

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**TOPIC: PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE
AMONG KENYAN ETHNIC GROUPS: THE CASE
OF POST ELECTION VIOLENCE VICTIMS
PIPELINE IDP RESSETLEMENT CAMP – NAKURU**

BY:

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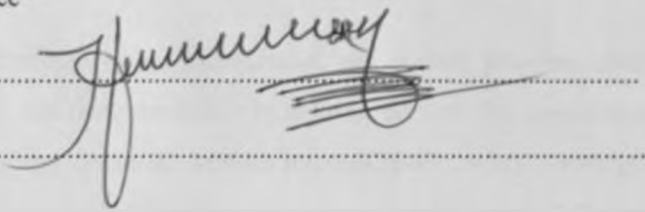


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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted in any other university for the award of any degree

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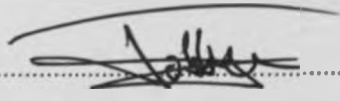
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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university of Nairobi supervisor

DR. R.MOCHARO



DATE.....

21/11/12

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to late Professor Tom Ehiamezor, my former pro-chancellor and mentor, who believed in my destiny and demonstrated it by signing into law the constitution that gave me scholarship to do masters and doctorate degrees internationally, when I emerged the best student in my department and won the vice chancellors award for the year 2007/2008 in Benson Idahosa University Benin-city, Edo State, Nigeria.

I pledge to surpass your exploits by the grace of God. may your non-tribal and gracious soul rest in perfect peace in Christ's bosom.

Also to my lovely mother, late Mrs. Rachael Okere, who told me to become "God's priest" before passing on to glory, you prayed that my legacy will outlive me. How I wish you are around to see God answer your prayers as it is being done today

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic violence and inter tribal wars have become a major monster worldwide that has swallowed many lives from generation to generation. Packaged in different forms like tribalism, ethnicity or racism, it could be a major undertone to most political riots and disputes. It has potential to trigger a lot of economic problems in any nation. The resultant protracted psychological trauma it leaves behind could be the cause of insurgencies and counter insurgencies and the reason for the great insecurity in the world today, causing nation to invent nuclear weapons of mass destruction to protect their identities and sovereignty in the committee of nations. Hence a study of this is imperative.

In this research, an aspect was looked into to understand the predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups: the case study of the victims of post election violence victims of pipeline internally displaced people's resettlement camp in Nakuru - Kenya to start unmasking this monster and inspire other researchers to go into other aspects of de-mystifying this mystery of all ages.

This study attempted to discover the roots causes and impacts political violence with tribalistic undertones has made and suggested solutions especially from victims of the subject of research.

The 2007/2008 violence in Kenya resulted into the loss of the lives of about 1,300 people, displacement of more than 350,000 people, destruction of properties, businesses and national economic revenues like tourism, agriculture, international trade and social activities bringing about high inflation to the nation, posing a great challenge to the attainment of the millennium development goals and vision 2030 of Kenya.

It is therefore imperative to study the violence, identify the root causes and develop sustainable solutions that will stem its re-occurrence after understanding the psychological and socioeconomic trauma that the victims went through.

From the literature reviewed, it is evident that political violence has a global trend. It has been witnessed in a lot of countries, but in Africa, Malawi, Uganda, Sudan, South Africa, Nigeria and Somali are examples of nations that have experienced political violence with tribal undertones losing a lot of lives, properties and infrastructures. The study discovered some factors that triggered off

Political violence in Kenya, which includes prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. The theory of Edward Azar on protracted conflict of 1990 and the functionalist theory of attitude and attitude change with inter-personal dynamics of space buttressed the point that when conflict stays for too long without being resolved, it may become more and more complex and hydra headed.

The research employed qualitative study as research design, with the target of 180 house hold heads, 10 social workers, 7 youths for focus group discussion, 7 men and 7 women but was able to retrieve 131 questionnaires and 6 from the social workers. On the focus group discussion, the researcher had enough men, women and youth to randomly choose from, having 7 in each group. Data was obtained through questionnaires and focus group discussion. The data was summarized into frequencies, percentages and charts, while data obtained from the focus group discussion were reported in narrative form to strengthen the findings and deductions were made on the predictors of social distance among Kenya ethnic groups based on the findings.

The findings shows that majority of those affected by the post election violence are women and the youth, it also exposes the underlying causes of the violence as unresolved long term grievances of inequality in resource distribution, land problems and tribalistic stereotypes among other deep revelation. The study further gave some recommendation chief of which is civic education to erase tribal lines and prejudices.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ADF- Alliance of Democratic Forces (Uganda)
- AFRC- Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Sierra Leone)
- ALiR- L'Armee pour la Liberation du Rwanda
- CPN-M- Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist
- ECOMOG- Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group
- ELN- Ejercito de la Liberacion Nacional (Colombia)
- EPL- Ejercito Popular de Liberacion (Colombia)
- FARC- Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas
- FDLR- Forces Democratiques de Liberacion du Rwanda
- FIS- Front Islamic du Salut (Algeria)
- GAM- Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement)
- GIA- Groupe Islamique Armee (Algeria)
- JKLF- Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (India)
- LRA- Lords Resistance Army (Uganda)
- LTTE- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri-Lanka)
- MFDC- Democratic Forces of Casamance (Senegal)
- MILF- Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines)
- MLC- Mouvement de Liberation Congolais
- MPLA- Movimento Popular de Libertacion de Angola
- NDA- National Democratic Alliance (Sudan)

OLF- Oromo Liberation Front

ONLF- Ogaden National Liberation Front

PFLP- Popular Front for the Liberation of the Palestine

PLO- Palestine Liberation Army

RCD- Ressement Congolaises pour la Democratie

RUF- Revolutionary United Front (Sierra-Leone)

SPLA- Sudanese People's Liberation Army

SRRC- Somali Reconstruction and Restoration Council

SSA- Shan State Army

ULFA- United Liberation Front of Assam

UNITA- Unio Nacional para a Independencia Total de A ngola

UPF- United Peoples Front (Nepal)

WNBF- West Nile Bank Front (Uganda)

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Violence has become a major subject for scholars, politicians and men and women of any locus standing today. The assassination of the Kennedys, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. combined with riots in the ghetto and campus demonstrations have created reasons for serious reflection and thought on the role of political violence in the world today. In the last half of 1960s, black Africa with a large population like United States has experienced a lot of coup, tribal or religious conflicts in many of her states, resulting in deaths, injuries and bloody civil wars and executions for treason of both military and civilian leaders. Rather than ignore or speak against political violence, we must seek understanding of it through studies and analysis since it is a serious menace that has plagued the world after the world wars (Von Der Mehden. 1973.4).

The threats of nuclear weapons and economic collapse, starvation and population explosion, internal conflict and violence have taken some new form as it is today due to the nature of the present system by which the nation states have been developed by men (Mac Farlence. 1974.30). Violence is a behavior that is intended to hurt other people physically which includes physical, domestic racial or ethnic violence (Longman dictionary, 2003). Violence is taken from the root word violent which means the involvement of actions that are intended to injure or kill other people by hitting them, shooting them or being hostile to them. Someone who is violent can attack, hurt or kill other people; it can also be done through the showing of strong emotions or opinions. It is the act of violating, and violating is defined as to do something against an official agreement, law or principle. Doing something that makes someone feel attacked or suffer loss of respect or forcing a woman to have sex with her-RAPE (Longman dictionary.2003).

Worldwide, violence is used as a tool of manipulation and negotiation. Today, it is the world's major area of concern as leaders keep trying to enact laws and create cultures in an attempt to suppress and stop it. Violence "covers a large spectrum. It varies from physical fight between two people with slight injury to wars or genocide where millions lose their lives and it has been discovered that violence is inherent in humans. Each year about 1.6 million people all over the world lose their lives due to violence. According to international violence report of the World Health Organization, violence is the leading cause of death among people aged 15 to 44 years worldwide. It accounts for 14 percent of deaths among males and 7 percent of deaths among females. More people sustain different degrees of injuries for every one person who dies of violence. Violence is the propellant of physical, social,

reproductive and psychological problems in the world today. It places a huge burden on national economies: it gulps lots of revenue each year for law suits, health care, restoration and reconstruction of destroyed places. In summary, violence is the use of untamed force which is abusive and unjust in its exercise, to violate damage and abuse humanity in an unwarranted, unlawful, intimidating and aggressive manner. (www.who.int/injury/prevention/violence)

Violence is the manifestation of conflict. Conflict is an overt display of disequilibrium in a family, society or nation. It shows lack of consensus and agreement on various issues that should bind the group together. It vividly shows that there is disintegration and disharmony among a group and it is displayed in different form like hostilities, secessionist warfare, invasions, terrorism, expulsion, riots, social upheaval, political disagreements among parties, ethnic and tribal disharmonies and domestic violence among others. Such conflicts have become the order of the day and period in which we live since the news media has daily reports of such conflicts in different countries among the nations of the world.

1.1.1 Contemporary Conflicts in the World

From the year 1946 to 2002, a total of 226 armed conflicts have been recorded. 116 were active between 1989 and 2002. In 2002 alone there were five wars; seven interstate armed conflicts were recorded in 1989 to 2002. Despite the fact that a large proportion of armed conflict were resolved, there is still increased feeling of fear and insecurity in many parts of the world today due to terrorism (RamsBotham et.al.2006.59).

Below is a table of countries with major armed conflict in progress 2002-3

LOCATION	INCEPTION	PRINCIPAL CONFLICTANTS	DEATHS
Afghanistan	1978	Taliban, Northern alliance, regional warlords, US and coalition, Al-Qaida	1-2 million
Algeria	1992	Govt vs. FIS, GIA etc. (Islamic)	60,000
Angola	1975	Govt vs. UNITA	500,000
Burundi	1993	Govt vs. Hutu etc. militias	100,000
Colombia	1978	Govt vs. FARC, ELN, EPL	50,000
Congo Brazzaville	1993	Govt vs. Ntsiloulous, etc	10,000
DRC/Zaire	1993	Govt vs. RCD, RCD faction, MLC, Rwanda, Uganda	1.5million
Ethiopia	1998	Ethiopia, Eritrea	100,000
Ethiopia	1977	Govt vs. OLF, ONLF	2,000
India	1979	Govt vs. ULFA (Assam)	5,000
India	1989	Govt vs. JKLF, Pakistan (Kashmir)	30,000
Indonesia	1999	.Govt vs. GAM (Aceh)	2,000
Israel	1948	Govt vs. PLO, Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, PFLP, al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	18,000
Myanmar	1948	Govt vs. SSA	100,000
Nepal	1997	CPN-M, UPF	7,000
Philippines	1969	Govt vs. MPLA, MILF	50,000
Russia	1991	Govt vs. Chechen rebels	20,000
Rwanda	1991	Govt vs. ALiRandFDLR	800,000
Senegal	1990	Govtvs.MFDC	3,000
Sierra-Leone	1989	Govt vs. RUF, AFRC, ECOMOG, Ka majors	25,000
Somalia	1996	Govt vs. SSRC	400,000
Sri-Lanka	1983	Govt vs. LTTE	60,000
Sudan	1983	Govtvs."SPLA.NDA	1.5million
Turkey	1984	Govt vs. PKK	30,000
Uganda	1994	Govt vs. LRA. WNBF, ADF	1,000

Source: Contemporary Conflict Solution (RamsBotham et.al 2006, 58-59)

According to RamsBotham (2006:60), a lot of major world violent conflicts have religious undertones, like the Iranian revolution of 1978 to 1979, the soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 which shows the extent to which Islam intends to use their holy war (jihad) to fight their two major perceived adversaries (1) the soviet communism and (2) the western capitalism. One of the major aims of Al'Qaida network was to provide a global base for historic effort in terrorism. This they displayed by expelling the soviet forces from Afghanistan and re focusing on the Judeo-Christian west- U.S.A. mounting attack on the world trade center on September 11, 2001. The Khoban towers in Saudi Arabia in 1996, United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 among others. Many people all over the world are confused and divided on the extent to which Al'Qaida has been behind a lot of attacks worldwide. The following are some attacks attributed to Al'Qaida.

1. 11 September 2001: New York and Washington, 2,826 killed
2. 22 December 2001: Richard Reid overpowered on Paris/Miami flight
3. 23 January 2002: Daniel Pearl kidnapped and beheaded in Karachi, 12 killed
4. 8 September 2002: car bomb in Kabul and attempt to kill Hamid Karzai in Kandahar, 32 killed
5. 6 October 2002: French oil-tanker Limburg rammed off Al Mukalla, Yemen
6. 12 October 2002: Bali night club bomb, 202 killed
7. 28 October 2002: US diplomat Laurence Foley shot in Amman, Jordan
8. 28 November 2002: suicide bombing at Israeli-owned hotel in Mombasa, Kenya 15killed (80 injured); shoulder-fire missile narrowly misses Israeli aircraft with 261 passengers
9. 5 January 2003: ricin found in flat in Wood Green in London
10. February to April 2003: 32 European tourists missing in Algeria
11. 11. 12 May 2003: suicide bombing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 29+ killed
12. 16 May 2003: suicide bombing in Casablanca, Morocco, 41 killed
13. August 2003: suicide bombings at Marriot Hotel, Jakarta, Indonesia. 12 killed
14. November 2003: explosions in housing compound. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, 17killed
15. November 2003: suicide bombings at two synagogues in Istanbul, Turkey, and a bomb at British bank, 25killed
16. March 2004: coordinated bomb blasts on railway system in Madrid, Spain, 191 killed

17. May 2004: attack on offices of a Saudi oil company in Khobar, Saudi Arabia and foreign oil workers taken hostage in a nearby residential compound, 22 killed
- 18.7 July 2005: suicide bombings in London, 56 killed, some 700 injured. (RamsBotham et.al 2006.60)

The above are some examples of world conflicts and violence with religious undertones but caused great damages and loss of lives. Focusing on the continent of Africa, we see that some major conflict has taken place which has claimed lots of lives and properties in various nations.

