isaaq demobilized soldiers were allowed to settle in other towns, notably, Isiolo, Mombasa, Nairobi's Eastleigh, Nakuru and Kakamega.<sup>60</sup> These Somalis formed the first batch to occupy places beyond the Northern Frontier, which borders Somalia and is the traditional habitat of the Somali community in Kenya.

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These early arrivals were joined by independent Somali sojourners looking for business opportunities and descendants of Somali civil servants who opted to settle along the highway at the time of their retirement from the public service.<sup>61</sup> The climatic condition of the area favoured these immigrants since it was almost similar to that of northern frontier where majority of the Somali in Kenya lived.<sup>62</sup> Among the Somali pace setters along Namanga Highway were Ahmed Duale and Fatuma Sheikh, who were integrated and established joint businesses with the then minister for Local Government Stanley Shapasina Oloi Tiptip. Ahmed and Fatuma ended up being nominated to serve in the former Ol-Kejuado County Council at different times.<sup>63</sup>

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According to Richard Muango Muthanga, a retired teacher, the Somalis settled in various towns along the highway courtesy of the hospitality of the Maasai who initially viewed them as their brothers who shared in the culture of nomadism and pastoralism. The Somali informants confirmed acceptance by Maasai elders and leaders who encouraged them to set up businesses that would bring services nearer to the communities. The Somalis according to Muthanga came

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Mohamed Hassan Bashir, Businessman in Eastleigh on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2017.

<sup>60</sup> UNESCO, *Scoping Study on the Culture Sector in Somalia, A Research Study Report*, 2013, pp. 5-7.

<sup>61</sup> Oral Interview with Bashir.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid

<sup>63</sup> Ibid

third after Kikuyu and Kamba in terms of business and investment along the highway at that time.<sup>64</sup>

The relations between the host and settler communities according to Muthanga, thrived attracting more Somalis whose interest was trans-border trade, an area they competed with Kikuyus who were expelled from Tanzania at the collapse of East African Community in 1977. The merchandize preferred by the Somali traders in small time businesses were mainly food stuff, clothes, spices, hides and skins. These businesses thrived alongside those operated by other communities such as the Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya, Kisii and Luo. The Kikuyu formed the bulk of these settlers and led in land acquisition from the Maasai hosts.<sup>65</sup>

The relationship between these immigrants arguably remained cordial until cases of robberies and animal poaching started to be experienced where guns were used. The Maasai blamed the Somali for these incidents but there were no proofs and therefore no legal action was taken against them. They were mere suspects.<sup>66</sup>

Muthanga, who taught in several schools along the highway as from 1978 to 2012 argued that the second wave of Somali arrivals took place in mid-1990s. He connected the new influx to refugee inflow following the fall of Barre regime in 1991. This thinking was reinforced by Bishar who argued that the new arrivals were loaded with cash which they sought to invest in businesses along the highway and across the border in Tanzania but knowledge of Kiswahili hindered their plans. They eventually joined their clansmen who settled in the area earlier.<sup>67</sup> Muthanga further argued that the movements of Somalis were made pointedly through connections they had established with local Somalis. That they were not entirely seeking to settle along the highway but some wanted to relocate to third countries such as South Africa for settlement. One characteristic observed among the Somali is their high adaptation to new environment, which is an advantage whenever and wherever they choose to settle.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Oral interview, Richard Muango Muthanga, retired Namanga Primary School teacher, Namanga, Kajiado on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

<sup>65</sup> Muthanga. This is an incomplete citation

<sup>66</sup>Oral interview, Abdi Dore, Member of Local Peace Committee, in Kajiado town on 26<sup>th</sup>, August 2017

<sup>67</sup> Muthanga Ibid

<sup>68</sup>Oral interview, Muthanga,.

Some of these Somali immigrants established businesses along the highway at various trading centres such as Kitengela, Bisil, Isinya, Kajiado and Namanga while others ventured hinterland to smaller trading centres such as Tinga, mile 46, Esosurua, Shompole, Magadi and Kiserian. They were however ejected from these areas following a wave of insecurity whereby guns were used for raids and poaching between the years 2000/2005. The local Maasai blamed these crimes on the Somali claiming that they were collaborating with Tanzanian criminals but with no evidence.<sup>69</sup> The Somali perceived the accusation as frivolous and only aimed at removing them from the centres. The relationship between the Maasai and Somali was affected as a result of these allegations. Coincidentally, a few Somalis who crossed and settled in Tanzania faced the same treatment from Tanzanian Maasai. No effort was made at that time to resolve the misunderstanding between the two communities.

Among sectors favoured by the Somali for investment in Namanga are hotels and restaurants, petroleum products outlets, forex bureaus, wholesale and retail shops, butcheries and transport businesses. These businesses perform well and are more competitive to the consternation of the other traders who are finding it difficult to match the pace the Somali have set. This aspect is a source of envy with the Somali being accused of undermining the other traders by offering low prices and rates on their goods and services. The same trend is replicated in all the towns along the highway where the Somali are depicted by their competitors as manipulative and cunning. It was observed that the Maasai hosts have not fully engaged in competitive businesses leaving the field to immigrants. Majority of the traders at the centres along the highway are Kikuyu and their areas of preferences are hardware shops, groceries, bars and transport.

According to Muthanga, the Somali and Kikuyu took advantage of illicit cross-border businesses that previously flourished to invest at Namanga border town where they acquired land, which they developed in to settlements. This trend would later displease the Maasai when the Somali and other immigrant communities fenced off their homes and dwellings limiting free movement and grazing of animals, further attracting indignation and conflict.

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<sup>69</sup> Oral Interview with Bishar Abdi Ibrahim, Somali Elder, Businessman and member of Peace Committee at Namanga on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017. At Namanga Border Point.

In an attempt to discriminate the Somali and other immigrants, the Maasai coined the word ‘*waliokuja*’ simply meaning non-natives or immigrants to refer to the non-locals.<sup>70</sup> This indicated that they were no longer welcome, and according to Muthanga, whenever a disagreement arose between the Maasai and any member of the immigrant community, they would be reminded that they came with nothing and hence will leave with nothing.<sup>71</sup> Resultant from persistent prodding and threats by the host, the immigrants live in constant fear but hope that the government and the law would protect their investments. Interestingly, some Maasai elite privately operate joint businesses with the immigrants. This posture by the Maasai elite encouraged further settlement of the Somali and the other communities in the area.

### 2.5 Somali Businesses Along Namanga Highway

The highway is strategic and offers attractive investment environment given the developed infrastructure and burgeoning population. It connects Nairobi, which is the hub of business in the region to Tanzania. The stretch passes through vast land which is good for various investments. This is arguably what attracts immigrants and investors to the area. Among the opportunities available for business include, mining, agriculture, horticulture, poultry, manufacturing, hotel, education, general trade and housing and/or property development to take care of the fast-growing populations along the highway and beyond. Farm and livestock products like dairy, beef, hides and skins, and poultry are some of the areas where the Maasai host have shown interest albeit not with enthusiasm as the case of immigrants.

These opportunities have made the highway attractive to huge investments by individuals, corporates and institutions of higher learning such as Umma University, Pentecostal Assemblies University, Presbyterian University and various Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies; and land buying companies all of which have invested along the highway.

The immigrant Somalis have taken advantage of the incentives to invest and conduct various businesses that include hotels and restaurants, hides and skin, warehousing, butchery, wholesale and retail, garments and fabrics; petroleum products outlets and money exchange bureaus. According to the informants interviewed during the visit, the Somali maintain kin networks with relatives in the diaspora, especially those who have secured jobs in western

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with Muthanga, 6

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

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countries to mobilize and provide finances for expansion of businesses.<sup>72</sup> The Somali at Namanga according to David Mwangi, handle a lot of money which they are shy to bank, a phenomenon that stuns the other traders who then suspect that the source is doubtful. This contention was supported by Muthanga who argued that the Somali traders walk about with bundles of money at will.<sup>73</sup>

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Grounded on traditional clan and cultural associations, the Somali marshal finances globally and use the widely preferred financial mobilization and trust-based transmission hawala system to send the same to kinsmen. These include Dahabshiil, Iftin and Amal methods that the Somali use across the globe. The hawala system is the nerve centre of Somali business activities everywhere as it offers a cost-effective, efficient and fast way of transferring funds from the diaspora.<sup>74</sup> The interest charged varies and is negotiated if the quantity to be transmitted is higher. The rates compare favourably with the other established money transfer mechanisms. In Hawala or Dhahabshil, the recipient would merely visit an establishment listed in the arrangement to be given the equivalent of what was transmitted in the local currency or hard currency, whichever is the choice of the recipient.

Through these systems, Somali businessmen have been successful in arranging for funds transfer across the globe in support of kith and kin to start business programmes or expand existing businesses. Through the hawala system for example, finances can be mobilized not only from the Somali diaspora but also from non-Somalis willing to participate. Lending money that does not attract interest through the system is also allowed. The mixture of organized access to finance through clan networks and the swift and affordable transfer of money through the hawala or Dhahabshiil systems is at the centre of Somali entrepreneurial success.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Hassan, Sheikh and Sally Healy United Nations Development Programme Report, Somalia's Missing Million: *The Somali Diaspora and its Role in Development*, 2009.

<sup>73</sup> Oral interview with David Mwangi, Customs and Excise Officer in-charge of Namanga border point on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

<sup>74</sup> Barnes, C. and Hassan, H, Briefing Paper on the Rise and Fall of Islamic Courts, April, 2007, internet, Available from [https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/bp0311\\_abdulsamed](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/bp0311_abdulsamed). Accessed on 12th June, 2018.