1.1.2 Conflicts in Africa

Civil wars, ethnic and political conflicts are regular incidents in Africa. Some are still on going now. In Angola, an estimated 500,000 people have been killed since 1989 and more than 3 million refugees. The cause of the conflict is the resources in the land such as diamonds and crude oil. This has broken the nation into different fractions. There are conflicts in Algeria, Burundi, Congo, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra-Leone, Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe. More than 28 sub-Saharan African states have been experiencing conflicts (<http://www.globalissues.org/article/84/conflict-in-africa>). The dispute and violence that followed the Kenyan election are not exceptional in Africa. In a lot of states in Africa, when presidential elections are won by the incumbent, it gives birth to protests by the opposition alleging rigging and irregularities as the cause. Many times, it does not just end peacefully, simple protests graduates into violent conflicts, wars or even genocide. In Nigeria, Togo and Ivory Coast, the common feature is controversy over the results of the presidential election.

In the case of Ivory Coast, some candidates were excluded from the election giving rise to turmoil especially after the declaration of Laurent Gbagbo the opposition candidate as the winner of the election against the incumbent president, General Robert Guei. The incumbent president tried to keep himself in power but was violently forced to concede defeat through street protests by the oppositions in Abidjan. Ivory Coast has experienced a lot of unrest due to attempted coup d'état and civil wars. In Togo and Nigeria, the presidential election results were rejected by the opposition calling it a fraud which was followed by violence though quickly contained by the government in Nigeria and in Togo by external mediation. In other countries in Africa, either the opposition desperately ended up letting the president controversially continue ruling like in Cameroun, Gabon, Chad and Uganda or the outgoing presidents concede defeat and leave power in humility and dignity like Mathieu Kerokou of Benin Republic, Abdou Diouf of Senegal, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of Sierra-Leone. (Mathieu, 2009.99)

1.1.3 History of Political Violence in Kenya

Political violence in Kenya can be traced from the fight for freedom during the colonial rule which claimed the lives of people like Waiyaki wa Hinga, Koitalel arap Samoei, Dedan Kimathi. This was the period the Mau-Mau's pushed violently for the whites to leave their lands and the entire nation. It was characterized by frequent execution of the freedom fighters that were unlucky to be caught according to Wanyiri, (2005:61); it was among the highest in the world. It was more than double the number of judicial executions in Algeria, Vietnam, Malaya, Palestine, Aden Protectorate and Cyprus, where there were liberation wars at that time.

The days of colonial rule in Kenya was also characterized by detentions which is the forceful removal and transportation of the subject from his or her family and people to harsh areas, places like Kibwesi, Kismayu (before 1927), Lamu, Manda Island, Kabarnet, Lokitaung, Kowop Camp, Samburu, Sayusi Island, Kapenguria, Naivasha, Manyani, Kamiti, Shimo la Tewa, Marsabit and Lodwar, places that are inhospitable, very dry, hot, waterless, desolate, inaccessible, mosquito-ridden, or uninhabited (Wanyiri, 2005:3-4). After independence in 1963, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta took over power as the first president of Kenya and ruled for 15 years (1963-1978), political violence continued, it witnessed the death of people like Pio Gama Pinto, Kung'u Karumba, J.M. Kariuki, Tom Mboya and Ronald Ngala among others due to political tussles. During the deaths of these people, there was a lot of civil unrest in the nation in protest (Wanyiri, 2005:3).

After the demise of the first president of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, his vice president, Daniel arap Moi, took the mantle of office at first temporarily according to the constitution and later permanently. His tenure lasted for 24 years. (1978-2002). during this period, political violence still continued, it witnessed the death of people like Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge and Robert Ouko. The political climate of Kenya witnessed lots of violence. Detention, unwarranted incarceration, torture and punishment used to intimidate Kenyans from fighting for their civil, political and democratic rights. People like Kenneth S.N. Matiba, Charles Rubia, John M. Khaminwa, Raila O. Odinga, Gitobu Imanyara and Ibrahim Mohamed among many others ranging from lecturers, public servants or political activists were victims (Wanyiri, 2005:3 & 92).

The general elections of 1992 and 1997 witnessed ethnic based violence and the epic center was the Rift Valley and Coast Provinces. The violence was exhibited in this wise. The indigenes of the community began to drive away the migrant ethnic groups back to their home lands just to deny them opportunity to vote thereby reducing the chances of the presidential candidates support by the migrant communities (KTT

Report, 2008:10-13). Sequel to the above line of history, it can be deduced that Kenyan political climate has been dotted with violence, so violence is not new in Kenya, though what was witnessed in the 2007/2008 post election violence was alarming, explosive and record breaking compared to the past.

1.1.4 The 2007/2008 Violence in Kenya

The 10th general elections in Kenya was held on the 27th of December 2007, the people of Kenya turned out in large numbers to cast their vote in the most competitive election ever witnessed in the history of the nation. Despite the competition there was great peace in the casting of the ballots in most parts of the nation. But the first straw that broke the camel's back was the delay in announcing the result of the presidential election. It brought a lot of anxiety and tension. The tension heightened to the extent that by the 29th of December 2007, street demonstrations evolved in some towns as the demonstrators expressed their fear of manipulations. The result was finally announced on the 30th of December 2007 stating that the incumbent president Mwai Kibaki had won the elections.

At this point the demonstrations increased and even metamorphosed into riots. In most parts of the country it was both planned and spontaneous. For more than two months an orgy of violence took over the nation, leaving about 1,300 people dead and more than 350,000 people displaced from their homes. Ethnic rivalries were displayed during this period, paralyzing the nation socio-economically. The violence cost the nation about 100 billion Kenya shillings. (KTT Report, 2008). Various initiatives came to the rescue of the nation but the initiative of the eminent personalities chaired by His Excellency Kofi Anan made the greatest impact as they caused the two protagonists -President Mwai Kibaki and Hon. Raila Odinga to sign a coalition government agreement on the 28th of February 2008. (KTT Report, 2008.)

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The 2007/2008 violence in Kenya which resulted into the loss of the lives of about 1,300 people, displacement of more than 350,000 people, destruction of properties, businesses and national economic revenues like tourism, agriculture, international trade and social activities bringing about high inflation to the nation, posed a great challenge to the attainment of the millennium development goals and vision 2030 of Kenya. It is therefore imperative to study the violence, identify the root causes and develop sustainable solutions that will stem its re-occurrence after understanding the psychological and socioeconomic trauma that the victims have gone through, thereby identifying the predictors of social distance among ethnic groups in the nation. (KTT Report.2008:13)

The conflict experienced in Kenya could be as a result of people's attitude and the political cognitive picture which they have developed over the years as Ocharo (2000:125) would argue that the psychological reasons for individual's reactions to situations can be identified in all events in the transition period of Kenya. He says events like constitutional reforms, tribal clashes and the "majimbo" debate and the desire for a new constitution shows the attitudes of people in a political system. He discovered that some have developed strong liking for the status quo, therefore they resist its change while others have developed a total dislike therefore they advocate for change. Two phases of polarization in Kenya was discovered by Ocharo. In this the scholar means that Kenya was broken into two main camps which were exhibited when one group is for a political party and the others against the party and the party that wins is obliged to serve only those who supported it.

The above is the first phase while the second phase is the fitting of each ethnic community into two major camps by making them support the party that was originated and led by members of their own ethnic group or the ones that was originated and led by members of another ethnic group. This resulted into bloc voting causing people to either vote along tribal lines or vote for those who promises them some form of reward and for security and support, though some ethnic groups cooperate among themselves against others. The above is a reaction of psychological conditioning which associates power with personal or family gains called classical conditioning as Ocharo puts it and thus striving to express right views called instrumental conditioning there by breaking the nation into strong political zones making it difficult for voters to decide if they are voting for a party according to its manifesto or just for the personality and if they want to change the rulers or the rules. (Ocharo, 2000:133-134)

Experience do shape and change attitudes, since historically, injustice has festered far too long in Kenya without remedial actions. And these have led to long-held grievances by individuals and communities around issues of land, regional inequalities, resources allocation and economic crimes which is a major hindrance to nation-building. In reality, Kenya has remained an exceedingly ethnically polarized nation with a lot of ethnic suspicion in most public institutions, exhibiting bad behavior to each other with wanton abdication of their individual and collective responsibilities to the rule of law as the saying goes "there is no smoke without fire". With this background, it seems that before the post election violence, an average Kenyan had a carefree attitude of "whatever wants to be let it be" and the rest are just desperate for change, in the bid throwing caution to the wind with an attitude of "the end justifies the means". According to Human Right Watch (2002) Kenyans exhibit many factors that have caused civil conflicts in other countries in Africa. Factors like strong ethnic divisions, political polarization and manipulations, rampant violence, socio-economic disparities, endemic corruption and lack of economic opportunities to the younger generation. (KTT Report, 2008:39)

In all societies where there have been political problems, there is need for reconciliation so as to sustain social cohesion but it is very difficult to resolve conflicts that have escalated to different stages, especially to the extent that atrocities have been committed with deep injuries, too many norms violated, identities distorted and too many traumas endured. It makes it difficult psychologically to sit with an adversary and negotiate peace. A lot of people say time will heal the wounds in the heart and emotions but when the wound is not well dressed and treated it may rather putrefy and cause a total decay and amputation and destruction of a vital part or organ that is needed in the system. Therefore it is necessary for individuals and groups to recover from the trauma and time bomb of remembered injustice (RamsBotham, 2006:233-234)

To this end, it is imperative to do an empirical study of the psychological and socio-economic impacts of the post election violence in Kenya. This study was intended to discover how the violence has modeled the perceptions, attitudes and views of the victims who are still in the IDP Resettlement camps, finding out if they have new attitude shift, the social distance that has developed between them and their perceived violators since their displacement and stay in the camps is a direct result of the violence. The study was intended to find out the predicting factors of social distance among Kenya ethnic groups and suggest ways to ameliorate or even eradicate the phenomenon and forestalling future occurrence.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the welfare attitude of the victims of 2007/2008 post election violence to life in general?
2. What major challenges and changes are they facing presently?
3. Who do they perceive as behind their plight?
4. What is the social distance between them and their perceived violators?
5. What do they suggest as the preventive measures to forestall future occurrence and ameliorate their present situation?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

Broadly, the objective of this study is to assess the psychological impact of the post election violence, on the life of the victims who are residing in the Internally Displaced People's Resettlement Camp (IDP) in Kenya, unraveling their perception and the social distance between them and their perceived violators thereby deduce the existing predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups.

Specific objectives:

1. To identify the general welfare attitude to life of those residing in the IDP resettlement camp.
2. To document who they perceive as behind their plight.
3. To document the social distance between them and their perceived violators.
4. To identify and document the predictors of the social distance.
5. To document their suggestions to ameliorate their present state and forestall future occurrence.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

This study sought to identify what the victims of post election violence think is the nature of the violence which they experienced, it documented those they perceive as the perpetrators of the violence and the verbalized social distance between the victims and those whom they think are their perceived violators, unraveling their attitude. It also documented their verbalized social and psychological challenges which they have experienced. Given the scope of this study, it's findings therefore cannot be generalized to the entire IDP camps and its resettlements that metamorphosed after the post election violence in Kenya or any other part of the world. It is limited to a selected IDP camp and few victims who are randomly selected to represent the universe of those in the camps. The study took place in the IDP resettlement camp on the way to Nakuru in a place called the pipeline IDP resettlement camp which is located 15kms from Nakuru, 155kms to Nairobi with a population of 595 families and 6,500 people comprising of Molo and Makongeni people.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers a summary of world trends of political violence, causes of political violence, the case of 2007/2008 political violence in Kenya, impacts of political violence, development of social distance and the theoretical framework.

2.2 WORLD TRENDS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

What led to militarization to the point of self destruction in Sri-Lanka and Dafur is the connection of ethnicity with nationalism. Stalin defines a nation as "a historically constructed, stable community of people, founded upon the bases of common language, territory, economic life and a common culture". With the above definition, it is difficult to distinguish ethnicity and nationalism. Ethnicity has developed into demands for a separate state opening the door for middle class dominance on the struggle for self identity (Nthamburi, 2009:71).

Ethnic conflicts may be ignited by a threat whether perceived or real, it may also be as a result of competitions for scarce resources or a perception that a group is prospering at the expense of another or feeling of being marginalized and undermined like in Rwanda, where European social scientists and colonial regimes separated the Hutus and Tutsis, a people who were one before. They implemented this by giving some privileges to a group at the expense of the others. It resulted into a sense of ethnic rivalry that took the lives of over 800,000 people over a period of four months in 1994 in one of the most shameful acts of ethnic hatred in recent time according to Nthamburi (2009.72)

AFRICA

In Africa, there are some countries that have experienced violent conflicts which came to the public knowledge of the entire world. Some of the conflicts are political while others are tribal. Below are some examples of such countries in Africa.

Malawi

Dr. Kamuzu Banda, ruled Malawi for more than three decades after independence from the British who ruled the country for 73 years. He led Malawi to independence through Malawi congress party breaking the rule of the African Federation which made him to be recognized as a hero. He adopted a highly authoritarian leadership style by limiting the basic freedom of the citizens, sent many to exile and killed others. He created a political culture of fear, helplessness and intimidation by arresting and detaining suspects without trials with zero tolerance for dissent. He could reform and dissolve

government at will, with firm grips of control on the judiciary, army, and public service through his highly organized security and intelligence agents. Almost all Malawians were convinced by 1994 that his rule was not just cruel, dictatorial but regressive (Dzimhiri, 2000:3-4).

South Africa

According to Nyasani (2009:15), the survey of world communities affirms the truth that each community suffers from some form of political or ethnical violence openly or covertly, which is expressed in many subtle and sadistic ways. According to him, apartheid in the former South Africa is a wicked system of racial prejudice perpetrated against people of color, all in the name of preserving racial purity. He said "Apartheid as a system may have started out as an innocuous ethnic ploy and progressively developed into an institutionalized evil system of exclusionism, oppression and indeed a source of mental torture for none whites which took a lot of lives and gave birth to untold destructions". Between 1980 and 1990, apartheid South Africa's onslaught against anti-apartheid forces in neighboring territories of the southern Africa region resulted in 1.5 million deaths. A further 1.5 million people fled their countries, and 6.1 million were internally displaced. The cost of economic destabilization in the region amounted to 40 percent of regional GDP in 1988 alone. The "Frontline State" of Angola was worst affected.

On May 4, 1978, 200 South African paratroopers massacred 800 refugees at the southern Angolan town of Cassinga, described by the South African government as a "terrorist base". Direct war damage to Angolan roads, railways and buildings between 1980 and 1988 amounted to over \$17 billion. Loss of farm production amounted to a further \$1 billion. The 1988 battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola between Cuban-backed Angolan forces and a South African invasion force was a turning point in South Africa's aggression against Angola. South Africa had lost air superiority and technological advantage, due largely to an international arms embargo against the country. Going through the introduction in chapter one of this project, one can see that the trends of violence is not decreasing rather it is changing from one degree to another, from one type to another, in fact from simple to complex, un-decode-able, breathtaking and overwhelming to understand.

Uganda

Milton Obote was the self confident ruler of Uganda who claimed that he is the only African leader who is not afraid of a military takeover but on the 25th of January 1971 while returning from the common-wealth conference in Singapore he was unseated by a military coup. His overthrow caused the complication of the internal struggle for power, though he lobbied to establish the illegality of

the new government of Major General Idi Amin with Kenya, Ethiopia, Congo, Zambia and Tanzania to no avail. Amin the new head of state quickly began to send delegates to acquire foreign recognition. He was favorably recognized on the 6th of February 1971 by Britain, Liberia, Ghana, Malawi, Congo and Nigeria.

It is noteworthy that Julius Nyerere of Tanzania did not endorse the Government of Amin. But the coup that upstaged Obote was the beginning of violence in Uganda that claimed lots of life, Idi Amin, who died at an age thought to be 78, was one of the most brutal military dictators to wield power in post-independence Africa. While chief of staff of the Ugandan army, under Dr. Milton Obote's civilian government, he seized power in 1971. He made himself president, with the rank of field marshal, and after eight years of power left Uganda a legacy of bloodthirsty killings and economic mismanagement. He dissolved the Parliament; banned elections; employed secret police - most of them in plain clothes - charged to exercise absolute power of life and death; he subjugated the courts and the press to the whims of the executive.

The death toll during the Amin regime will never be accurately known. The best estimate, from the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, is that it was not less than 80,000 and more likely around 300,000. Another estimate, compiled by exile organizations with the help of Amnesty International, put the number killed at 500,000. Amin retaliated against the attempted invasion by Ugandan exiles in 1972 by purging the army of Obote supporters, predominantly those from the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups. In July 1971, Lango and Acholi soldiers were massacred in the Jinja and Mbarara Barracks, and by early 1972, some 5,000 Acholi and Lango soldiers, and at least twice as many civilians, had disappeared.

The victims soon came to include members of other ethnic groups, religious leaders, journalists, artists, senior bureaucrats, judges, lawyers, homosexuals, students and intellectuals, criminal suspects, and foreign nationals. In this atmosphere of violence, many other people were killed for criminal motives or simply at will. Among the most prominent people killed were Benedicto Kiwanuka, the former prime minister and later chief justice; Janani Luvvum, the Anglican archbishop; Joseph Mubiru, the former governor of the Central Bank; Frank Kalimuzo, the vice chancellor of Makerere University; Byron Kawadwa, a prominent playwright; and two of Amin's own cabinet ministers, Erinayo Wilson Oryema and Charles Oboth Ofumbi.

The killings, motivated by ethnic, political, and financial factors, continued throughout Amin's eight-year reign. In August 1972, Amin declared what he called an "economic war", a set of policies that included the expropriation of properties owned by Asians and Europeans. Uganda's 80,000 Asians were mostly from the Indian subcontinent and born in the country, their ancestors having come to Uganda when the country was still a British colony. Many owned businesses, including large-scale enterprises, which formed the backbone of the Ugandan economy. On August 4, 1972, Amin issued a decree ordering the expulsion of the 60,000 Asians who were not Ugandan citizens. He was later overthrown by Museveni (Milttelman J.H, 1971:1-4).

Sudan

Sudan got their independence from Britain on the 1st of January 1956. It was the first country under the British government to be granted independence after the 2nd world war and the civil war in Sudan was the first in post colonial Africa. Their independence was more of an international diplomacy than a product of nationalist mobilization. According to the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1889, Sudan was recognized as an Egyptian possession administered by British officials on behalf of the King of Egypt and the Governor General was appointed by the Egyptian King on the recommendation of the British government. By 1924 some confusion broke out between Egypt and Britain that led to the expulsion of all Egyptian soldiers from Sudan, this competition led to the division of Sudan into Northern and southern Sudan. Northern accepting Egypt more and Southern accepting Britain more. Thus the independence of Sudan was a product of colonial powers who wanted to extricate itself from its residual responsibilities.

Therefore Sudan became independent with a lot of issues unresolved. Their first constituent assembly was dissolved in 1958, the government of Umina handed over to the military, led by General Abdud. Christian missionary activities were placed under restrictions and conversion to Islam was encouraged. The Army began to burn villages in the late 1950s and there were lots of torture and arrest of civilians. In 1960 to 1962 a lot of political figure and students took to their heels, they left on exile to neighboring countries and some to the bush forming the exile political movement and the guerilla army called "Anyanya" after a kind of poison. This movement was later known as Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU). They began to acquire weapons through invasion of police posts; they also intercepted the weapons going to Congo from the Arabs. This led to the first civil war in Sudan. After 1965 there was a great split in the guerillas into little factions. Douglas Johnson (2003.21-24, 29) Sudanese authorities claim a death toll of roughly 19,500 civilians while certain non-governmental

organizations, such as the Coalition for International Justice, claim that over 400,000 people have been killed.

The deterioration of unity among other problems that came up gave birth to the second civil war in 1983 TO 1985 since the internal guerilla warfare was intensified between 1975 and 1982. Many times trials were made by different parties to unify the nation to no avail it degenerated into multiple civil wars as there were different factions fighting other factions for different reasons and by 1991 the war in Sudan was described as "network of internal wars". The World Health Organization estimated there had been 50,000 to 70,000 deaths in Darfur since the beginning of the conflict, mostly due to starvation and diseases. A more recent British Parliamentary Report has estimated that over 300,000 people have died, and others have estimated even more.

In March 2005, the UN's Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland estimated that 10,000 were dying each month excluding deaths due to ethnic violence. An estimated 2.7 million people had at that time been displaced from their homes, mostly seeking refuge in camps in Darfur's major towns. Two hundred thousand had fled to neighboring Chad. Reports of violent deaths compiled by the UN indicate between 6,000 and 7,000 fatalities from 2004 to 2007. There was war within Islam, war along the margins of the North and South, the holy war in Nuba Mountains and the recent rancor and civil unrest for the secession of south Sudan. All these claimed lots of life and properties. Douglas Johnson (2003.29, 59,127-132).

Ethiopia

The root cause of Ethiopian civil war was Eritrea's demand for independence which was attained in 1991 after over thirty years of armed struggle. Eritrea was an Italian colony from 1889 to 1941 and from 1941 to 1952 the British took over the administration of Eritrea after which it became an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia under the United Nations plan. Ethiopia did not follow the plan following its annexation in 1961; therefore Eritrea decided to be independent. Emperor Haile Silesia who was the ruler of Ethiopia was known for settling disputes in other African countries but ignored the problem under his nose and most African leaders did not help out due to the great influence he wielded in other nations until his overthrow in 1974 which exposed the problem into public light. In 1977 at the assembly of head of states in Libreville, Ethiopia and Sudan heaped blame on each other thereby exposing that the cause of their problem is Eritrea and a nine nation ad-hoc mediation committee was set up under the chairmanship of Sierraleone to look into the matter and restore peace. The committee only succeeded in uniting Ethiopia and Sudan but Eritrea was left to

keep suffering and it degenerated into civil war that claimed lots of" life and property leading to a great famine that took many more lives. But in 1991, Eritrea became independent and Mr Issias Afwerki the first president lamented about the negative contribution of other African nations towards their struggle for independence.

Eritrea claimed that 19,000 Eritrean soldiers were killed during the conflict; most reports put the total war casualties from both sides as being around 70,000. All these figures have been contested and other news reports simply state that "tens of thousands" or "as many as 100,000" were killed in the war. The fighting led to massive internal displacement in both countries as civilians fled the war zone. Ethiopia expelled 77,000 Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin it deemed to be security risk, thus compounding Eritrea's refugee problem. The majority of the 77,000 Eritrean and Ethiopians of Eritrean origins were considered well off by the Ethiopian standard of living. They were deported after their belongings had been confiscated. On the Eritrean side, around 7,500 Ethiopians living in Eritrea were interned, and thousands of others were deported. Thousands more remain in Eritrea, many of whom are unable to pay the 1,000 Birr tax on Ethiopians relocating to Ethiopia. According to Human Rights Watch, detainees on both sides were subject in some cases to torture, rape, or other degrading treatment. The economies of both countries were already weak as a result of decades of cold war politics, civil war and drought. The war exacerbated these problems, resulting in food shortages. Prior to the war, much of Eritrea's trade was with Ethiopia, and much of Ethiopia's foreign trade relied on Eritrean roads and ports. Henry Amadi (1998. 118-120).

Nigeria

The Nigerian civil war took place between-1967 and 1970. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu of Biafra state in the former eastern region of Nigeria made a declaration of secession which was countered by the then Head of State of Nigeria Col. Yakubu Gowon. Gowon mobilized the rest of the army still loyal to the federal government to recover back the eastern region of Nigeria and also warned other African states not to recognize Biafra as a state. On July 6th 1967, war broke out between Biafra and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Several nations were sympathetic. Lesotho asked O.A.U to intervene before the war deteriorates and becomes complex. When Biafran soldiers advanced from the East to mid western part of Nigeria in conquest, Gowon was forced to stop using the police action to total war and he got the support of Britain who supplied him weapons and the Soviet supplied him aircrafts. Biafra expected countries like Guinea and Algeria to sympathize with them but the war lost its original ideological touch and turned into a tribal war as it continued.

Egypt and Sudan supported the federal government of Nigeria and even sold aircrafts to them and also sent Egyptian pilots to pilot the Soviet fighters and jet bombers. In the process of this war many atrocities were committed. Food importation was blocked by the federal government of Nigeria, lots of people raped, maimed and killed. In fact it was seen as genocide against the Ibo race in Nigeria. A total of about 100,000 military casualties were recorded and between 500,000 and two million civilians died of starvation during the war. The preceding anti-Ibo tribe riot had already taken the lives of about 30,000 people from the Ibo tribe in mostly the northern parts of Nigeria and over one million people had fled from the north back to the east

On the 13th of April 1968, Tanzania recognized Biafra as an independent sovereign entity followed by Gabon on May 8th 1968, Ivory Coast on May 14th 1968, and Zambia on 20th May 1968. Seeing the bloodshed and deaths, the world thought it hard for Nigeria to be one again. All the countries that recognized Biafra had their diplomatic ties with Nigeria severed. On the 5th of August 1968, O.A.U created the principle of "AIR AND LAND MERCY CORRIDORS" for the transportation of relief supplies to the civilian victims of the war. Series of negotiations were made until Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu's flight out of Nigeria handing over to Col. Effiong who negotiated surrender and on the 15th of January 1970 signed the act of surrender ending the Biafran secession and civil war in Nigeria. Henry Amadi (1998.132-141).