<sup>75</sup> Barnes, C. and Hassan, H. Ibid

Another major source of finances that the Somali use for investment is the local Kenyan Somali business elite and petty traders, who have made their wealth mainly from the recognized formal economy. This lot, however, is quickly learning from the immigrant Somali from Somalia and have started to tap in to the growing informal market such as cheap imports from Dubai and Turkey which are under-declared so as to attract minimal tax. These businessmen boost budding and young entrepreneurs with money to start or expand their business concerns in a rotational manner that ensures that anyone who succeeds participate and support other upcoming colleagues.<sup>76</sup>

Individuals involved in this intricate mix, supported by political and clan network have expanded and are exploiting available investment opportunities along the Namanga highway besides other highways. The system has created partnerships with businessmen from Kenya and Somalia in which Kenyans identify emerging investment opportunities and the Somalia partners provide financing for setting up the businesses in Kenya.<sup>77</sup> In this arrangement, Kenyan-Somalis generally provide the much-needed security and political cover for the businesses.

This has enabled Somali to invest in successful businesses that are the source of indignation, envy and anger among the Maasai and other immigrant communities, leading to general and exaggerated accusations of suspected links to criminal activities.<sup>78</sup> Some of the Somali business persons who started as small time operators have transited to flourishing entrepreneurs, providing goods and services to local and regional consumers, sometimes at prices below the market average. This scenario makes them competitive in comparison to the other traders further complicating their relationship with the rest of the business community along the highway.

In other parts of the country, similar pattern exists and characterize Somali business activities. They depend heavily but not completely on clan or kinship networks of trust. The bulk of trade can be characterized as small and medium businesses and but are largely in the informal sector,

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with Rashid Abdallah, a businessman with extensive outreach in the Middle East and Somalia in Nairobi on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 2017.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Bishar.

<sup>78</sup> Farah Abdulsamed, "Somali Investment in Kenya", Africa Programme, March 2011, [www.chathamhouse.org.uk](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk). Accessed on 29<sup>th</sup> June, 2018.

and which is therefore of high risk because of their unofficial nature. This kind of undertaking is also present in Eastleigh where the control of business had proved to be an uphill task for the government as a result of corruption networks involving the Somali and public servants.<sup>79</sup>

## **2.6 The Role of Commerce, Politics and Religion in Somali Settlement along the Highway**

It may be difficult to discern the role played by religion in settlement of Somali along the highway, commerce emerges as a key factor in promoting the movement and settlement of the community in this area. The Somalis through clan networks identify areas that are conducive for business and even facilitate the mobilization of funds to start such businesses. For these immigrants to settle and feel a sense of belonging, and in particular if they departed from their traditional home areas to seek better opportunities, they start to create social infrastructure that would support their stay such as places of worship (mosques) and schools.

It is common as observed during the study that the successful Somali businessmen doubles up as the guarantors of social and welfare amenities. Through their contributions and efforts, these amenities are established while they also pay for the up-keep of those who maintain the amenities. This puts them at the helm of the management and success of these amenities.

Political participation, though a right enshrined in the constitution had not been a strong factor but has started to emerge as a consideration for settlement though with caution. The role of mosques in politics along the highway has not been prominent despite the fact that Muslims visit such places for worship five times a day and therefore meet their brothers. This is in contrast to what is practised in Nairobi and some mosques in Mombasa where clerics would give political speeches that shape the thinking of their congregations.

Muslim scholars in other spheres conserved the guidance role of the Mosque, elevating them to become the equivalent of Universities whose mandate is not just imparting knowledge to students, but also guiding the society. Mosques therefore play critical roles in answering social, economic and political upheavals meted on the people by the rulers.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, throughout

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Nandwa, H., The Role of Mosque in Politics, Muslim Perspective of Nairobi Jamia Mosque, on line *Journal of Law Policy and Globalization*, Vol. 56, 2016, pp. 53-54.

the Muslim culture and tradition, when reference was made to the Mosque it implied the scholars who were using that facility for the pursuit of designated ethical activity.

Pointedly and according to Rashid Oloo, mosques play critical role in communal development. That they are not only places of spiritual enrichment but they also provide platforms for fostering and developing good character for the faithful besides a basis for commercial activities. These roles could still be further enhanced as has happened along the highway to highlight matters such as harmonious coexistence among the Muslims themselves and between them and the non-Muslim society.<sup>81</sup> The laid-back approach by the Somali settlers, especially in Kajiado and Namanga towns where significant Somali populations are found and registered as voters had become of concern to the Maasai leaders who perceived it as unusual.

According to Bishar the Maasai host had started to question why the Somali settlers' reluctance to openly participate in all facets of social life along the highway including politics as opposed to the other immigrant communities. He however maintained that majority of the Somali settlers were being facilitated by clan candidates seeking various seats to register back in their traditional home areas or in Nairobi where they eventually participate as voters.<sup>82</sup>

In the thinking of Ibrahim Farah (PhD), a scholar and budding Somalia politician, the Somali living outside their traditional homes were cautious about participating in politics fearing backlash that would interfere with their business ambitions. Additionally, he contended that the Somali were still lagging behind in terms of economic empowerment and education, which they aspired to transform before plunging in prominent broad political participation. He argued that economic sector is gradually being fixed as evidenced by enormous Somali investments in different parts of the country and East and Central African region. That the remainder was education, which area was currently being addressed as witnessed by huge enrolment of Somali youth in middle level colleges and institutions of higher learning.<sup>83</sup> This school of thought is supported by Rashid Abdi, a Kenyan Somali businessman in the Horn of Africa and the Middle

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<sup>81</sup> Bahari, C., A., B.; Exploration of The Role of Mosques in Community Development: Malaysian Experience; presented during the 3rd International Conference on Arabic Studies and Islamic Civilization at the International Islamic University Malaysia, 14-15 March 2016.

<sup>82</sup> Interview with Bishar

<sup>83</sup> Views expressed by Dr. Ibrahim Bursaid Farah, scholar and budding Somalia politician, during a conversation held at Hotel Inter-Continental, Nairobi.



East. According to Rashid, the Kenyan Somali's next focus is to entrench in national politics and leadership.<sup>84</sup>

This notwithstanding, the Somali business community along the highway discreetly support particular candidates whom they rely upon for protection. For example, in the year 2007, Somali registered voters in Namanga were estimated at eight hundred according to Bishar out of a population of about two thousand.<sup>85</sup>

### **2.7 Role of Somali in the Growth of Namanga as Transit Town along the Highway**

Namanga is a budding town with a one-stop border control facility business transaction is huge with all Kenyan communities and foreigners being present. Both formal and informal trade thrive in the town.

There is a significant population of Somali at Namanga that fluctuates depending on seasons of the year that also come with different demands and tastes. There are those that are permanent residents of the town and are engaged in various businesses that involved colossal amounts of money.<sup>86</sup> Most of the trade at this point is trans-border. These Somali settlers, according to Ogara, Immigration Officer are involved in human trafficking that has seen the relocation of a large population of aliens of Somalia, Ethiopian and Eritrean origins to Southern African countries. These aliens are temporarily accommodated at Namanga before finally making their way to preferred destination.<sup>87</sup> The southward movement of these migrants is normally organized with the assistance of Somalis based in Namanga and has assumed a complex dimension over the last 20 years. These migrants often have South Africa in mind as their destination but end up in European and American continents. They are normally political or economic refugees and asylum seekers.

This complex arrangement taking place in the 21st century, has been designated as mixed migration and made Kenya to be identified as a source, transit, and destination country for

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<sup>84</sup> Discussion touching on success of Somali businessmen across East and Central African region, held on 24<sup>th</sup> of March, 2018, Nairobi.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Bishar

<sup>86</sup> David Mwangi, Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Ogara, Immigration Officer at Namanga

victims of human trafficking by the International Office for Migration (IOM).<sup>88</sup> These migrants are often at the risk of being arrested by law enforcers and shipped back to the port of entry. The movement has locally earned Namanga the distinction of human trafficking point in which the local Kenyan Somalis are facilitators hence are collaborators.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

The Highway stretch has a vast cheap land resource besides a welcoming host community, a combination of factors that attract investors and settlers into the area. Other factors that act as incentives includes the link to Tanzanian cross border market besides a well-maintained highway that connects Kenya and Tanzania. These are the pull factors that have encouraged the settlement of Somalis, other different communities and investors along the highway. Flourishing businesses have therefore been set up along the highway offering unskilled jobs to the natives. Various institutions of higher learning, Savings and Cooperative Societies and manufacturing firms have also invested along the highway enhancing the attractiveness of the stretch for business.

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<sup>88</sup> International Office for Migration, Stop Human Trafficking, internet, Available from <http://kenya.iom.int/project/improving-capacity-government-kenya-counter-human-trafficking>. Accessed on 22nd July, 2019.

## CHAPTER THREE

### FACTORS THAT LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF SOMALI ALONG KITENGELA-NAMANGA HIGHWAY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses itself to the pull factors that generated interest in Somali to migrate into Kajiado. It also engages with the responses of host communities and the consequences of the migration of Somali into this area.

The term settlement presupposes that one had initially moved from one place to another. This could be as a result of search for economic opportunity, education, better place to live or habitat; employment or pasture for pastoralists. Many people in Kenya migrate to urban areas while others also move to rural set-ups. Such movement at times lead to tensions and conflicts as the immigrants interact with the host communities and seek to adjust to changing situations while competing for scarce resources.<sup>89</sup>

Factors that would make one to feel that they are ready to settle that must be taken care of in a new environment includes source of income, availability of housing and education for the children; health care and finally acceptability by the host community. All these factors help in restoring self-worth and human dignity for persons pushed out of comfort and security of their homes.

#### 3.2 Land Quest and Business Opportunities

Land, an important factor for business and developed infrastructure lead as incentives that attracted the Somali to settle along the Namanga stretch. Other attractions were hospitality of the host and opportunities for expansion. The Somali are acknowledged to be hard working and at the same time shrewd. This has been illustrated in Eastleigh sub-urban, which has turned into a large commercial hub from what it used to be in 1990s as residential area. Much of the growth has taken place with combined efforts of Somali business persons from across the globe.

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<sup>89</sup> Smith, J. P., and Edmonson, B., *Economic, Demographic and Fiscal Effects of Immigration*, National Academic Press, Washington D.C., 1997, pp. 364-366.

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With ready finances, the Somalis and other immigrants brought competition to what used to be sleepy local markets along the highway to business centres, attracting huge investments from international companies. The expansion has seen modernization of trading centre along the highway and creation of new job opportunities. Circulation of money and commerce within the area and with Tanzania have increased. Consequently, the stretch has acquired the distinction of faster growth, attracting manufacturing and cottage industries.

The highway connects Nairobi, the hub of commerce in the region, the industrial town of Athi River all the way to Namanga, offering conducive business environment. The settlers also found property value attractive while the Maasai host were also still accommodative. This situation has since changed as crave for space reached its crescendo. The Maasai came to realization that with growing demand and sub-division of family and ranch land, the community was being boxed hinterland with no space for grazing. This trend shaped the basis for the clamour to stop further sale of land to the immigrants. Some leaders even proposed the repossession of what was sold irrespective of the current status and use. The conflict derived from the development threatened the investments of the immigrant communities.

The Maasai abhor the inclination by the new land owners to fence off the portions of land almost immediately after purchase, since this restricts their movement and access to grazing areas. The Maasai also realize that the rewards received from the transactions is not comparable to the current land value which has increased exorbitantly due to distortions resulting from good offers by the Somali, institutions and manufacturing firms that recently bought land along the Highway.

According to Bishar Ibrahim and the rest of Somalis interviewed during the study, there exists a notion that the Maasai and Somali share ancestry.<sup>90</sup>Bishar further asserted that a Maasai and a Somali have much in common such as the pastoral way of life and the similarities of the habitat which acted as an attraction for the Somalis to the area. He argued that the relationship between the two communities was being undermined by the tensions and conflict arising from increased demand and change of land use. He stated that the Somalis had no issue with the Maasai hosts.

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<sup>90</sup>Oral interview with Bishar

### 3.3 Culture and Religion as Sources of Conflict

The Maasai is traditionally a monotheistic community believing in a single deity, Enkai (God). The Maasai god has a dual nature; *Enkai Narok* (black god) who is charitable and *Enkai Nanyokie* (red god) who is unforgiving.<sup>91</sup> According to Casucci, the traditional belief in a single God had been undermined by the spread of Christianity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century where about 85% of Maasai are today professing Christian faith while the remaining 15% subscribe to other religions like Islam with the Somalis being the largest Muslim community settled along the Namanga highway.<sup>92</sup>

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According to Muslim scholars, Islam is a belief arrangement, a philosophy that also comes as a structure for governance whose form and message makes it more palatable and easier to adapt.<sup>93</sup> Sheikh Ibrahim Lethome in a motivational talk about '*Islam and work Ethics*' argues that laziness is not in the attributes of a Muslim. Pointedly, Muslims follow disciplined work ethics to earn a living, an attribute that could be encouraging the Somalis to be successful whenever they have settled away from their traditional homes. That through human efforts and the will of God success follows. Ole Naado on his part argues that the religious values of Islam are the main factors for success in the spread of the religion, which hinges on the religious Law of Islam (Shari'a), which is an inclusive comprehensive way of thinking and living, designed to cover all manifestations of life.<sup>94</sup>

Besides many other reasons which are responsible for the spread of Islam, it is the simple model life-style and never-ending energies of individual Muslims to pray and communicate the message of Islam. In summary, Islam is a way of life. The Islamic community living along the Namanga transport corridor is concentrated in Kajiado town where 'Kambi Somali' is a conspicuous settlement besides the spread of a number of Islamic institutions that are also visible and facilitate the reach and influence of the religion. The trend has been a source of discomfort to Christians and their clergy who have taken to open-air crusades to ward off the

<sup>91</sup> Casucci, B. A., *A Cold Wind; Local Maasai Perceptions of the Common Health Landscape in Narok South*, Dissertation for partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Case Western Reserve University, USA, 2015, pp 46-48

<sup>92</sup> Kajiado County HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan (2014/15 – 2018/2019

<sup>93</sup> Rosenthal, E., I., J., *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, An Introductory Outline, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 150-151.

<sup>94</sup> Kinyua, O. H.; A Doctoral Research Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of The Requirements for The Award of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree In Religious Studies at The University of Nairobi, 2013.

onslaught. The Muslim clerics adopted the same strategy leading to confrontations between the two faiths.

The socialization and attitude of the Somali towards others and gender roles are principally premised on Islamic tradition. The Maasai however perceive them as pretenders, dismissive, arrogant and scornful. The fact that Somali culture separates them from the rest may have denied them opportunities for free interaction and possible employment by local institutions and individuals.<sup>95</sup> This perception makes the other communities think that Somalis are unemployable. Ironically, on their own the Somalis still make quick wealth which has earned them envy along the highway leading to accusations that they are engaged in illicit trade. They accept small profit margins on goods they trade and are highly mobile.<sup>96</sup>

#### **3.4 The Maasai Affinity to Land as Source of Livelihood**

The Maasai people like any other community are dependent on land and livestock for their sustenance and livelihood. The livestock on the other hand depend on the land for grazing. Consequently, people's movement is dictated by the needs of the livestock which are pasture and water. The proximity of these requirements determines how long people remain in settled place. With the modern development taking place along the highway, the Maasai find themselves constrained in the use their land, principally for pasturing livestock.<sup>97</sup>

Alan Jacobs' revolutionary writing regarding the traditional Maasai summarized present-day views by demonstrating a broad cultural and economic contradiction between pastoral, Ilmaasai and mixed economy Iloikop, and Kwavi (ilkwapi). Jacobs view of the Maasai is controversial but the Kwavi, in his view could pass as the "real" Maasai, pure pastoralists who represented the real Maasai cultural principles and practices.<sup>98</sup> Nasieku Tarayia raises the question of pretenders who clad in traditional Maasai dresses, selling artefacts and pass as Maasai morans. She refers to them as cultural scavengers who seek to ape the Maasai cultures so as to benefit from what lawfully belongs to the honest Maasai.<sup>99</sup> Nasieku avers that the increasing activities of the immigrants including what she called counterfeiting Maasai

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Stephen Karingu Manje, contractor and Transporter at Ngong on 9<sup>th</sup> September, 2017

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Abdi Dore.

<sup>97</sup> Nasieku, T., G., *The Legal Perspectives of the Maasai Culture, Customs and Traditions*, Arizona, 2004, p.4.

<sup>98</sup> Alan, H., J., *The Traditional Political Organization of the Maasai*, Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1965, Online Publication. Accessed on 7<sup>th</sup> July, 2019.

<sup>99</sup> Nasieku, *The Legal Perspectives of the Maasai Culture, Customs and Traditions*, *Arizona Journal of International & Comparative Law Vol 21, No. 1*, 2004, pp. 184-187..

products is what had awoken the Maasai from slumber to start viewing of the immigrants differently and as economic saboteurs. Taraiya further states that a number of immigrant families living within Maasailand are keen to benefit from land and educational programs set aside for the Maasai with some adopting Maasai names to cover up their background. This phenomenon has not been seen among the Somali who are strictly Muslims.

The Maasai fear that should their children be influenced and get converted to Islam, issues of religious intolerance and radicalization could emerge along the highway. This forms the basis of anti-Islam posture among the Maasai and the other immigrant communities living along the highway who accuse the Somali of resisting integration through marriage as the other communities.

The Somali have not intermarried with the Maasai or other communities living along the stretch even after prodding sternly stating that any suitor interested in Somali girl must first convert to Islam. Coincidentally, it is fashionable for prominent Maasai men to inter-marry with the other immigrants except Somali. The reason according to Ibrahim Njomo, is that any progressive Maasai man believed that marrying from outside their community represents sophistication, pride and influence beyond the community.<sup>100</sup> Interestingly, the Maasai men perceive non-Maasai married to Maasai women as predators interested in land and other benefits such as education opportunities. They argue that in majority of the cases, non-Maasai married to Maasai women have bought property using such connection and settled in Maasailand. The debate on the question of marriage being raised by the Maasai is deceptive and diversionary and could be aimed at black-mailing the Somali.

Among the Maasai, it is common to hear the description of their associates and workers as “my Kikuyu,” or “my farmhand”, which is a form of assimilation and protection of the non-Maasai. They take pride in when they employ individuals from the other communities. It is the Somali who are not found in this category as they have not taken up jobs from the Maasai but offer opportunities for Maasai and other communities to work for them. This standing makes them distinct as employers and persons who depend on their resources for sustenance.

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<sup>100</sup> Oral interview with Ibrahim Njomo, Chief Kiserian location on 9th September, 2017 at Kiserian Township.