Somali

The Somali civil war was caused by the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial legacies. Somalia has main five ethnic groups, the Darod 35%, the Hawiye 23%, the Issaq 23%, the Dighil 4% and the Rahanwenyne and the Dirtho 7%. These clans in pre-colonial era had a system of settling disputes and of food and pasture through their elders and by compensation. Though there were mis understandings but it never escalated out of control into total anarchy. But the colonial government on arrival undermined the authorities of the elders without erasing the clan loyalties. The Italian, French and British had influences in Somali and in 1965 at independence there was the former British Somali and the former Italian Somali.

After Major General Mohammed Siad Barre came into government through a coup in 1969, he instituted lots of policies that brought sour relations among the ethnic groups that led to full scale war. His decision to wage the Ogadeh war became the greatest undoing of Somali and the war was tribalistic in nature. Barre made a deal with Col. Megistu of Ethiopia to cease supporting each others dissidents who were then getting support from Ethiopia, this angered the rebels and they decided to

come and fight at home and in two months Somalia faced one of the largest insurgencies that it has ever witnessed since her independence. Barre abdicated and fled towards the Kenya border and Somali was broken into different factions.

As of December 2008, it was verified that 16,210 civilians had been killed and 29,000 wounded since the start of the insurgency in December 2006. In September of that year, it was documented that 1.9 million civilians had been displaced from their homes in Mogadishu alone during the year 2007. Islamist fighters in Somalia opened a completely new aspect to the Somali Civil War with suicide attacks. Here is a list of reported attacks:

- On June 3rd, 2007 a truck full of bombs exploded outside the home of the Somali interim Prime Minister, Ali Mohamed Ghedi. At least six people were killed and 10 injured.
- On February 22, 2009, al-Shabaab carried out a suicide car bomb attack against an African Union Military Base in Mogadishu, killing at least 11 Burundian peace keepers.
- On December 3, 2009, an Al-Shabaab militant dressed as a woman entered a medical school graduation ceremony and blew himself up killing 23 people including three ministers of the Transitional Federal Government

Till now, Somalia has not recovered from the destructions of war which took many lives and properties and the dignity of the nation. Henry Amadi (1998.158-168)

2.3 CAUSES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

2.3.1 Globalization and Development

Despite the fact that there are wonderful, great and lofty advantages in linking the world as one human family, there are disadvantages also. Globalization has generated economic disparities in the capital markets of the world and it has eroded the values of the primary communities today. Many people have lost their values for established patterns of social life; it resulted into ethnic fragmentation, abandonment of local identities as well as cultural and ethnic absolutism. The above is the opposite of what globalization is desired to achieve, like improved standard of living for those in the developing world. This is not yet a reality. Globalization and development have caused the partitioning of the world to different categories causing some to be more valued than the others and when unequal opportunities for scarce resources, goods and services are experienced, perceptions for social inequality widens, hence this results in intolerance and political instability, open hostilities and violent demonstrations. Globalization and development when taken to the extreme have cost some countries particularly in Africa to deteriorate (Nthamburi, 2009:73).

2.3.2 Incompatibility of Goals

When goals, visions and objectives are not compatible among different parties it causes political violence. Incompatibility is a sign of disunity. It plays itself out by causing people to have conflicting goals and agendas in life. This is the reason for a lot of break aways in groups and parties. The value of the objectives being sought by the parties involved is proportional to the intensity of the conflict they experience. When goals are not compatible, a group may want to use force to cause the other to buy into their idea or run along the vision of their goals. This may end as just a little friction or a major war at the long run depending on the ability of the groups to settle down to dialogue, understand, compromise and agree against their disagreements.

According to Mudida, (2009.80) Physical violence involves the deliberate use of force to injure, subdue or kill another human being. Structural violence, on the other hand, is a type of conflict which is embedded in structure of relationships and interactions". Structural violence is when a man is influenced to the extent that their mental realization is below their potential realization. When given a level of insight and resources, potential realization is that which is possible but when such resources are monopolized, then potentials cannot be realized. This is a sign that there is violence in the system. This is why structural violence is not easy to identify, it could finally metamorphose into the foundational roots of physical violence which when ignored can continue the cycle of physical violence. Therefore when there is no mutual agreement among different parties violence is the end result.

2.3.3 Competing Identities, Loyalties and Interests.

Competing identities, loyalties and interests is another cause of political violence. Identity is a way through which people define themselves side by side other groups. It is used to re-in force patterns of social relationship among members of a given community. Loyalty is the ability to submit to a person or an idea or institution due to fear, interest or will. It is the greatest key to the command of followership. Interest is attraction that pulls out someone's will to adhere to or stick to a thing. Politically, when there are competing identities, loyalties and interests, it creates lack of equilibrium and a state of mistrust resulting in disengagement either gradually or immediately. It breeds competition and a feeling of being more superior to the other. Changing identities is the evaluation of differences, attitudes and relationships between social groups. It shapes social perceptions in a political process. Ethnic groups have their identities, loyalties and interests, these drives them to compete with others for scarce economic resources and political power with a mentality that if the president comes from their ethnic group, he will manipulate the state machinery to benefit his ethnic

group, hence the struggle state control (Tarimo, 2009:26).

The assimilation of some of the colonizers ideologies and traditions is one of the greatest undoing of the African anti-colonial and post colonial era. According to Solofo (1996:20-28) African political elites and intellectuals fell into disillusionment following the nationalism which was as a result of the anti-colonial ideology of extolling national unity against foreign oppression and oppressors through the policies of divide and rule and total assimilation. It was gradually transformed into a well accepted ideology by the elites in Africa.

Divide and rule was adopted by the British as a means to govern African states due to the plurality of ethnic groups which existed in them and the policy of total assimilation was adopted by the French government to colonize African states by imposing their cultures and manner of life and dressing on them thereby eradicating opposition and making their culture more superior to the African states. Most African states have Oligarchy background added to the colonial power they have just acquired from the colonialist made them restrict available resources so as to exalt elite rivalry among the groups that control power. These rivalries increasingly led to ethnic mobilization to the manipulation of cultural and group identities of groups. It resulted in the manipulation of ethno-nationalist demands in an attempt to mobilize groups by their cultural origin giving birth to economical and political rivalries rooted in ethnic rivalries and conflict.

Ethnic groups in African rural societies stand to defend themselves against globalizing systems but at the heart of these ethnic groups exists conflicts of interests which in fact are their very essence. Even within modern elites, educational and economical differences generate conflict in the competition for power which becomes institutionalized in violence and civil wars as a mode of gaining access to power and expressing the superiority of their identities, loyalties and interests. Since most African countries comprise of lots of heterogeneous groups seeking recognition and power to control the state.

2.4 CAUSES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN KENYA

The 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya has a lot of causes but top on the list are political, economic, socio-cultural and psychological factors. The inter connectedness may overlap on each point but according to the KTT Report (2008), the respondents state reasons like lack of transparency and accountability of the electoral commission of Kenya, delayed announcement of the results, incitement of the people by the politicians to evict migrant ethnic groups, greed for power by political leaders, poor deliberations of historical grievances especially concerning land and wealth and sycophancy and idleness of the youth

According to Ocharo (2002:279) though Kenyans exhibit instinctive liking, they are lacking in common purpose. Instinctive liking, he says is the human drive to relate with, talk with, play with one another, while the common purpose is when common things and agendas of life bring people together causing a bond to form. He observes that Kenyans only take pleasure in each other's company, communicate with each other, work and play with each other when they must, but they have failed to build a nation. This was traced to ethnicity. He buttressed this in his discoveries in the 1992 and 1997 elections respectively. It is exhibited in the concept of block voting making people of one tribe to vote in a consolidated manner around one of their own. This trend has been maintained by various ethnic groups like the Kikuyu, Luhya and, Kamba tribes. Following the outcome of this trend in the past history of the nation it escalated in 2007 and 2008.

2.4.1 Political

The KTT Report (2008:19-20) states that about 86.6% of their respondents have opinions the behavior of the electoral commission of Kenya and politicians are the major cause of the violence. They saw the electoral commission as a political apparatus of the party of the incumbent president Mwai Kibaki, who unilaterally appointed its commissioners coupled with the delay in announcement of the elections result, the chairman's (Kivuitu) own claim live on radio and television broadcast that the electoral team was cooking results and the swearing in of Kibaki as president at an odd hour of 6.p.m. about one quarter of their respondents attributed the cause of the violence to direct incitement of ethnic groups by politicians against each other and the greed for power. These expressed the deep seated/ rooted ethnic and historical mistrust amongst them.

The post election violence gave birth to deep political apathy and fear in participating in political activities nationwide. People had a feeling of despair, loss of trust on political leaders, thus Kenyans began to trust foreign bodies like UN, EU, UK AND USA more than their own country men and women to mediate on the voting irregularities and protect their lives and properties. It made the

administrative bodies like the police to lose respect. The violence caused retreatism to communal feeling, anxiety and great tension making the ethnic suspiciousness to be stiffer (KTT Report, 2008:27)

2.4.2 Economical

The KTT report (2008) Report further considered economic causes of the violence as those relating to means of livelihoods including ownership and control of means of production including land-capital and labor. Historical grievances abound, especially concerning land and wealth distribution in Kenya as one of the major causes of ethnic conflicts. According to the same report, it revealed that there are major grievances against the kikuyu's dominance in ownership of land and businesses in major urban areas outside the Mt Kenya regions since they do not allow other communities to own land and or do business in Kikuyu homeland. The kikuyu accusation is from the eight provinces in Kenya; Central province is the most homogenous in ethnic composition, where 96 percent of the people living in the province were kikuyu. The kikuyu were largest migrant group constituting 15 percent of the population in Rift Valley while the dominant group, the kalenjin, made up 51 percent. It is known worldwide that in migration people move from a point of scarcity and or stiff competition to a place of greener pasture, and knowing the kikuyu's love for enterprise, it is unlikely that other communities can penetrate in kikuyu land as the kikuyu have done outside their homeland. Other economic factors leading to the violence includes poverty, unemployment, and lack of economic empowerment and envy of the rich by the poor leading to looting of the property of the rich by the poor (KTT Report, 2008:21).

The economic consequences of conflicts encompass the opportunity costs of the menace which is the foreign income and economic opportunities lost due to the war at all levels. Such costs includes expenditures by the government on law enforcement to combat the violence, feeding, protecting and resettling efforts of IDPs by the government and stakeholders, expenditures on peacemaking efforts, illegal expenditures on informal groups and freezing of economic support by foreign partners and disruption of means of income. The post election violence in- Kenya brought a lot of inflation with all that was mentioned above bringing about high cost of living nationwide. It brought increased unemployment due to destroyed businesses, ethnic polarization of business activities and the loss of bread winners to death during the violence (KTT Report 2008:27).

2.4.3 Psychosocial

The socio-cultural and psychosocial perspective here concerns collective perceptions of the community because people fight for members of their own community who they may have never interacted with. For example, the Mungiki menace against the Luo and Kalenjin in Naivasha, Nakuru and Nairobi began, the Kikuyu considered them as their savior or heroes despite the fact that only few months before, the same group had done similar menace amongst the Kikuyu in Nairobi and Central province. (KTT Report, 2008.22) It is noteworthy that according to the same report, in ethnic conflict, collective perception revolves around creation and projection of who they perceive as the enemy, leading to dehumanization, animalization, and rationalization of violence including slaughter.

This study captured these collective perceptions in terms of ethnocentrism which is expressed in form of stereotyping. The study found that there was intense negative inter-ethnic stereotyping and positive intra-ethnic stereotyping. The Kikuyu stereotyped the Luo and Kalenjin as lazy people who are blind to the opportunities around them and as ethnic chauvinists. The Kikuyu also stereotyped themselves as industrious and argued that other ethnic communities are jealous of them thereby victimizing them. On the other hand, the Luo and Kalenjin stereotyped the Kikuyu as arrogant, selfish, dubious and as ethnic chauvinists.

2.4.4 Psychological

Political attitude can be developed through classical and instrumental conditioning. Classical conditioning is a situation in which an individual's learning is based on association. When there is a stimulus there must be a response and people automatically respond to stimuli after passing through it for a long time and getting accustomed to it. According to Ocharo (2000), people have associated the person of the president with the benefits his people are likely to enjoy. This has given rise to tension between ethnic groups so as to install their tribe's man on the seat and enjoy the privileges attached. He discovered in his research that a lot of Kenyans vote along tribal lines due to classical conditioning. Instrumental conditioning on the other hand is when an individual learns to express the views of his or her superior as the right view even when they know what is actually right. They tend to love and appreciate the praises of their superior and the rewards in cash or kinds that they get for such acts. The instrument here is the reward and it has shaped the political attitude of Kenyans till date.

The psychological consequences of violence occur when people develop a feeling such as phobia which is chronic fear and a feeling of heightened state of insecurity among members of the society. People develop acute sense of insecurity by the violence and a feeling of threat due to painful injuries and ruthlessness with which the perpetrators of the violence executed the menace in the nation. It sowed the seed of social paralysis, public paranoia and mass hysteria (KIPPRA 2004:95-96). Some other psychological reactions include frustration and aggression, psychological trauma, sadism and mop psychology,

2.5 IMPACTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

2.5.1 Women and Children

Women and children are the most impacted in any violence worldwide. Majority of times, it is gender violence as in sexual assault which they are subjected to that makes the violence deeply rooted in their minds for along time. Rape is one of the violent acts committed against women and female children. KNCHR Report, (2008:151) defines rape as an intentional and unlawful committing of the act of penetration with the genital of another without the persons consent, through force, threat, or intimidation of any kind. According to this report, a lot of children were defiled during the post election violence despite that under section 15 of the children act sexual exploitation, child prostitution, inducement or coercion to engage in sexual activity, exposure to pornographic materials and penetration with a child below 11 years attracts a sentence of life imprisonment, child between ages 12 to 15 attracts a sentence of not less than 20 years and ages 16 to 18 attracts a sentence of not less than 15years imprisonment. Under this act anyone who commits the act of gang raping upon conviction is sentenced to life imprisonment. The report has it the from December 30th 2007 to February 2nd 2008 a lot of sexual assault cases were admitted at Nairobi Women's Hospital and many below the ages of 18years as a result of gang rapes carried out by men between 2 to 11 in number.

2.5.2 The Youth

The ministry of youth and sports in Kenya defines the youth as individuals between the ages 15 to 35 and they are estimated to make up 38 percent of the total population of Kenya (GOK, 2007: Vision 2030:139) The youth are faced with lots of challenges as they grow up into maturity and adulthood, such challenges as inability to access post secondary education and training, unemployment, youthful exuberance, not being understood by parents and guardians and immaturity in reasoning and decision making among others. According to KTT Report,(2008.34) the following are the reasons for unemployment among the youth in Kenya- inadequate job opportunities, poor educational

backgrounds, lack of required skill and experience, tribal discrimination, poor national policies and unrealistic expectations among the youth which is exemplified in the youth being choosy about jobs.

Most of the youth who thinks that the reason for their unemployment is due to their tribal differences can easily be manipulated to engage in political and ethnic violence. Such are used to scout and identify the properties of their rival tribe as the case of the 2007/2008 violence in Kenya. They are also used for looting, vandalism, demolition, arson, rape, maiming and murdering of their perceived rival, disruption of businesses and public transportation and educational programs, mounting of barricades and road blocks and conducting extortion from their targets. According to KTT Report (2008:42-43) they engaged in the above in 2007/2008 in Kenya to protest the electoral irregularities as they were incited by political leaders, their need for livelihood and self defense was also a driving force though many of them are opportunists and some are disillusioned due to propagandas and rumors others desire a change in the culture of impunity which is common among the leaders of the nation. Thus the youth engaged in the violence which latter affected their education and future as many were displaced, some died while some were maimed permanently. This has a lot of adverse impact on the future of the nation.

2.5.3 Infrastructure and Development

Violence leaves the geographical location in which it is perpetrated with much desolation and devastation and damage. According to the section 332 of the penal code, any person who willfully and unlawfully sets on fire a building, structure, vessel, vegetable produce, fuel or mine is guilty of arson and liable to life imprisonment. This was extended in section 333 to any person any person who sets fire on crops or attempts to commit arson both of attracts 14years imprisonment sentence (KNCHR Report, 2008:146)

In Nairobi, the worst cases of arson were witnessed as there was malicious damage to properties. Thousands of micro and small scale enterprises were looted, burnt, destroyed. More than 3000 stall in the Toi market was destroyed with goods worth more than a million shillings. According to UN Habitat report, a total of 19 churches were looted and burnt, 800 stalls looted and burnt, 1100 structures looted and burnt and 900 residential houses too. In North Rift region, houses vehicles and peoples homes were burnt and the most notable was the burning of the Kiambaa church in Eldoret with the worshipers inside (KNCHR Report, 2008:146-147). The same took place in South Rift region where non Kalenjin were attacked: it birthed retaliation as the Kipsigis were also attacked.

In Central Rift region, the youth burnt the premises of Orange Democratic Party supporters. The Luo and the Kalenjin's property were looted and burnt; they also set on fire a house where 19 people were consumed to death. In Central Province, 30 acres of hay belonging to the Kenya Agricultural Research institute was burnt. In the coast province 8 persons was set on fire in a house and 11 persons were burnt to death in Malindi. In Nyanza Province Ukwala supermarket, Kibuye market, Ndugu Transport Company were not spared, they were burnt to ashes and destroyed. The water sewerage company in Kisumu was also attacked. The youth yanked off a section of the Kenya-Uganda railway line in Nairobi Kibera slum. (KNHCR Report, 2008:146). The violence set the nation back a great deal, it affected all sector of the economy. The impact of the violence is multifarious both in the short term and long run. It left the nation devastated, dry and desolated to the extent that some areas have not recovered till date, hence disrupting development in such places (KTT Report, 2008:25).

2.6 SOCIAL DISTANCE

The use of the concept social distance was started by Georg Simmel in 1923. According to Simmel, in the discussion about the "stranger in sociology" the stranger represents the union of newness and remoteness as he moves out of one social circle and thrives for acceptance in another. It was Robert Park that popularized the concept of social distance in 1924 as the grades and degrees of understanding intimacy that characterized personal and social relations. To this end social distance is based on social norms that differentiate individuals and groups on the basis of race and ethnicity, age, sex, social class, religion or nationality. It is noteworthy that the greater the social distance between individuals and groups the lesser they influence each other. A man called Emory Bogardus operationalised and measured social distance by first asking over 200 participants their willingness to admit members of 39 different racial and ethnic groups to the following:

- a. Close kinship by marriage
- b. Fellow club members
- c. Neighbors
- d. Co-workers in same occupation
- e. Citizens of same country
- f. Visitors in their country
- g. Or as persons to be excluded from, their country.

The scale is un-dimensional and commutative, assuring that at the highest level of acceptance, the respondents would admit members of designated groups to all steps below that level (www.sociologyencyclopedia.com/public/todnod).

According to Bogardus, social distance is a function of affective distance between the members of two groups. He said the center of attention is on the feeling and reactions of a person towards another person or group of people. Furthermore it is a measure of how much or little sympathy the members of a group feel towards another. It can also be calculated on the basis of frequency of interaction between different groups or the normative distinctions in a society about who is considered an insider or outsider. Thus the Bogardus social distance scale, is used to empirically measure people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups. The scale asks people the extent to which they will accept people in different kind of groups

- a. Close relative by marriage (score 1.00)
- b. Close personal friend (score 2.00)
- c. Neighbors on the same street (score 3.00)
- d. Co-workers on the same occupation (score 4.00)
- e. Citizens of same country (5.00)
- f. Only as visitors to ones country (6.00)
- g. Would exclude from ones country (7.00)

(www.brocku.ca/meadproject/bogardus/bogardus_1926.html)

Looking at the above, it can be established that humans everywhere have scales by which they relate with one another considering the factors above. Psychologically, when a man feels hurt it immediately causes a kind of psychological distance to evolve between him and the one who hurt him. This explains the reason for a lot of separation and divorce in marriage. The affected person begins to keep distance between himself and the one who hurt him even if they live in the same house, at the extreme the victim may want to leave the area or vicinity or country so as to get healed of the emotional trauma of being reminded of the hurt or humiliation which he or she had passed through. Going on the background of this, we want to study the reason or reasons why the people who were displaced during the post election violence sees their perceived violators and how they will want to relate with them in future and the reason why they have not gone back to their former places of residence since the violence is over.

2.7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employed Edward Azar's (1990) theory of protracted social conflict, the functionalist theory of attitude and attitude change and interpersonal dynamics of space.

2.7.1 Protracted Conflict Theory

Edward Azar specialized mainly on what was called quantitative analysis of interstate conflict. Born in 1938 in Lebanon, and schooled in United States as a graduate of international relations. Azar built the peace and conflict data bank at the University of North Carolina and many other works brought him to the main stream of the new conflict resolution fraternity (RamsBotham, 2006 84) according to Azar, the critical factor in protracted social conflict was that it represented the prolonged often violent struggle by communal groups for basic needs like security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation, such were the cases in South Africa and Nigeria, Iran, Cyprus, Sudan, Israel, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Sri-Lanka, Philippines and Northern Ireland. He contrasted three aspects of what is a prevailing orthodoxy in war studies with his own approach.

Firstly, he divided conflict into two, the internal and external dimensions of conflict. He said the external includes civil wars, insurgencies, revolts, coups, protests, riots and revolutions which sociologists and anthropologists and psychologists have pre-occupied themselves with and the second is the internal which consists of interstate wars, crisis, invasions, border conflicts and blockades which scholars of international relations have pre-occupied themselves with. Secondly, he based the framework on functional differentiation of types and aspects of conflict breaking it into sub-groups of psychological, social, political and economical conflicts. Thirdly, he recognizes the tendency to focus on overt, violent conflict while ignoring covert and latent conflict cycles which is the main cause of overt conflicts. There are multiple causal factors and dynamics which is reflected in changing goals, actors, and targets showing clear starting and terminating points.

Fourthly, in the role of international linkages, Azar argued that the role of political economical relations of economic dependency within the international economic system and the network of political-military linkages constitute regional and global patterns of clientage and cross border interests. According to Azar's theory, these four clusters of pre-conditions for protracted social conflict in the event activates overt conflict depending more on contingent actions and strategies, state action strategies and built in mechanisms of conflict. (RamsBotham.2006.87) The above theory

describes the case of Kenya to a large extent. Studying the post election violence one will see the hidden factors that could cause conflict in Kenya over and over again but most persons are looking at other forms of conflict rather than see the little grievances that in latent now but has potential to become overt violence. In fact understanding the impact of post election violence on the direct victims is a necessity because if they are not cured of their wounds it could lead to violence in the future, hence the importance of this study. The above creates a cycle of violence which keeps being refueled time and again moving from overt to covert and vice versa since the roots are not totally discovered and annihilated. This explains why some nations have been having conflicts on nearly the same reason over the years. Generations keep resurrecting and resuscitating it since history is passed down through socialization to other generations.

2.7.2 The Functionalist Theory of Attitude and Attitude Change

An attitude is a learned and enduring tendency or predisposition to evaluate a person, event or situation in a certain way and act in accordance with the evaluation. Its components are social orientation which is underlying inclination to respond to something either favorable or unfavorable. This makes an attitude to be seen as a state of mind. To this end the best way to influence other people's behavior is to influence their state of mind (Zanden, 1987:173-174).

There are three main components of attitude, they include:

1. The cognitive component.
2. The affective component.
3. The behavioral or conative component.

The cognitive component is the mode by which an object is perceived, it is extended to events and situations also. It could be seen as the display of our thoughts, beliefs and ideas about a thing. This is the approach we employ in thinking or getting a mental picture or creating a stereotype.

The affective component consists of emotions and feelings that an object, event or situation evokes in a person. It may be displayed in fear, sympathy, hate, anger, envy, love or contempt.

The behavioral component or the conative component is the tendency to act in certain ways with reference to an object, event or situation. The strong point here is the tendency to act not the action itself. That is why it is conative and it has been discovered that because people like an act in some way does not necessarily mean they will act that way.

In Kenya, there are ways through which things and events are perceived. This is because of the beliefs and ideas people have about the thing. That is why there are stereotypes about tribes and their ways of life in Kenya. People display their emotions on issues and situations hence the fleeing to IDP camps, it could be as a result of fear. The refusal to return could also be affective due to the emotions. Many may love to return but have not taken the action. Hence its behavioral, a desire that is not yet actualized. This study goes a long way to show the actual attitude of the victims, their perceptions; it will be known in the three aspects of attitude.

Theoretically, all humans harbor a wide variety of biological needs like hunger, thirst, sex, sleep, social needs like status, recognition, privileges, and power. Attitudes are determined by the function they perform. People hold unto some attitudes because it performs some goals in their life. According to Katz, there are four types of psychological functions of attitudes:

1. **Adjustment function**
2. **Ego defensive function**
3. **Value expressive function**
4. **Knowledge function**

Adjustment Function

According to Zanden (1987.175) every human being seeks to maximize rewards and minimize punishments. People develop and grow attitudes that help them achieve goals. We tend to stay where we are celebrated not where we are tolerated. We associate with people who boost our sense of self worth. Recognition, security and we run from those who diminish it. The above factor can lead to a change in attitude towards what is giving us what we desire and what we do not.

Ego Defensive Function

This attitude is what people use not to acknowledge basic truths about themselves or the harsh realities of life. It is used as defense mechanism to shield people's inner pain, making them dissociate from trials that bring down their ego, so they pass the blame on others. Ego defensive is claiming the glory and passing the blame to others so as to feel highly esteemed.