It is important to note that the Somalis have avoided confrontation even in the face of what could pass as discrimination, lest they further complicate their fluid relationship with host community. Through their representatives and elders, the Somalis sought to repair their relationship with the Maasai through informal contacts. It is this approach that enabled the Maasai hosts to co-exist with the immigrants even during adverse and conflictual periods.<sup>101</sup>

### **3.5 Disposition of Land Resource and Ownership Challenges Along Namanga Highway**

Customarily, the land along the highway belonged to the Maasai who like the other pastoral communities attached a lot of attention to the resource as it offered grazing and watering fields to their animals. Livestock was most cherished as the source of daily subsistence among the Maasai; and also acted as a form of security and signified status and wealth which was transferrable only within the lineage but not to individuals.<sup>102</sup> Land was communally owned and it defined the identity, distinguishing the extent of communal territory from others.<sup>103</sup>

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Land made available water, pasture and security that were necessary for livestock production and as a source of sustenance.<sup>104</sup> The culture was one way or the other unsettled when entrepreneurial tenure was introduced by the colonialists that encouraged privatization of communal land. As a result of inadequate attention to land rights, huge parcels of communal land along the highway were subdivided and are currently either owned by groups or individuals, some of who are immigrants.

According to Maasai elders, it was only land that gave them an alternative assurance of livelihood after the animals perished during droughts in mid 1990s. Because of the changes that took place regarding land ownership, restocking lost animals became impossible while drought became a common occurrence leading to further losses and diminished the hope that one would sell a small portion of land to restock the lost animals.

The land that their animals grazed freely from end to the other, a resource to which they attached their cultural and spiritual affection became desolate without animals. Economically,

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Bishar.

<sup>102</sup> Lind, J., Bates, R., *Changes in the Drylands of Eastern Africa: Case studies of Pastoralist Systems in the Region*, University of Sussex, 2016, pp. 1-30.

<sup>103</sup> Nasieku, *Comparative Analysis: Culture, Customs and Traditions of Indigenous Peoples, Defending Diversity, Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law, Vol. 21 No.1, 2004, p. 190.?*

<sup>104</sup> Fratkin, E., "Pastoral Land Tenure in Kenya, Maasai, Samburu, Boran, and Rendille Experiences", 1950-1990. *Nomadic peoples, No. 34/35: The Pastoral Land Crisis, Tenure and Dispossession in Eastern Africa, 1994*, pp.55-68.



socially and politically the Maasai relied on land as their prestige. The land is no longer as productive besides becoming less and less with the passing of time and increased population besides invasion by immigrant communities and institutions that sought spaces for economic activities and property development. Consequently, land has become a sensitive subject along the Namanga stretch, and the local people believe that the national government was encouraging adjudication and further division of Maasailand for the benefit of the immigrant communities.

Ibrahim Njomo Sankaire, chief Kiserian put blame on the late George Saitoti and the other senior Maasai politicians for having perpetuated or neglected to protect the Maasai land because of their relationship with the Kikuyu in particular through marriage.<sup>105</sup> This school of thought was also expressed by Afyare Mohamed Abdi, a village elder who held that Kikuyu ladies were marrying Maasai men to have access to land.<sup>106</sup> Afyare contended that the Somali are only being vilified because of being more industrious when it comes to business. He also alleged that the onslaught against the Somali is intentional, giving the example of some two Somali families who were dispossessed of their land at Il-Bisil trading centre in 2004 only to be saved through court process. He claimed that attempt to mediate these particular cases through the local eldership mechanism failed due to perceived biased approach from the part of Maasai side.

On his part, Bishar an established Somali businessman at Namanga attribute the sticky land debate to politicization following the implementation of devolution system of governance. He asserts that it has become so difficult for a Somali to buy land from a Maasai despite the attractive offer. However, according to Saitabao, the Somali community has distorted property (land) prices in the county through inordinately high prices that they offer; making the other would-be buyers to question the source of their money. He believes that through such offers, the Somali have been able to manipulate would be sellers hence accessing huge chunks of land, which they have fenced off denying the local Maasai access. He asserts that the immigrants, popularly referred to as *waliokuja* ' must be controlled lest the entire Maasai population would become landless.

**Commented [GG21]:** Clearly a conflictual situation is happening here and the consequence is the moratorium and the problems arising thereof, including the inability of people to transact on land thereof.

<sup>105</sup> Oral interview with Ibrahim Njomo Sankaire at Kiserian on 9<sup>th</sup> September, 2017.

<sup>106</sup> Oral interview with Afyare Mohamed Abdi, a business woman, landlord and village elder at Kitengela on 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2017.

To further amplify the disgust and bitterness feeling harboured by some Maasai elders against the immigrant communities, Jonathan Karei accused the Somali and the Kikuyu, who are among the top beneficiaries of Maasai land purchases of conspiring to undermine Maasai interests and leadership.<sup>107</sup> The promulgation of the Kenya Constitution 2010 opened up political environment to vibrant debate on factors that affected rights of indigenous communities and individuals such as community land tenure.<sup>108</sup> This bred activism by populist politicians who portrayed themselves as fighting for the rights of the host creating fear among settler communities. The trend momentarily checked interest in property transactions and development along the highway since there was no guarantee of safety to the investors in land and other properties.

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Additionally, Saitabao blamed the Somali for their frequency in circumventing the procedures, rules and regulations when they sought government services including the processes of buying land. He alleged that after buying land the Somali immediately erect perimeter walls to prevent access to such property that raised suspicion about what goes on behind the walls.<sup>109</sup> Suspiciously, the Maasai are not using the same tactics against the other immigrant communities as yet. The two sides are momentarily focused on dealing with the Somali. This position would imply that the Maasai are not genuine when executing sale agreements. They still want to make use of land even after change of ownership. According to Mutua, this practice is rampant among the Maasai who would lease land to more than one individual as witnessed in other areas thus breeding conflict.<sup>110</sup>

**Commented [GG25]:** Cite Saibatao

Bishar and Saitabao disagrees on the question of access to land already sold, with Bashir arguing that land had become a campaign tool for leaders along the highway who are determined to drive away the immigrants.<sup>111</sup> Bishar on his part contends that after selling the Maasai should desist from staking claim again. He observed that the sellers fail to invest the proceeds wisely and, in the end, perceive the sale as non-beneficial.<sup>112</sup> From these discussions it emerges that the Maasai are unwilling to release land to new owners leading to perception that sale agreements are but acts of fraud.

**Commented [GG26]:** Cite Bishar

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Karei.

<sup>108</sup> Articles 60, 63 and 66 of the Kenya Constitution 2010.

<sup>109</sup> Interview with Santabao

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Alex Mutua, Assistant County Commissioner, Namanga Sub-county on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Bishar.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

Instructively, land acquisition and use by the immigrants along the highway would remain a source of sour relations unless the Maasai host play honesty during and even after sales. The new owners are viewed as more progressive and tend to offer competition to the indigenous groups and subjects of the area that was most likely to be a natural source of conflict as observed by John McNeish.<sup>113</sup> Land along the highway was selling at low prices, which served as incentive and attracted in-migration and settlement along the highway. The mere fact that Maasai land owners were illiterate made them susceptible to exchanging land for other fancy assets such as vehicles or cheap buildings in urban areas.<sup>114</sup> The concept of willing seller – willing buyer was abused and worked against the land owners who would dispose their treasured resource (land) and then move to other areas.

Commented [GG27]: Evidence?

At the point they realize that life was unbearable in new areas, those who disposed land to immigrants shift their focus and return home to claim what was left leading to conflict with relatives. The scenario would revolve with attention shifting to the land buyer who would be pressured to return possession to the seller. A few cases of this kind were witnessed at Il-Bisil as observed by Lorkinei.<sup>115</sup> The vending cycle would start again, not realizing that the land acreage was decreasing and the population was being pushed further to the rural as towns started to sprout.

The elders complain that the younger generation dispose family parcels of land, after which they take to leisure and wastefulness, by buying vehicles which they cannot maintain.<sup>116</sup> The elders argue that the in-migration of Somali and other communities was adulterating the Maasai culture, with the youth adopting deviant behaviour, which they imitated from the immigrant communities besides aping the fancy wasteful life styles of the immigrant communities.<sup>117</sup>

The local Massai complain that the new comers have not only settled along the highway but also taken control of local trade, with almost all big firms engaged in cement, tiles manufacturing and soda ash mining besides institutions of intermediate and higher learning

<sup>113</sup> McNeish, J.A., *Rethinking Resource Conflict*, World Development Report 2011, World Bank Group Open Knowledge Repository, 2010, p.3.

<sup>114</sup> Ibrahim Njomo, Chief Kiserian location on 9th September, 2017 in Kajiado Town.

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Joshua Lorkinei, Maasai elder from Ngagataek at Il-Bissil, Kajiado County, 26<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

<sup>116</sup> Koross B, "How your new plot of Land Could be Turning Maasai into Squatters", 2015. Available from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke>. Retrieved on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2017.

<sup>117</sup> Githaiga, P., 'Kajiado Governor Snubs Plea to Lift Ban on Land Sale', *The Standard of 2<sup>nd</sup> September*, 2015. Available from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke>. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> October, 2017.

being owned or managed by “outsiders” leaving the Maasai to take up unskilled jobs. As much as they look at the immigrant communities as benefitting unfairly from employment opportunities, skills still lack among the Maasai hence the trend favouring non-employees for dignified placements.

The Maasai elders further complain that the immigrants had the advantage of disposable incomes thus enabling them to purchase more land and encroach on virgin spaces to create settlements. This could relate with what Mcneish observed when he stated that mass immigration by settlers with non-intensive agricultural techniques threaten local ecosystems as they come up with settlements.<sup>118</sup>

According to Lepapa, this aspect has been experienced along the highway where immigrant communities concentrate their activities in undertakings such as property development and settlement that threaten the natural water flow.<sup>119</sup> In Namanga town, the preferred Somali habitat is built along a stream next to the border which clogged waterway hence leading to occasional overflow of stream water into people’s homes during rainy seasons. This same trend according to Rashid Mzee Oloo, is being experienced in Kajiado town where a number of housing projects in Kambi Somali also threaten the environment as they have blocked the natural water way. He adds that there were many investors who had bought land and erected huge walls and building either on water ways or along the animals’ corridors.<sup>120</sup>

**Commented [GG28]:** Evidence? Who is saying this or observing this?

From the information gathered during this study, the conflict over land use is not only between the Somali and Maasai but also involve the other settler communities. The different Somali clans settled in Kajiado and Namanga towns also have differences amongst themselves as they compete to outdo each another. According to Abubakar an imam at the Al-Amin mosque in Kajiado town, there has existed a conflict between the Isaaq Somali clan who are a minority and the majoritarian Ogaden clan over construction and control of Masjid Noor mosque of Olekasei in Kajiado town. The Isaaq who are the pioneers of the mosque are in conflict with the Ogaden-Garre formation over its leadership. Oloo observed that the Garre with the support of government functionaries intend to throw out the Isaaq from the mosque leadership, a development that had divided the Muslim community in Kajiado town. He argued that the Isaaq

**Commented [GG29]:** Can't be whole of kajiado, he should be serving in a specific mosque

<sup>118</sup> McNeish, J., A., pp. 5-10.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Rashid Mzee Oloo, an expert in Economic and Islamic Political Affairs, who is also a contractor, on 9th of September, 2017.

are a proud lot and demand to be treated as a special class of Somali despite them being in the minority in terms of numbers compared to the Ogaden.<sup>121</sup>

Leadership of the Islamic institutions as observed is dominated by clerics who also control wealth. These clerics help to construct these institutions through their personal efforts and donations from the larger Muslim community, especially from the Middle East with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates being the major sources of funding. According to Rashid Oloo, the source of funding also dictates the ideological persuasion that the institution takes.<sup>122</sup>

The Somali harbour the feeling that they have been betrayed by the Maasai on the question of land. They wonder why they are restricted in the use of land even after acquiring the same procedurally and owning the requisite documents. Case being used by the Somali to reinforce their agreement is an incident where Justice Warsame Ibrahim and Fatuma Sharrif, business woman in Kajiado town, were forced to scale down activities on chunks of land they bought and fenced to keep cattle and camels. Bishar argued that the Maasai rejected the plan by Warsame and Fatuma and demanded that the two pull down the fences and allow Maasai to graze their animals on the farms irrespective of changed ownership and use.

Bishar asserts that the rights of the Somali to own land and other properties as enshrined in the Constitution was being violated along the highway while the responsible government officials have remained ambivalent.<sup>123</sup> Abdi Dore concurred with these sentiments and blamed the Maasai leaders for the strained relationship between the Somali and Maasai. These contentions by the Somali and the feeling of abandonment on the part of security apparatus has further worsened the conflict.<sup>124</sup>

### 3.5 Fighting over Urban Space

Rob White has pointed out that social effects of depressed economic conditions combined with intrusion of commercial relations in community spaces will lead to conflict between the inhabitants and new arrivals as they compete over spaces such as streets and other service providers like as shopping malls.<sup>125</sup> The conflict would always revolve around defending what

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<sup>121</sup> Rashid Mzee Oloo

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Bishar

<sup>124</sup> Interview with Abdi Dore

<sup>125</sup> White, R., (1993), Youth and the conflict over urban space, *Children's Environments, Online Journal vol. 27, No.2* pp.85-93. Check this out and do the right thing

each party believes is their rights. The Maasai have all along been comfortable as they depended on animals to provide food and other basic needs. However, with the shrinking space for cattle keeping, the younger educated generation is starting to look elsewhere for survival. Worse still, job creation is not matching the number of graduates coming out of institutions of higher learning and middle level colleges. The investors in Kajiado also have affinity to employing youth from outside the county leaving the local youth jobless.

According to Richard Maungo a good number of Maasai youth have been forced to abandon pastoralist way of life to look for unskilled jobs including being employed as watchmen just for survival. This followed drought and famine that ravaged the county. Charcoal burning which has been offering relief to a few of the youth has been controlled and those still engaged must contend with pestering from law enforcers. The youth therefore look at the immigrants as having invaded the county and captured all economic opportunities at their expense.

Bishar argue that the Somali provided ready market for the Maasai goods but the Maasai, perceive the relationship in the context of master-slave. That they toil and the Somali get their goods cheaply hence they do not receive good rewards for their labour. According to Scott Bollens, this identity generates nationalistic feeling creating pressure for group rights, which results in conflict between the natives and the other groups.<sup>126</sup>

The Somali community as a minority has invested in most urban centres along the highway. They own fuel stations, restaurants, butcheries, wholesale shops, exchange bureaus, Mpesa outlets and lodgings. Some have also invested in water bore holes and are selling water to the Maasai herders. They also trade in cattle, goats and sheep provided by the Maasai. The Somali outlets sell cheap goods and therefore popular. The source of these goods and quality is not guaranteed.

In one of their investigative series branded as 'Jicho Pevu', John Allan Namu and Mohamed Ali both journalists claimed that the goods sold in Somali outlets in Nairobi and other towns are brought into the country through land, seaport and air frontiers through corruption

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<sup>126</sup>Bollens, S.A., *Urban Planning Amidst Ethnic Conflict: Jerusalem and Johannesburg. Urban Studies*, 35(4), California University Press, 1998, pp.729-750.

networks. They singled out Mombasa Port and Airport, Eldoret International Airport, Mandera and Wajir. They alleged that conflict and insurgency in Somalia financed the cheap imports.<sup>127</sup>

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Access to land, business operations and suspicion that the Somali could be investing unclean money emerge as sources of friction in settlements along the Namanga highway. The development may slow the speed of uptake of economic expansion in the area bearing in mind the apprehensions harboured by the immigrant communities and investors.

Maasai respondents in this study argued that access to land by immigrants from other areas has reduced their grazing zones thereby limiting the ability with which they could conduct their traditional economic lifestyle of nomadic pastoralism. In addition, they complain of systematic and gradual loss cultural identity which they blame on the immigrants, arguing that some communities have counterfeited their identity in terms of clothing and even business which then has locked the Maasai out of sources of income.

The Somali seem to have had no problems with the Maasai up to the time the host started to complain of restricted access to grazing land in areas along the highway as a result of change of use. The Somali as it emerged are not the large land owners along the stretch but other communities. This then raises the question as to why they became the focus of the host and not the other communities. Allegation of distortion of property prices challenges the free market operations and the willing buyer willing seller dictate. Islamic faith and culture emerged as the key reason of the discomfort in addition to the suspicion that their source of finances could be questionable. The fact that the Somalis have introduced Muslims only schools along the highway has displeased the host who suspect that these institutions could be used for radicalization and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. The camel issue was over dramatized and Maasai women incited to champion their expulsion.

This research established that several modern religious and learning institutions have come up along the stretch courtesy of the immigrants.

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<sup>127</sup> The Global Intelligence Files, Allan Namu and Mohamed Ali Demonstrates How Cheap Goods Find their Way into Kenya, 22<sup>nd</sup> January, 2010. Available at <https://Wikileaks.org>gfiles>docs.?>

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTION MECHANISMS IN AREAS SETTLED BY SOMALI ALONG NAMANGA HIGHWAY

#### 4.1 Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that movement and settling have positive and negative consequences on the person and place where sanctuary is sought. These could include economic, social and cultural impacts. Largely, immigrants show strong flexibility and adaptability to new experiences and environments. They are normally willing to take odd jobs on arrival at their destinations as they settle down.

Also, many migrants show a disposition for hard work and sacrifices as they seek to establish themselves in a new territory. Their readiness to take risk and seize whatever opportunity available manifests itself in the manner they participate in economic development. This state is observable in Nairobi's Eastleigh sub-urban immigrant entrepreneurs' innovativeness and opportunity alertness contributed to faster growth. The case of Somali settlers along the highway presented similar trend. The immigrant Somalis using private resources opted on their accord to settle in the area to exploit economic advantages available even though their background could have been fraught with hard life challenges.

The instances discussed in the previous chapter represents existence of conflicts along the Namanga highway between members of the Somali immigrants and the Maasai. These conflicts cut across all the spheres of life from economic to socio-cultural, thereby threatening harmonious co-existence and peace. The situation may expose the visible speedy economic development along the highway to disruption. Intra-clan and family conflicts have also increased with the elders accusing the youth of reckless disposal of family land leading to conflicts.

The trend is destabilising order in the once close knit Maasai families and the community at large while exposing the Somali and all the other immigrant communities including their investments. The Somali for the moment is the focus of anti-immigrant campaign along the highway. To address the conflicts, various peace efforts and mechanisms, traditional and progressive have been put in place.



In the Somali traditional justice set up, the councils of elders provide platforms through which an aggrieved party seek out for restoration and other payment for injuries suffered. For example, payment of *maslah* or blood-money to the aggrieved family or clan by the offending party is normally a matter negotiated between the parties (the offender and that of the victim).<sup>128</sup> The Maasai also have a similar arrangement commonly referred to as eldership whose decision is expected to be honoured by the parties to a conflict. Each clan have their own elders, who represent them during negotiations.

The government has also taken cognizance of the emerging conflict along the highway and is working with the Council of Elders from the communities to address the matter. The participation of the community elders is perceived to be crucial since they are highly respected as the custodians of cultural practices. The scope of their authority spreads to all areas including security matters, management of grazing patterns and relationship with other communities. Consequently, the government has accepted and is supporting these efforts through the various Peace Committee arrangements.