Value Expressive Function

This function helps to give positive expression to our central values and the type of person we imagine ourselves to be. It reinforces a sense of self realization, having a self image of ones self as enlightened, conservative or as a militant radical causes one to reinforce ones belief indicating the chosen core values.

Knowledge Function

This function helps supply us with standards of evaluation. Human always seek some degree of order, clarity and stability in our personal frame of reference as we search for meaning and understanding of events that impinge upon us (Zanden, 1987:174-175). In the case of those in the IDP resettlement camps till date, the attitude of remaining there could be serving a function in their life which we shall discover in this study.

Change in Attitude

An old attitude needs change when it no longer satisfies its related need. The above is one of the conditions necessary for the change of attitude. When an attitude no longer serves its function it brings a feeling of frustration or blockage in expression as one deems fit to satisfy ones inner desires and ego. Change of the attitude is inevitable. Old attitudes can be modified or replaced by new ones. Attitude change is achieved by changing a person underlying motivations and personality needs (Zanden, 1986:178). This theory could explain the change in the attitude and life style so far of people in the IDP camp. This could also explain the social distance and interpersonal dynamics that they may be going through.

2.7.3 Interpersonal Dynamics of Space

Space is not neutral. It has social meaning. Many of the terms we use to refer to status are based on spatial analogies: "central figure", "dominant position", "upper echelon"⁵ and "high status" Edward (1966). This is not a surprise as territory and privilege usually go hand in hand. According to Zanden (1986:382) people formulate definitions of situation in terms of spatial distances. Edward T. Hall in 1966 disclosed four social significance of space namely:

- > **Intimate distance**
- > **Personal distance**
- > **Social distance, and**
- > **Public distance.**

Intimate Distance

This is a case of close phase-actual contact. It is the distance of making love, showing warmth in friendships, children clinging and holding to their parents, etc. The far phase of intimate distance is 6 to 18 inches. When there is bodily contact, detecting of the heat and odor of another person's breathe. Many people tend to experience discomfort at this distance in the presence of a stranger. At this distance speaking tends to be very, low or even in a whisper.

Personal Distance

The close phase is between 1.5 to 2.5 feet, at this distance; individuals can still hold or grasp hands. Wives and husbands often find it threatening if another woman or man moves into this zone with their partner. Conversations are carried out in soft voices indoors and at moderate volumes outside. The far phase is between 2.5 to 4 feet. Since we cannot comfortably touch one another at this distance, it lends a measure of privacy to an encounter; it keeps others at arm's length. People we encounter on the street, we usually chat with them at this range with moderate voices

Social Distance

The close phase is between 4 to 7 feet. At people tend to shift their gaze back and forth from eye-to-eye or from eyes-to-mouth. We use it to transact our impersonal business. Like the distance between the customer and store clerks. It is used to dominate a seated subordinate, such as a secretary or receptionist. Speaking is at full voice. The far phase is between 7 to 12 feet. It is the range at which office desks hold visitors. It enables a boss to remain seated and look up at a subordinate without losing status. It requires continual eye contact, or else the other person is shut out and the conversation terminated. Voices are usually louder and can be heard in an adjoining room if the door remains open.

Public Distance

The close phase is between 12 feet to 25 feet. At this distance words and sentences are more formal and carefully chosen. It is suited to a variety of gatherings, including small class room setting involving a lecturer and students. In situation of possible danger, at this distance an alert person can take evasive or defensive action. Voices are loud but not necessarily in full volume. The far phase is about 25 feet or more. This distance is given to important public figures and voice tend to be at full volume or even with a public address system.

In this study, the social significance of distances and space which the victims of the 2007/2008 have created for themselves so as to feel comfortable and not under threat by their perceived perpetrators was looked into verbalization of their attitudes, emotions and feelings and how it affects their overt behavior to the society at large in relation to the above social psychological theories. How they have defended their territorial violations and reactions to invasions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a description of the procedure to be followed in conducting the research. It entails the research design, description of locate, the target population, sample and sampling procedures, sources of data, research instruments, validity and reliability of instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This is the process of acquiring data and conducting a scientifically empirical test to support or refute knowledge. This research employed a descriptive and qualitative method of analysis. Some bit of quantitative methods was used to quantify the statistical information that was obtained as the opinion of the respondents was measured.

According to Nachmias (1996), research design is a program that guides the investigator as he or she acquires, analyzes and interprets observations. To provide adequate interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation, this research employed the descriptive method. Gay (1981) argues that a descriptive study determines and reports the way things are and commonly involves assessing attitudes, opinions, organizations and procedures.

3.3 TARGET POPULATION

Population is an entire group of individuals, events or objects with some common observable characteristics (Mugenda, 2003). The target population of this study was 180 household heads of residents of pipeline IDP resettlement camp who has been living there from 2008 till date 2010 and the social workers within the camp who manage the clinic, nursery school and organize the people from time to time. The residents are in two groups which are the people from Molo and Makongeni, a total of 595 families and 6,500 people. Though 180 questionnaires were distributed, only 131 was returned therefore the focus of this study is on the 131 heads of households who answered the questionnaire from the two sub-divisions to represent the entire population and ten social workers were needed for the focus group discussion from different organizations but a total of six (6) were available and favorably disposed towards this research.

Among the six, three were teachers in the nursery school on the camp, one was a nursing officer, another one was an administrative police officer and the last one was a social worker. Four were female, while two were male; five were married while only one was unmarried. Three were between

the ages of 15 to 30; two were between the ages of 31 to 45 while the remaining one was not specific. One attained primary education, three attained secondary education while two were graduates of tertiary institution

3.4. SAMPLING AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

A small portion of a target population is known as sample. According to Mr. Joseph Kuria, the secretary of the Makongeni people of the Pipeline IDP resettlement camp, the people of Makongeni comprises of 371 families on a six acres of land each family is settled on a 21 by 27 feet land space and with a support of 10,000 shillings from the government after the coalition government came into office. The Molo people are settled on 10 acres of land and they comprise of 224 families. To this end this study employed proportionate random sampling in order to determine the sample size for each of the two sub-divisions and to ensure that the sample is representative of the entire residents in the IDP resettlement camp as the desired sample size is 180 house hold heads in the camp though 131 questionnaires were recovered. A sample from each sub-division was obtained using simple random sampling and purposive sampling method to pick respondents from each sub-division. According to Kahn (1988), the larger the sample, the smaller the magnitude of sampling error and the greater the likelihood that the sample is representative of the population.

3.5 SOURCES OF DATA

This research employed both primary and secondary sources of data. According to Nachmias (1996), Primary source of data is the collection of data in a natural setting in which the researcher either collects data personally or through trained observers and interviews and field experimentation. To this end, the primary sources for the study is interviews, observations, first hand information from the residents and stakeholders in the pipeline IDP resettlement camp on their verbalized socio-economic and psychological impact of the post election violence with the intention of deducing the predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups. The primary data came from the residents of Pipeline IDP resettlement camp which is located 15kms from Nakuru, 155 kms to Nairobi with a population of 595 families and 6,500 people comprising of Molo and Makongeni people.

Interview was conducted with already structured questionnaires for the social workers and volunteers in the resettlement camp. The secondary data are information used to analyze, evaluate, interpret or criticize primary data and in this study they consist of relevant research reports on the subject matter, books, articles, statistics, and documents from thesis and World Wide Web information which are reviewed to enhance the reliability and validity of this study since they have been in existence before this research.

3.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The main instrument for this research was questionnaires and interview guides for data collection. According to Gay (1976) questionnaires give respondents freedom to express their views or opinion and also make suggestions. And its anonymity helps produce candid answers. Questionnaires are assessment devices having a set of closed-ended and open-ended questions or both that is used for the purpose of gathering data from individuals. Interview guides consists of less structured questions mainly guided by the purpose in general. It is based on social interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. The interviewer initiates and controls the exchange in order to obtain quantifiable and comparable information relevant to emerging or previously stated questions. The Bogardus social distance scale was used to determine the distances between the victims and their perceived violators.

The various instruments were to help synchronize and clarify the information acquired for this study. The data collection procedure included a prior visit to familiarize with the authorities of the camp and intimating them of the intentions formally before beginning the research process, secondly, the design of the questionnaire and interview guide and pre-test for reliability. Thirdly, the administration of the questionnaires to respondents and collection of the completed questionnaires; the setting and execution of interviews in the place and time convenient for the selected respondents. A period of two weeks was used to complete this exercise with the aid of a research assistant.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

Data analysis began with checking for completeness of raw data collected for accuracy, usefulness and completeness. This was from the questionnaires and notes collected during the field exercise. The data was tabulated and edited, according to Lokesh (1984) recording and classifying the data in qualified terms. Data analysis was done using descriptive statistics such as frequencies, bar charts, pie charts and percentages. The use of MS Excel program computer sheet was employed. This was designed and developed by the researcher and a computer expert. Tables and graphical representations were used to present data. The research findings were directly from the results of the analyzed data. It also formed the basis of conclusions and recommendations of this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research findings of the study on predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups: the case of post election violence victims of Pipeline IDP Camp in Nakuru. Data was collected using questionnaires, interview guides for focus group discussion and the responses were descriptively analyzed and the results are presented in this chapter. The statistical aspects are presented in form of tables, frequency distributions and percentages.

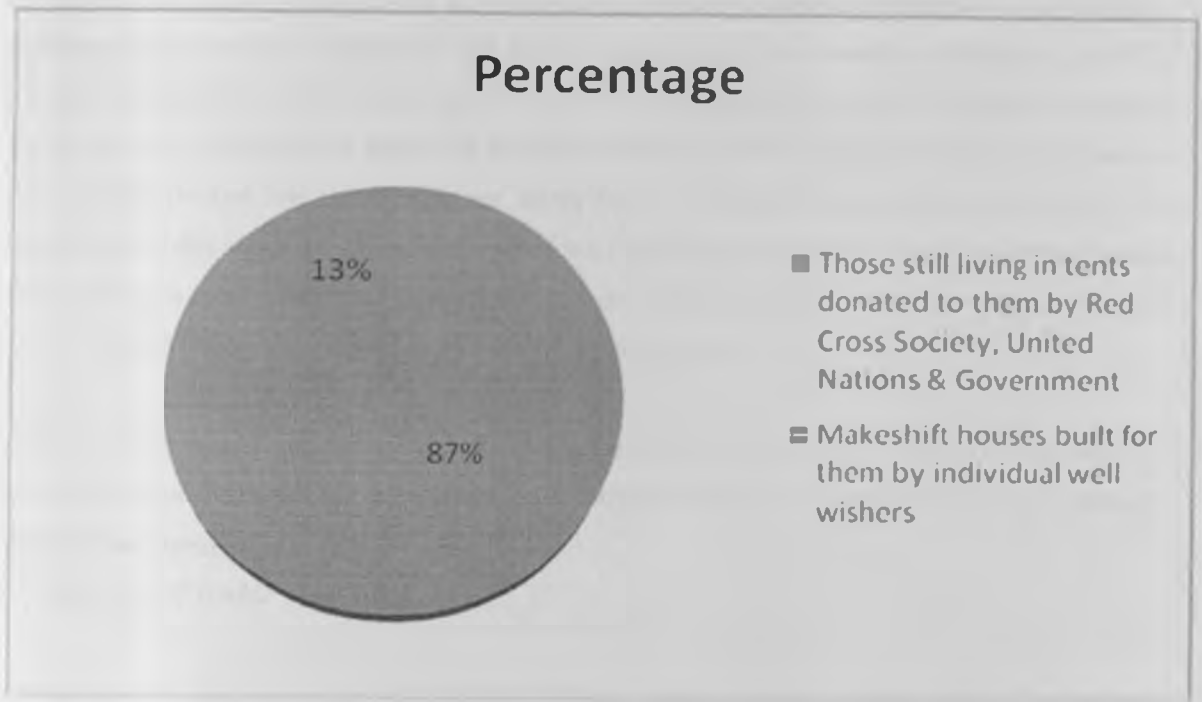
This chapter is organized thematically in sections and subsections corresponding to the research questions and objectives as follows: demographic information, welfare level of victims in the camp, documentation of those perceived- to be behind the displacement, predictors of social distances. Intermittently, responses from social workers and analysis of focus group discussion for the youth, men and the women are used to strengthen the findings.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY

4.2.1 Background Information of Respondents

It was imperative to know the distribution of the people in the camp. Out of the 595 households in the camp only 81 (13%) households had make shift houses built for them by individual well wishers, NGO's, churches and other international organizations. The rest 514 (87%) households were still living in the tents donated to them by the Red Cross society, United Nations and the government. A larger number of the residents were still not properly housed as buttressed by the chart below, hence the prevalence of diseases since they are exposed to cold, rain and all forms of weather hazards.

Figure 1: Population of those in Make-shift Houses and Tents in the Camp



Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

According to MOH (2004), when people live in poorly constructed houses that serve as a dwelling for majority in IDP Camps, it predisposes them to respiratory diseases like pneumonia, intestinal worms, diarrhea, and malaria due to overcrowding. Lack of good shelter breeds insecurity, while poor sanitation and deficiency in major social amenities like water and security affect both the physical and psychological well being of the IDPS. The Pipeline IDP's have not been privileged to have enough basic amenities.