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#### 4.1.1 The camel conflict

The Somali culture endured and thrived during the centuries because of the camel. This animal is regarded as provider of everything a Somali pastoralist would want in the harsh environmental conditions he was bequeathed by God.<sup>129</sup> It is therefore the most cherished animal compared to the other animals. The camel is so helpful to the economic well-being of a Somali and those who do not possess a camel feel economically insecure. A camel produces large amount of milk compared to other animals and is the principal source of food to the Somali community hence the explanation why it is regarded in high esteem. The Somali have a preference to the camel milk as it can be preserved for a longer period compared to the cattle and goat's milk. Camels can also be milked more than three times in a day whereas cattle and goats are milked twice or once only in a day.

There are many advantages of rearing the animal. According to Abokor camels take less than an hour to be ready for next round of milking or suckling after the previous one which is not

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<sup>128</sup> Farah, A., H., Thesis submitted in partial Fulfilment for the Degree of Master of Arts in the University of Nairobi, 2001, p.130.

<sup>129</sup> Abokor, A., C., *The camel in Somali oral Traditions*, Somali Academy of Sciences and Arts in Collaboration with Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1987, pp. 1-20.

the case for goats and cattle.<sup>130</sup> This is the reason why the Somali and the other communities found in the Sahel and Middle East regions preferred camel. The camel's milk like its meat can be preserved for long and is considered a delicacy among the Somali community. In the middle of the camel hump is a piece of fat called *ammaan* which is eaten raw and so makes the meat so valuable. <sup>131</sup>The Somali also uses camels to transport goods through ragged terrain that is not accessible by other means of transport.

The Somali after settling along the Namanga Highway relied on the supply of camel milk from Eastleigh in Nairobi. There was a good market for camel milk as there were quite a good number of Somali people settled in Athi River, Kitengela, Bisil, Kajiado town, Isinya, Rongai, Ngong, and Namanga. Necessity being the mother of invention, they assessed the climatic conditions along the highway and nearby areas as conducive for camel rearing and with appropriate vegetation.<sup>132</sup>

Devastating drought had also ravaged the general area wiping out almost all the cattle in the larger Kajiado county between the years 2009 and 2014. In order to ameliorate the situation, some prominent members of the Somali community introduced camel rearing in the area to address the demand for milk and meat in 2008. The programme was budding and led to a decline in the demand for cattle and goat milk supplied by the Maasai. More so, the Somali felt more comfortable and favoured their kith suppliers at the expense of Maasai even after the industry recovered from the effects of drought.

According to Bishar, propaganda was spewed and spread among the Maasai that the erratic weather conditions being experienced in the area was as a result of the introduction of camels into by the Somali.<sup>133</sup> Worse still, the camel was blamed for eating the fresh foliage on trees and at the same time consuming the dry and fallen leaves, which to the Maasai was supposed to be preserved for their goats. The camels were also blamed for diseases that afflicted goats. According to the Somali, the camels were ideal to supplement cattle given that a large area along the highway consistently experienced frequent drought. The Somali also needed more camel milk and meat.

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, p.12

<sup>132</sup> Oral interview with Bishar

<sup>133</sup> Ibid

As the disquiet decibels grew louder, Maasai men encouraged their women to take the lead in driving away the camels out of the County. The men did not want to bear the blame in case confrontations erupted if the Somali resisted. The women mobilized and raided Somali homes gathering all camels that they drove out towards Kambaland. The Somali realized that there was no intervention from the government hence complied and took their camels away. According to Bishar, only camels belonging to Justice Ibrahim Warsame of the Supreme Court and Fatuma Sherrif who the Maasai considered to have been assimilated were spared.<sup>134</sup>

Leshan ole Sankaine however claimed that the reason for driving camels away had nothing to do with dislike of the Somali community but the feeding preferences of the camels. He argued that camels grazed and browsed, meaning that they ate everything from green to dry plants. By so doing, they feed on the shrubs and leaves on which the Maasai goats relied during dry seasons. Leshan averred that the Somalis who agreed with the condition given to fence off their lands were allowed to retain their camels. He however, disagreed with the Somali and other immigrants whom he argued merely fenced off their farms to deny Maasai grazers access to such spaces.

He dismissed such action as simply aimed at denying Maasai animals' pasture during dry seasons while the same land was not put to any meaningful use. He argued that this portrayed bad faith and poor relations, which, the Maasai could not contend with. He maintained that Maasai animals could not die due to lack of pasture yet vacant land with pastures existed, whether ownership had changed or not.<sup>135</sup> This position was viewed by the Somali land owners as impunity and provocation merely based on perceived notion that immigrants owned property at the behest of the host community.

The introduction of camels in to the area accordingly may have been an unwelcome more in the perspective of the Maasai elders since it was entrenching the presence of Somali nomads in the area. The question of non-consultation and disrespect were mere excuses according to Bishar.<sup>136</sup> The lack of intervention by the government functionaries portrayed betrayal and complicity during the incident since the Somali victims were not protected as residents who legally owned property in the area. The Maasai, according to Bishar got bolder and further

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Oral interview, Leshan ole Sankine, Ngong, Kajiado County, 8<sup>th</sup> September, 2017.

<sup>136</sup> Oral interview with Saitabao Karori at Namanga border one stop on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2017.

Commented [GG31]: I like the discussion here.

pronounced that Somali and all the other immigrant communities were not allowed to keep animals as they dominated businesses and as such needed to contend with engagement in business but not to diversify in to animal keeping.

Bishar maintained that whenever the Somali sought intervention of Maasai elders on the question of animal keeping, they were dismissed and threatened with eviction out of the area. This position was also expressed by Ali Mohamed, who wondered why government functionaries had failed to protect the right of the Somali. He further complained that his son was denied admission at Kajiado High School despite the fact that he had attained required grades simply because he was a Somali.<sup>137</sup>

Reflecting on the relations between the two communities, Bishar argued that before the camel conflict, the Somali and Maasai had harmonious relations, sharing information and even consulting during electioneering periods on the candidates to support. He attributed the change of attitude to the populism and activism by some politicians who misinformed the public through misinterpretation of the provisions of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution on community land tenure. He avers that the provisions of the Constitution had been intentionally misconstrued by ‘mischievous’ leaders to discriminate migrant communities to the extent that they do not enjoy equal opportunities with the hosts. These leaders misinformed the locals that the Constitution reversed land tenure from the buyers to original owners thus complicating land related conflicts.<sup>138</sup>

Commented [GG32]: What do you mean?

#### 4.1.2 Maasai Youth Raid Somali Establishment

A case in point is an incident where a group of Maasai youth raided and vandalized property at Al Marka Restaurant operated by a Somali. This establishment was among the largest eating points in Namanga and patronized by many clients. The youth were raged and accused the proprietor, Ahmed Noor Barrow of acquiring the contract to run the facility from government through corrupt ways. They had no proof but had demanded that the contract that the proprietor had won be annulled. This absurd demand was not honoured leading to the incident. According to Noor, the Somali elders sensed that this particular incident could lead to many more hence they approached their Maasai counterparts for an amicable solution.

<sup>137</sup> Oral interview with Ali Mohamed, Officer in charge of Kajiado G.K. Prisons on 26<sup>th</sup> of August, 2017.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Bishar

The parties deliberated on the matter and reached an agreement of remorse on the part of the Maasai. Consequently, in an effort to pacify the Somalis, the Maasai elders used their eldership authority, admonished the offending Maasai youth responsible for the chaos before prevailing on them to tender public apology to Ahmed and the Somali community in general.<sup>139</sup> Although the Somali were not satisfied with the action, they left that matter to rest. The Maasai still harbour the feeling that the facility was benefitting immigrants at the expense of the host community.<sup>140</sup>

**Commented [GG33]:** This is not peace-making. You are talking about apology. What happened before these apology?

#### **4.1.3 Maasai Youth attack a Somali Colleague**

In Kitengela area, as a consequence of a long-lasting tension between the Maasai and Somali youth, which remained unresolved, Somali youth mobilized and attacked a Maasai colleague who they accused of verbally assaulting a Somali girl. They descended on the Maasai with sticks but the intervention of elders prevented the situation from becoming catastrophic. The elders resolved that matter with the family of the Maasai youth responsible for the assault and the family was obliged to pay for the damage.<sup>141</sup>

The incident was just a powder keg given that there had existed tension and cold war that had existed between the youth from the two communities for some time. The Maasai had consistently accused the Somali youth of arrogance and full of ego because of familial wealth.<sup>142</sup> Customarily, Somali girls never walk around without being escorted by a bigger brother or in company of other girls or women. This practice is meant to prevent attack from opposite sex or to fall to temptation of immoral behaviour or to guarantee their virginity after undergoing circumcision.<sup>143</sup> The households that have consistently practised female circumcision normally view this cultural practice as a form of sexual control.

#### **4.2 Traditional Conflict Resolution Efforts along the Namanga Highway**

Indigenous cultures view conflict as a communal concern, thus the society owned both the conflict and its background. This position contrasts with the modern conflict resolution path

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<sup>139</sup> Oral interview with Bishar 7

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Dan Obunga, businessman and village elder at Kitengela on 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid

<sup>143</sup> Beliefs and practices of Somali Citizens Related to Child Protection and Gender, Findings from Africa's Voices Foundation's interactive radio programmes aired during January and February 2017 for UNICEF Somalia, p. 29.

puts more weight on personal and individual responsibility. Often it is a win-lose situation. On the other hand, a grassroots peace-making methodology hinges on the foundation that since most of the stakeholders in any conflict condition are grassroots people, it becomes unavoidable to include them in the process of peace-making and conflict resolution.<sup>144</sup> This method presumes that peace can be built from below and puts premium on the traditional approaches of conflict determination.<sup>145</sup>

The Somali society like the Maasai is fundamentally self-governing, and traditionally, decisions are made by councils of men, which are sometimes ruthless to the point of disorder. Age, lineage, seniority, and wealth can at times have influence in acceptance in to the arena of elders. Somali culture appears to be male centered in the open, but the female gender play significant financial roles in the areas of providing food, herding animals and business circles mainly in urban set-ups. In recent years, conflict, drought, famine and male relocation have dramatically enhanced the number of female-headed households.<sup>146</sup>

Few incidents of conflicts have been recorded between the Maasai and the Somali along the highway. In the few cases noted, the eldership in the form of Council of Elders and the representatives of the government at the local level were deployed to address the conflicts.

The inclusion of elders was found to be critical given that their role as custodians of culture among the two parties is respected. According to John Burton, culture is important because it is a “satisfier” and hallowed hence binds most members of a community. Consequently, the two sides opted the traditional conflict resolution method to address their misunderstandings.<sup>147</sup> He adds that customarily, native societies are more inclined towards rites that lead to communal problem solving than to the type of clash and bargaining which has become common with the modern methods of conflict solving.

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<sup>144</sup>Loode, S., “Navigating the Uncharted Waters of Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution,” *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 29(1), 2011, pp. 65–84.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid

<sup>146</sup> World Relief, Culture and Society, 2018. , <https://worldrelieffortworth.org/somalia-cultural-profile>: Accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.Global, Fort Worth, Accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> August, 2019.

<sup>147</sup>Burton, J., *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1990, pp. 21-22.

John Paul Lederach also supported the requirement of richer cross pollination of cultural and traditional approaches to conflict resolution.<sup>148</sup>In the African context, this would involve combining a range of traditional systems and practices into the modern general mechanisms of conflict determination. Augsburg further argues that in traditional beliefs exist trails of ethnic wisdom for managing conflicts, which he fears could be lost courtesy of the influence of westernization.<sup>149</sup>

The Maasai and Somali elders at Namanga and Kitengela used the same principle to express remorse to resolve the conflicts in the interest of mutual co-existence of the two communities. They thus encouraged a resolution that would be in accord with generally recognised doctrines of tradition but not to entirely pursue compensation as would have been the case with judicial approach. This latter approach leaves one party aggrieved.

Malan agrees with viewpoint that the usual and immediate purpose of addressing a conflict is to reach a settlement which comprises more than simply solving the problem or remedying the injustice but specifically search for long-lasting peace and where necessary, the offending party to express remorse before the thought of compensation and restoration.<sup>150</sup> The element of paying compensation in the cases reflected on could have put the Somali, who are in this case the immigrants in a precarious situation. They wanted peace with the host community.

Senior Chief Leonard Lepapa Musokoto of Bissil Location argues that although some of minor conflicts in the area got processed through the governmental arrangement that involves the established security and peace committees, community elders especially from the Maasai were critical in efforts aimed at restoring peace. He further argued that the elders carry the goodwill of the community and any member who goes against their decision was likely to be rejected by majority of the people. The traditional role that elders exercise is thus very important in resolving conflicts in the area, making traditional mechanisms the best channel upon which the youth are corrected.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>Lederach, J., P., "Introduction to Conflict Resolution": *Concepts and Definitions*, Oxford Research Group, 2011, p. 6.

<sup>149</sup>Osamba, J., *Peace building and Transformation from Below*: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Conflicts, 2001, p.3.

<sup>150</sup>Malan, J., *Conflict Resolution: Wisdom from Africa*. Durban: ACCORD, 1997, p.24.

<sup>151</sup> Oral interview, Senior Chief Leonard Lepapa Musokoto, Bissil Location, Kajiado County, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2017

These views were supported by Assistant County Commissioner Alex Mutua who reiterated the significance of involving community elders in resolution of conflicts involving Maasai and the immigrant communities living along the highway. He stressed that in most cases; the elders were involved because of their deep understanding of culture, clan boundaries and other considerations such as grazing rights hence better placed to offer insights and wisdom that helps in resolving conflicts even among family members.<sup>152</sup>

Joshua Lorkinei, an elder from Ngagataek observed that indigenous methods of conflict resolution among the Maasai stress on the need to fostering peaceful co-existence and mutual respect for both individuals and groups, in times of peace and in times of conflict. This, he said is effectively guaranteed through the institution of the council of elders and age-set organisations. According to him, the elders play an important role in defusing conflicts within and between societies. The elders are also able to manage and diffuse the aggressiveness or defensive militancy posturing of the youth as in the case of the raid on a Somali establishment at Namanga.<sup>153</sup>

From the recorded cases and analysis, it is clear that conflicts involving the Maasai, Somali and other communities along the highway were considered as communal concerns requiring common attention as opposed to only individual parties to the conflict.

These views agree with Mbiti's argument that in the African setting there is no "private dispute", since a dispute upsets everybody in one way or another.<sup>154</sup> Ifeanyi A. Menkiti approves the same thinking with a quote "I am because we Are",<sup>155</sup> meaning that an individual thrives from the society. From these beliefs it is understood why the Somali and Maasai prefer traditional conflict resolution where elders represent communities to deliver agreements that promote peace

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#### **4.3 Government-Sponsored Efforts at Resolving Conflicts Along the Highway**

The State is a major actor in peace building and conflict management in Kenya. The Government is mandated by law to provide safety and security to its citizens and their property.

<sup>152</sup> Oral interview, Alex Mutua, Assistant County Commissioner, Namanga, Kajiado County, 25<sup>th</sup> August, 2017

<sup>153</sup> Oral interview, Joshua Lorkinei, elder, Ngagataek, Il Bissil, Kajiado County, 26<sup>th</sup> August, 2017

<sup>154</sup> Mbiti J., S., *African Religions and Philosophies*: Doubleday and Company, New York, 1970, pp 12-15.

<sup>155</sup> www, Amazon.Com Menkiti I., A., *Person and Community in African Traditional Thought*, 2012, p.171. accessed on 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 2017.



It ensures that the rule of law prevails, and that the security of citizens and their property are guaranteed.<sup>156</sup> The Government has therefore established relevant Departments and institutions to steer the peace agenda. This notwithstanding the state works closely with other actors in pursuit of the peace programmes, among them is the National Steering Committee (NSC) on peace-building and conflict management, which is replicated at the lowest level of administration.<sup>157</sup>

The concept often referred to as Peace Committee relates to local level peace building activities, aimed at transforming, preventing or managing inter and intra ethnic conflicts. The structure integrates both traditional and modern conflict intervention mechanisms. Its development and origin could be traced to local level peace building skills in Wajir in early 1990s culminating to the establishment of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC) in 1995. Other such like endeavours began to emerge in North Eastern, Upper Eastern, Coast (Tana River district) and North Rift regions in late 1990s.<sup>158</sup>

In study area, government has made various efforts through the NSC. Jeremiah Ateti, Chairman of National Peace Committee, which is facilitated by government and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) observed that whenever there is conflict, the Committee coordinates and provides platform for the conflicting parties to engage in search of peace. In doing so, the Committee use local village elders and leaders given that conflicts start from an ordinary setting before escalating to other levels. This mechanism maintains a toll number which the village elders call whenever they needed assistance. He stressed that mechanism has been helpful as the elders from both the Somali and Maasai are obligated to call any time, making responses to situations to be fast thus alleviating spread of conflicts.<sup>159</sup>

The concept of peace committees was introduced in the early 1990s following the successful resolution of clan conflicts in Wajir through a combination of elders (*Al Fatah elders*), women,

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<sup>156</sup> MyGov Kenya, *Kenyan Vision 2030 Development Programme*, launched on 10<sup>th</sup> June, 2008.

<sup>157</sup> The National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC) was established in 2001 under the Ministry of Interior. It largely coordinates peace efforts in the traditional conflict prone areas.

<sup>158</sup> Adan, M., and Parkly, R., *A Snap shot Analysis of the Concept of Peace Committee in Relation to Peacebuilding Initiatives in Kenya*, Practical Action, 2006, p.6.

<sup>159</sup> Oral interview, Jeremiah Ateti, Kitengela, Kajiado County, 17<sup>th</sup> September, 2017

local elites and government officers.<sup>160</sup> This arrangement transformed itself into what is today known as peace committees for it borrows heavily from the traditional council of elders with women, youth and government representation acknowledged. Although there is no unanimous definition of the concept, peace committees relate to local level peace building activities, it could be defined and or described as a conflict intervention structure that integrates both traditional and modern conflict intervention mechanisms to prevent, manage or transform intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic conflicts. Pastoral communities readily identify themselves with it and respect its decisions.

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The committees are only successful in so far as the softer approaches to peacebuilding are appropriate. They have however been challenged when there is a lack of political will towards peace at any level. Other school of thought uphold that these committees cannot be expected to address the root causes of conflict, but only temporarily minimize damage by bringing about understanding to de-escalate tension, for other processes to take over since they lacked enforcement mechanisms.<sup>161</sup>

Some of the conflicts resolved through peace committee mechanism include; Somali versus Borana in Isiolo (1989), Ajuarn versus Degodia in Wajir (1990), Abdwak versus Abdallah in Garissa (1994) and Gabra and Rendile in Marsabit (2012). In the case of Kajiado, the committee resolved the conflict between Maasai and Somali in Namanga, which is quoted in this study.