4.2.2 Gender Distribution

The respondents were asked to indicate their gender in the questionnaire and the evidence is that (58.78%) were female while men were (41.22%), see table below.

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	54	41.22
Female	77	58.78
Total	131	100

Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

Looking at the above table, it is obvious that women are more in population than the men in the IDP Camp. According to KNCHR (2008), anyone could be victimized during conflicts but women are more threatened since they are vulnerable. This form of vulnerability could lead to a desperate search for security, pushing them to the camp where they can find refuge since women and children worldwide are the most vulnerable in any conflict as the report sums it up. This could be one of the major reasons why women flocked into the IDP camps where they are assured of protection and security. The implication of this is that their basic needs like food, clothing and shelter are grossly inadequate though their security is more guaranteed than when they were in the epic centers of the conflict as one of the women quoted below, complained in the focus group discussion:

“The government and well wishers are doing their best, the security here is fine, but the shelter, food and other basic amenities are not enough since there are many of us here, and we have been here longer than expected”

-WOMAN, IDP CAMP NAKURU FGD

It is noteworthy that during the post election violence, gender violence such as raping of women and female children was rampant, from 30th December, 2007 to 2nd February 2008 a lot of such cases were admitted at Nairobi Women’s hospital. (KNCHR 2008). According to the same report, the act of raping and inflicting of other forms of violence was as a result of tribal prejudice and discrimination, to punish women from other tribes. So women and ladies were in danger of sexual assaults during the violence and needed protection and security and the IDP Camp was the easily accessible alternative.

Using the functionalist theory of attitude and attitude change enumerated in chapter two of this study, attitudes can be adjusted since people grow and develop attitudes that help them achieve specific goals, associating with those who boost their sense of self worth especially when there is a need and a burning desire. Under this theory an attitude needs change when it no longer satisfies its related need. To this end women may be tempted to change their attitude of faithfulness to their spouses under the harsh condition in the camp in comparison to the comforts of their home to falling into commercial sex work and other undignifying work just to meet ends need or due to peer influence. Furthermore, this implies that the need in the camp will be more female gender sensitive, as there will be more need for sanitary towels, female clothing and cosmetics among others.

4.2.3 Marital Status

The respondents were asked to indicate their marital status, their responses revealed that the singles were 22.14 percent, married 56.49 percent, separated 0.76 percent, divorced 3.82 percent, widowers 1.53 percent, widows 12.97 percent and unspecified 2.29 percent. The marital status gave insight to the researcher on various issues, since majority of the respondents were female. The highest were the married people with 56.49 percent as illustrated by the table below.

TABLE 2: The Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	29	22.14
Married	74	56.49
Separated	1	0.76
Divorce	5	3.82
Widower	2	1.53
Widows	17	12.97
Unspecified	3	2.29
Total	131	100

Source: pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

The study attempted to establish the reason why the 22.14 percent singles were in the camp. Maybe due to the loss of means of livelihood, loss of bread winners and sponsors or due to fear and intimidation by the perpetrators of the violence hence the need to seek for refuge in the IDP Camps. This represents a set of people who are upwardly mobile and very ambitious in their aspirations for a better future. It is more probable that whereas there being in camps is temporal, there continued stay could be socially unsafe. Going by the theories of attitude formation, some of them could develop attitudes that will turn them into social deviants making them misfits in the society. Further, having singles in the camp for a long time could also affect their choice of spouse since they are confined to the camp and are limited in their choices to those around them who may not be the best for them given a better situation.

On the other hand, study established that married people were the majority (56.49%). It could be due to the fact that the camp was perceived as the most secure place of refuge during the violence. It also shows that whole families were affected by the violence. The implication of having families in the camp could make the effect of the impact of the violence deeply ingrained into the hearts of those

affected leading to psychological complex hurt which is one of the reasons for protracted conflict. According to Edward Azar's theory of (1990), protracted conflict entails conflict that is complex, not easily resolvable, deeply rooted psychologically and lasting over a long period of time.

The family plays the primary role of socialization in a child. Socialization contributes to the human life in two major ways, firstly, by providing the foundation for effective participation in the society from infancy by helping a child to be fitted into the environment culturally and in other areas and secondly by making the society possible by perpetuating it beyond a single generation. Socialization presupposes an appropriate environment. When this is lacking; the child's learning process is distorted, giving room for secondary socialization available in the environment which they find themselves. Zanden (1987:107,113). This implies that most families in the IDP Camp could end up raising psychologically imbalanced children who do not have appropriate environment to develop like other children. This could affect their perceptions about life in future.

The other categories present in the camp were the divorced, separated, widows and widowers. The above categories have numerous challenges because the family responsibility that is easily addressed by two partners in a union is now carried by only one person due to the demise of the other. It was established that some of these situation were caused by the violence making them feel the impact of the post election violence more.

The statement below was made by one of the widows in the focus group discussion for women as she described the impact of the violence.

"I and my children were made to run as my husband was arrested and tortured by the perpetrators of the violence. He died....that is why I am the only one catering for the children. "

-WOMAN, IDP CAMP NAKURU FGD

The above explains the deep impact of the violence on families.

4.2.4. The Age Distribution of Respondents

The data on the age of the respondents revealed that the largest proportion of respondents fell between ages 15 to 30 since they were (35.12%), the second largest was between ages 31 to 45 with (29.77%). The third were those between the ages 46 to 60 years with a frequency of 30 with (22.90%). The least were those above sixty years with (12.21%). It is obvious here that the youthful populations were the majority in the camp. The table below further explains.

TABLE 3: Age Group of Respondents

Age Groups	Frequency	Percentage
15-30	46	35.12
31-45	39	29.77
46-60	30	22.90
60+	16	12.21
Total	131	100

Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

In Kenya, a youth is any individual between ages 15 to 35(GOK, 2007, Vision 2030:139). This set of people mainly comprises young and productive individuals with bright future. Some of them are supposed to be in secondary schools and tertiary institutions but were staying in camps. This translates to a waste of time and inability to adequately compete for limited opportunities for personal development in society. Like any other person in the camp, they too rely on gifts, grants, donations and favors from caring citizens and international communities.

The statement below is from one of the social workers in the camp expressing their concern on the above issue in relation to the mission of their organization in the camp.

“People of this age bracket are our major source of concern in the camp since they are adventurous and restless given the uncomfortable situation in the camp, some get into deviant acts such as theft and rape.” -SOCIAL WORKER, IDP CAMP NAKURU FGD

In line with the functionalist theory of attitude, (Katz, 1960 & Zanden, 1987:174-175). The youth in the camps could be going through psychological changes in which they perceive their plight negatively, using the affective component which deals with the emotional reactions of a person to a situation, event or object: they are likely to display hate, contempt, anger and revenge especially when they remember their violators. The development of the tendencies to act in some of the ways mentioned above is the display of the behavioral component of attitude. Their continued stay in camps under deplorable conditions could further trigger their negative perception toward society which may easily be manifested in violence. Thus there is need for national re-orientation and re-integration of those in the IDPs back into the society as a form of psychological healing, not only for the youthful people but all IDPs who are predisposed to developing a detrimental attitude toward the society.

Those between ages 46 to 60 were the third most populous group in the camp. The reasons for their continued stay in camp could be that they had lost their means of livelihood. This category comprises

old people who may be vulnerable in many ways. Their dependency on the good will of well wishers and kind hearted citizens of the world who are favorably disposed to those in the IDP camps could damage their self esteem and self worth. Having lost their means of livelihood which is a major setback in their life and having no strength and will to start all over again they resign to fate. The implication of this may mean aging in grief, regrets for the loss of all they had lived for because some of them may have lost a fortune including loved ones and accumulated wealth through businesses and other ventures. It could also imply passing down poisonous information to the next generation thereby raising another generation of vengeful people which could be their children or the youth in the camp, through secondary socialization thereby encouraging protracted conflict and negative functional attitude change in the bid to take a pound of flesh from their perceived perpetrators and those who are responsible for their long stay in the camp thereby widening social distance in the nation. It could also mean contracting terminal sicknesses and diseases due to lack of proper care and un-conducive environment and ultimately death in grief. There is need for services to the old like good health facilities that takes care of old people, good homes with warmth and care to help them age gracefully, assurance of peace and security for all they had worked for in life.

The statement below shows some of the experiences of the social workers in the camp as they work among this age group.

“The people of this age group need a lot of counseling due to post traumatic stress disorder. Most of them are depressed and sometimes entertain suicidal thoughts and the desire to die”. –SOCIAL WORKER, IDP CAMP NAKURU FGD

4.2.5. The Educational Qualification of the Respondents

The study researched into the educational qualification of respondents. The data below revealed that the general educational level of respondents was very low since (9.16%) have had no formal education at all. About (50.38%) had primary level education only, (32.83%) attained secondary education while (7.3%) of the respondents had tertiary education (university degrees, polytechnics or colleges). The researcher engaged the services of interpreters and indigenous research assistants to get adequate information from the respondents especially the (9.16%) who had no formal education. The above report is further illustrated by the table below.

TABLE 4: Level of Education

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
No formal education	12	9.16
Primary	66	50.38
Secondary	43	32.83
Tertiary	10	7.63
Total	131	100

Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

It can be deduced therefore that the most affected victims of the post election violence were people with low educational achievements. Overall, people with such characteristics are generally insecure and socially laid back. This could be one of the reasons why perpetrators of the violence took advantage of them.

Those who graduated from primary schools were the highest in number. Since they acquired an average education, they may not be armed with enough information and exposure to protect their families, hence the rampant occurrences of sicknesses, diseases while in camps. According to WHO (2000), education has a lot to do in relation to the health status of individuals and households and when the females are educated they can avert six deaths per thousand in child mortality rates. According to World Bank (1993), education increases opportunities for households to seek relevant information to make a better use of resources available to them to order their lives better. So many of them could not secure or insure their properties against risk like fire, theft and burglary.

Ignorance could be the reason why the people in the IDP Camp have suffered, owing to lack of quality education and exposure in life and this could go a long way to affect their children in future. According to Baron and Byrne (1991:139), conservationists, environmentalists are made through the roles of learning and experience. Some of the reasons why there were IDPs with no formal education could be as a result of inability to meet various financial obligations that comes with education, loss of parents or guardian at a tender age, loss of hope due to their former standard of living before moving to the camp coupled with the fact that they had stayed too long in the camp hoping for the best which has delayed and lack of encouragement, loss of opportunity to further education, psychological trauma of stigmatization experienced before and during the violence from their perceived violators, where they were stereotyped and seen as stains to be removed and fear of returning to former schools since

that was area where they were victimized by their perceived violators which led to their relocating to the IDP Camp. The addition of the above could make them resign to fate and loose their zeal in pursuit of a better life through educational advancement. The above could have happened to some of the victims before the violence in 2007 or after the violence. There are possibilities that the setback in this section of the populace could spill over to the society at large given that the IDPs are part of society.

One of the social workers outlined some reasons why the literacy levels of those in the camp are low as follow:

Some of the reasons for the low level of education among the people in the camp could be inability to meet various financial obligations that comes with education, loss of parents or guardian at a tender age, lack of hope and courage to continue education, psychological trauma of stigmatization and fear of returning to former schools among others.

–SOCIAL WORKER, IDP CAMP NAKURU. FGD

Those with secondary education may have likely paused at this level due to the displacement caused by the post election violence, lack of funds to further education due to death of bread winners, loss of zeal to further education, emerging responsibilities of fending for their family among others. If the above situation remains protracted, it could have an adverse effect on the achievement of the eight dream of the vision 2030 of Kenya which states that “ we all want a Kenya where our children are educated by well trained teachers who will help them achieve their potentials” (www.vision2030.go.ke).