As for the resolution of conflicts that had developed between Maasai host and the Somali, it emerged negotiations between elders from both sides reduced tensions and stopped them from degenerating further. Both parties acknowledged the prominent role of the elders but the differences were not completely eliminated for the reason that the source of the conflict along the highway was not clearly understood. However, the intention according to Abdi Dore and

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<sup>160</sup> Khalif, A., "How Women's Efforts Brought Cessation of Hostilities to Northern Kenya", November, 2014. <http://www/kw.awcfs.org>. accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> April, 2017.

<sup>161</sup> Odendaal, A., and Olivier, R.; *Local Peace Committees: Some Reflections and Lessons Learned*, Academy for Educational Development (AED) Kathmandu, Nepal, 2008, pp. 4-6.

Leshan ole Sanarkine was to ensure that the two communities co-exist peacefully since they needed each other.<sup>162</sup>

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Conflict exists in any situation where facts, desires or fears place participants against each other or in divergent directions. Conflict is generally viewed as something that should not happen since it harms relationships. However, by their very nature they cannot completely be avoided. There are also good sides of conflicts that help improve creativity and relations. They are facts of life and offer opportunities for strengthening of relationships.

Among the Maasai people, peace-building takes the structure of elders playing a vital role in defusing tensions and conflicts. These conflicts are usually inter-clan and normally concern the use of grazing land or water. The conflicts involving access and use of land for the purposes of developing property is therefore a new experience for the community. However, the wisdom, experience and influence of the elders is considered important and manifests in comprehensive processes in conflict resolution where the parties to the conflict are allowed to express themselves before arriving at amicable understanding.

Importantly, the elders are vested with power to take steps as arbiters and even give verdict on a dispute brought before them for arbitration and recommend the next cause of action as agreed. Although they may have no authority to physically enforce such agreement, the fact that culture guarantee obedience ensures that such verdict is honoured.

The traditional conflict resolving procedures come in handy even in the context of Namanga highway as it usually plays a facilitating role, putting the parties to the conflict at ease until they accept to engage. It is preferred among pastoral communities in general. In the case of the settlement along Namanga highway, the procedure is infused with the government justice and peace process through committees, which are considered to be fast and based on clear-cut evidence concerning the case. The latter is considered to be adversarial leaving one party unhappy but the infusion helps to reduce unhappiness on the party that may feel disadvantaged. The hybrid approach adopted along the highway has had great impact in resolving some of the

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<sup>162</sup> Oral interview with Leshan Ole Sankine, a respected Maasai elder from Ngong, Kajiado County who is also a businessman at Bisil on 8<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.

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conflicts arising from the in-migration of the Somali and the other communities along the highway. It is worth noting that the Maasai are respecters of authority, an ingredient that has also promoted harmony along the stretch.

Political interference in the procedure has however been noticed more so when the politicians realize that the immigrants may support their opponents during electioneering times. A situation like this undermines efforts of the leaders hence prolonging the conflict.

In a nutshell, the untoward feeling or hostility towards the Somali arises largely from misconception and envy. They are aggressive and thrive in hardship which the other communities have misunderstood leading to suspicion and mistrust. This however stands contrary to the fact that the Somali are unenthusiastic to following regulations and procedures in pursuit of their interests.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSION**

The main objective of this research was to provide an understanding of what encourages the Somali to settle along the Namanga Highway and also to establish the impact such settlement has had on the host community. The study established that the presence of Somali along the highway was encouraged by availability of incentives and opportunities such as land, hospitality of the host, good road network and cross-border market in Tanzania. Their presence has had positive impact on the people as acknowledged by some of the informants. Key among them is the opening up of the highway and development of several trading centres. The investments undertaken by the Somali and the businesses offer employment opportunities to the hosts and other communities that have also found homes along the highway. Certain services are available making the lives of all those settled along the highway bearable.

The influence of the settlers over the host community was immense and was observable in changed attitude of the host towards education, health and alternative source of livelihood. Somali immigrant entrepreneurs contributed to economic development and growth of urban centres along the highway creating job opportunities to the host community and amongst themselves. The net effect is improved standards of living and more investments.

The host's perspective of life in general changed due to the influence of the immigrant Somali and the other communities. Accordingly, some of the Maasai have taken up business abandoning the traditional life of pastoralism, a lifestyle which they had practised for generations. However, they have failed to match the competitiveness of the immigrants, believing that the immigrants have choked business environment.

Despite the positive impact that the presence of Somali people has had along the highway, there are fears that the businesses were operated deceptively. The boundaries between the businesses and religion were not well demarcated hence fears that some individuals, associations or groups associated with Somalis used their finances to support radical Islamist groups operating within the country or outside. These fears were however not supported by tangible facts and could be researched on further.

The study also established that the local population suspected that the Somali were building Islamic institutions to provide opportunities for radicalization and recruitment for terror networks. Consequently, Islamophobia had developed in the area with Christian clerics cautioning the youth to guard against attempts to influence or convert them to Islam; or accepting rewards and gifts from Muslims. In a few instances, the Islamic clerics have tried awarding gifts to entice the Maasai youth to convert to Islam. However, it was established that only one significant incident was recorded where a converted Maasai youth of historical unsound mind, attempted to burn a church at Orkong'o area.<sup>163</sup>The institutions were largely used to rally the Muslim faithful to champion their cause including socio-political interests.

The host learnt albeit belatedly, that with the in-migration of the Somali and other settler communities, and with continued change of land use, along the stretch, they were being pushed hinterland leaving the valuable land along the highway for development. This realization put to test the relationship between the host and immigrants who the host perceived as intruders.

The study also established that the mutual understanding between the Maasai and Somali, and the Maasai and the other communities was affected. The Maasai were persuaded to believe that the immigrant communities took advantage of their hospitality and low literacy level to predate on their land and paid low premiums. Some of the hosts were considering reclaiming the lost land irrespective of status of ownership and use. Somali were not the major immigrant land or property owners hence the campaign against them was informed by other considerations.

Some of the issues identified to have been responsible for strained relationship between the Maasai and the Somali were related to business and fear of Islam. The recorded camel conflict was dramatized with false stories that when camel fed on grass or foliage, they dried permanently. The intentionally falsified script fuelled the desire to evict the Somali and their camels from areas along the highway. The whole drama could have been concocted to ensure that the Somali did not depend on milk supplied by their own camels. The Maasai cattle keepers could have lost market for their milk.

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<sup>163</sup> Interview with Karei

Retaliatory attack on Maasai youth who assaulted a Somali colleague by armed Somali gang almost caused a serious conflict between the two communities. However, intervention by peace committee members ameliorated the situation. The study appreciated the role of traditional and formal conflict resolution mechanisms adopted in efforts to prevent, transform or manage conflicts along the highway. Challenges such as lack of legal backing and policy framework, inadequate resources; and ethnic and political interference however hindered the effectiveness of the processes. The eldership and peace committees' roles were visible in the processes.

In terms of commerce, the Maasai were not fast to embrace modern methods of trade which therefore left the obtaining opportunities to the immigrant communities. For that reason, the Maasai perceived the immigrant communities as exploitative further leading to strained relations and conflict. Largely, the success of Somali businesses caused tension with other communities settled along Namanga highway, leading to extensive, but exaggerated allegations of links to criminal activities.

Relationships between and among communities are undermined by minor issues but the case of settler communities prove delicate as the hosts perceive them differently. A deliberate endeavour by the government was necessary to provide equal opportunities to education, health and shelter among others to all communities along the highway. Implementation of policies and programmes that create jobs to inspire growth and economic development is critical in this aspect. Land adjudication should be apt while the government at the county level need to sensitize communities in sustainable use of this resource.

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***Appendix I***

**Interview Guide for the Key informants**

**Questions to the Somali immigrants**

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Were you born here if not where did you come from and when?
4. What made you come here?
5. What are you doing here?
6. Did you bring your family along with you?
7. If you migrated to this place, how were you received? How is it now?
8. How do your neighbours perceive you? .... Why?
9. How do you relate with your neighbours?
10. Are you in touch with relatives you left behind?
11. Have you invited any of your relatives to join you?
12. Have you been of benefit to your neighbours?
13. Have you ever had any differences with your neighbours and when did they occur?
14. Are there any particular incidences you can remember and how did you address them?
15. Have the differences reduced?

**B: To examine the conflicts arising from the in migration of Somali in Kajiado County.**

**Questions to the host community**

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Were you born here and if not when did you come here?
4. Did you bring along your family with you?
5. Who are your neighbours?
6. When did the first Somali migrants come here?
7. What attracts them to this place?
8. How do they relate with other groups?
9. Which other communities reside here?
10. What attracts them to this place?
11. Do you have cultural similarities with these communities?
12. How have these groups benefited this area?
13. Have you had any differences with these groups, which one in particular?
14. What were the causes of differences and when was this?
15. How did you resolve them?
16. How do you relate with them today?
17. What cultural similarities do the Somali people share with you?
18. In your view, have the Somali benefited this area in any manner?
19. Where in particular do you find large Somali settlements in the county?

**C: To examine the impact of efforts of mitigating conflicts arising from in migration of Somali into Kajiado County.**

**Key informants in this area will be government officials, elders from all communities, imams and church leaders**

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. What responsibilities do you discharge here?
4. For how long have you been working here?
5. In your view, what benefits have Somali brought to this area?
6. Have you observed any problems with them?
7. What exactly is the problem?
8. Is there any particular case (problem) you can remember, when was this and who was involved?
9. How was it addressed?
10. Where do people who have differences prefer to seek redress?
11. Are there any mechanisms in place to address such problems?
12. Would you consider such mechanisms as offering success?
13. How have elders been of benefit in addressing such problems?