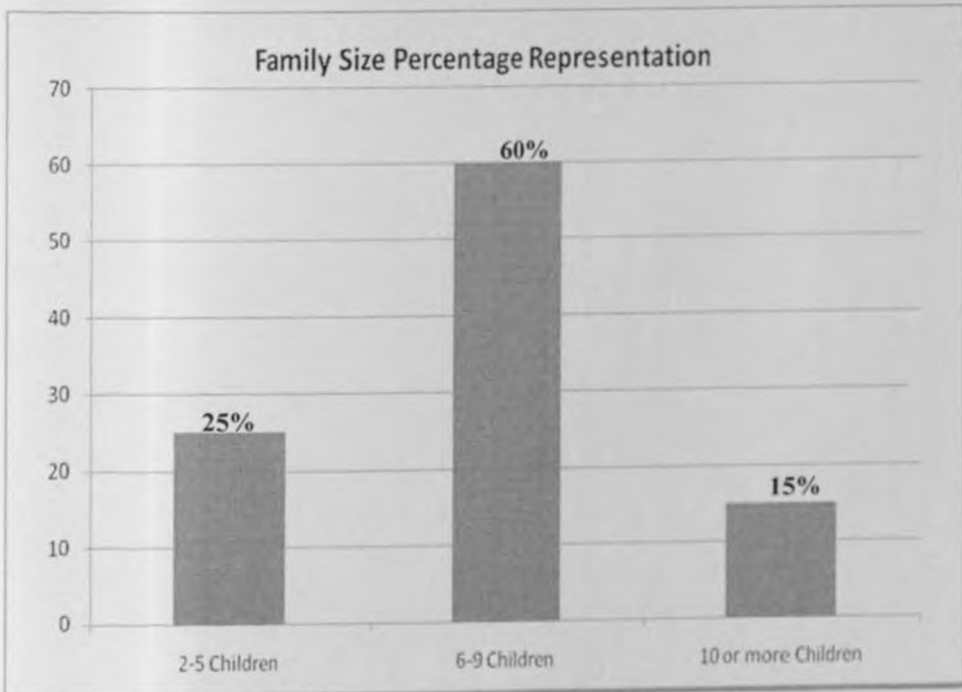
The study established that there were respondents with tertiary level of education but residing in camps. In terms of knowledge and information, this is an advanced category of people, able to lead a productive life. Reasons for their being in camps were varied. According to KNCHR Report (2008), arson, destruction of properties, and looting occurred during the violence and lots of people were victims. The businesses that were looted and set on fire were means of livelihood to many and this could be few literate investors who were preparing for retirement or building their capital base. It was more probable that these businesses and properties were owned by this category of respondents who have been unable to get back to normalcy. The implications of this is that there could arise the breeding of a group of educated brilliant evil inventors, future national critiques, and loss of a set of GEM in

the society or even after they are out of the camp, they will be feeling like misfits in the society. This could cause them to develop deeply rooted bitterness against their perceived violators now and in future.

4.2.6 Family Size: Number of Children

The respondents were asked to indicate the size of their family by the number of children they had. The research established that on average, the number of children in most families was six (60%). The least was two (15%) and the highest was ten excluding the father and mother (25%). With the above, it is apparent that there is congestion in the camp, if six members of a household shares a tent. This could be the reason for the rapid spread of disease and epidemics in the camp and complaints of lack of privacy among the ladies giving rise to the high occurrence of rape and sexual harassment in the camp. According to Oxfam (2009), the link between poverty and the size of the family is very clear. An estimate of poverty levels reveals that about (47%) of households with 7 members or more but could be said to be poor, but it decreases to (20%) in households with 2-3 members. The table below further explains the above findings.

Figure 2: Sizes of Family at the Camp



Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp, November 2010

According to Zanden (1997:107,113), children need primary socialization which is given to them by their parents from infancy to prevent them from living in a vacuum, therefore it became paramount for them to be with their parents despite the displacement thereby causing the family sizes to be as large as six to nine children and on the extreme ten or more children according to the table above.

According to KTT Report (2008), the family is a very important formation for human being. The socio-economic priorities in our world today have made it difficult for parents to play their roles of providing information for the transformation of their children thereby leaving such roles for educational institutions. This could make a child grow up in a vacuum which in turn makes the society have a faction of empty and psychologically deprived people over the years. A major reason for large family sizes in the camp could be due to the fact that whole families which include parents and children moved to the camp for refuge.

The photograph below displays a cross section of the children resident at the camp flaked by a research assistant during the period of the research, you could see some of them with unkempt hair and dirty clothes.

Picture 2

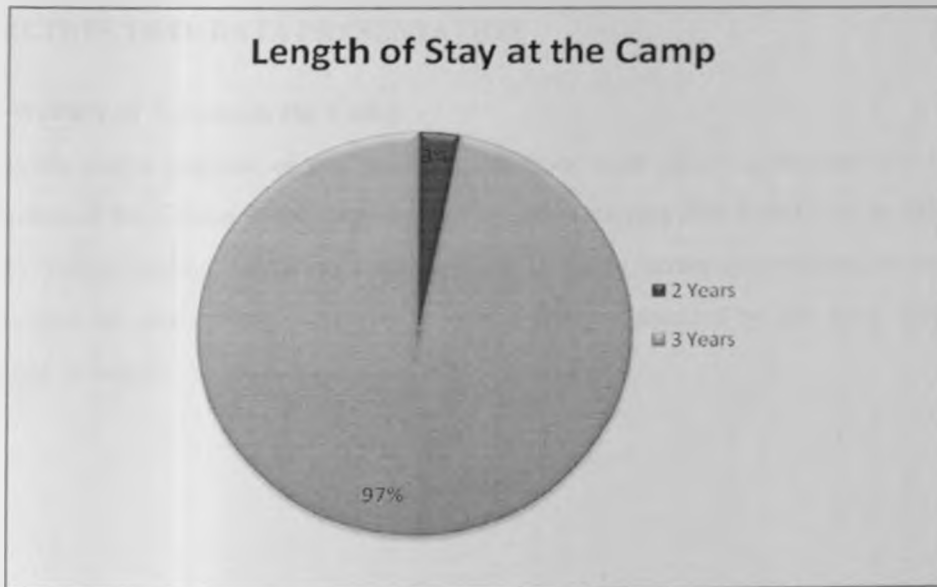


Some Children in Pipeline IDP Camp Source: Field Survey 2008

4.3. Length of Stay in the Camp

As at the time of the study, it was established that about 97 percent of the respondents had lived in the camp for three years while only 3 percent had been there for 2 years as illustrated by the diagram below.

Figure 3: Length of Stay at the Camp



Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp. November 2010

Majority moved to the camp immediately after the post election violence as they were displaced from their homes and properties, while a few others moved to join their loved ones in camps. Other reasons were that others felt insecure living with the other tribes that had displaced their colleagues, thereby strengthening the social distance among them. This reveals incompatibility of goals and competing loyalties and interests as explained in the literature review.

The findings point to another reality that after the post election violence there were some hostilities among ethnic groups. Low levels of trust and tolerance among the ethnic communities were cited and this triggered their trooping to camps. To them, the IDP camps were secure compared to their communities. Insecurity, set back in life, stereotyping, discrimination, prejudices, shame, stigmatization, hopelessness and resigning to fate are part of the reasons why they were still in the camp hoping that the government will execute their promise of a better life for them soon which will cover for some of the stigma they have suffered so far.

The implication of staying long in the camp means most of them were easily losing hope of a better future, development of helplessness attitude which is reinforced by the functionalist theory of attitude and attitude change, loss of balance in life and connectivity to the society at large and hatred for perceived violators which explains the protracted conflict theory. In a society characterized by tribal overtones, such thinking is usually dangerous.

4.4 SECTION TWO: DATA PRESENTATION

4.4.1 Welfare of Victims in the Camp

This is the major segment of the research, questions were asked to ascertain the welfare level of satisfaction of the victims in the camp on various issues ranging from health care facility to educational facility, shelter, feeding, sanitation, transportation, shopping, career opportunities, levels of income and privacy and the study established the following firstly illustrated by the table below and further explained in details

TABLE 5: Level of Satisfaction in Relation to the Provision of Welfare Packages

OPINIONS	Very Satisfied		Satisfied		Indifferent		Un-satisfied		Very Un-satisfied		TOTAL
Health Care Facility	4	3.05%	7	5.34%	23	17.56%	75	57.25%	22	16.80%	131
Education Facility	8	6.10%	19	14.50%	21	16.03%	62	47.33%	21	16.03%	131
Shelter	2	1.53%	0	0%	16	12.21%	63	48.09%	50	38.17%	131
Feeding	4	3.05%	8	6.10%	21	16.03%	79	60.30%	19	14.50%	131
Security	15	11.45%	36	27.48%	27	20.61%	34	25.95%	19	14.50%	131
Sanitation	2	1.53%	3	2.29%	24	18.32%	46	35.11%	56	42.75%	131
Transportation	3	2.29%	10	7.63%	30	22.90%	47	35.88%	41	31.30%	131
Shopping	4	3.05%	9	6.87%	35	26.72%	51	38.93%	32	24.43%	131
Career Opportunities	3	2.29%	2	1.53%	33	25.19%	32	24.43%	61	46.56%	131
Level of Income	3	2.29%	0	0%	24	18.32%	34	25.95%	70	53.44%	131
Privacy	8	6.11%	3	2.29%	26	19.85%	37	28.24%	57	43.51%	131
TOTAL	56		97		280		560		448		1,441
CELL REPRESENTATIVE	3.9%		6.7%		19.4%		38.9%		31.1%		100%

a. Health Care

A scale was designed to capture the level of respondents' satisfaction with the health care facility within the camp. This research observed that the health care facility was not adequate since 57.25 percent of the respondents indicated that they were not satisfied. The camp had two small clinics with few volunteer qualified medical personnel and few drugs relative to the number of persons in the camp. One or two medical personnel were also not adequate and most sicknesses needed specialist attention, which they could not find. This has resulted to high mortality rate in the camp according to one of the social workers on ground in the camp. At the time of research, there were people in tents with various illnesses like pneumonia, cold, cough, anemia, among others. The challenge was also grave to pregnant women. It was established that a pregnant woman in labor had to wait until the

volunteer medical personnel resume work daily or deliver their baby in the traditional way but some have to leave the camp before their expected day of delivery to better hospitals since there are no adequate operational facilities and specialists in the camp.

The statement below is the outcry of one of the medical officers interviewed in the focus group discussion lamenting the inadequate personnel, facilities and amenities in the camp.

“I am here due to posting and do not know the length of my stay here. I have to move when I am reposted to a new location, though it is obvious that we are not enough to serve the need in this camp and the resources here are grossly inadequate”. –Medical Social worker IDP CAMP, NAKURU. FGD

b. Educational Facility

The educational facility in the camp was grossly inadequate for the number of young people and children in the camp since 47.33 percent of them indicated that they were very un-satisfied with the educational facility in the camp. There were only two nursery schools and the other schools were far from the camp requiring long travel before getting to where they were and most parents could not afford the school fees since they themselves had no reliable sources of income. When education is lacking then the opportunities of improvement is bleak and restricted. The huge population of children in the camps made the provisions of educational facility grossly insufficient.

“We do not have adequate facility and the children are many. Surely, we need more hands” –SOCIAL WORKER, IDP CAMP NAKURU. FGD

The statement above was made by one of the social workers in the camp, stating the inadequate educational facility in the camp.

c. Shelter

The shelter situation in the camp was not satisfactory according to the respondents. The heavy rains destroyed the roofs and the floors of the tents had absorbed a lot of water, so they were muddy and marshy making it impossible to sleep under them. This was confirmed by the number of people suffering from malaria and pneumonia in the camp. A good number of the residents were still not properly housed hence the prevalence of diseases since they are exposed to cold, rain and all forms of weather hazards. This is corroborated by KNCHR Report (2008), which observed that the living conditions of most camps continued to be squalid following heavy rains causing insecurity for women and girls resulting in incidents of rape, sexual assault and other form of gender related kinds of violence in the camp. Out of the 595 households in the camp only 13 percent of the households had make-shift houses built for them by individual well wishers, NGO's, churches and other international

organizations, the rest 87 percent were still living in the tents donated to them by the Red Cross society, United Nations and the government. This has led to the outbreak of many diseases in the camp.

The photograph below vividly displays the shelter condition in the camp, dilapidated and inhabitable. The research assistant poses with one of the residents in front of a battered tent in the second picture.

Picture 3



Housing Conditions in Pipeline IDP Camp. Source: Field Survey 2008

d. Feeding

Despite the efforts of the Government, churches and NGOs on the issue of feeding in the IDP Camps, it was established through this study that the feeding program was inadequate since about 60.30 percent of the respondents were dissatisfied saying that the supply was erratic and irregular. Mostly, food supplies were brought in by well wishers, NGOs, Churches or other organization to come to their rescue at different intervals. The provision from the government was also irregular leading to malnutrition and starvation. According to the CIPEV report (2008), *"The IDPs depended mainly on relief food and basically had no way of earning a living. During the initial stages of the violence, there were concerted efforts by both local and international NGO's and well wishers to provide food, water and other basic needs to the residents in IDP camps. However, as the violence subsided, the burden of providing sustenance to the IDPs was left mainly to the Government and the Red Cross. The IDPs complained that the food rations were drastically reduced."* Page279.

d. Security

It was established that majority were satisfied with the security at the camp. The government provided the camp with a police post and the police had ensured that there was always an officer on duty at all times to maintain law and order and also to defend the victims from external aggressions and invasions. Coming from the background of insecurity where people lost their means of livelihood, loved ones, goods and properties it is very necessary to stay in a place where one will be secure so as to heal the psychological wounds of the post election violence. On the other hand, there was need to beef up security in the camp so as not to get the few police men overwhelmed and taxed more than necessary.

e. Sanitation Condition

Most respondents were not satisfied with the sanitation situation of the camp owing to the overflow of the toilets and no response from the county council yet. When sanitation deteriorates, there is outbreak of diseases like cholera, malaria and other health hazards. According to MOH (2004), Malaria, diarrhea and measles have been identified as priority diseases; they contribute to 70 percent health burden of Africa especially among children and in slums the rate rises higher. The Pipeline IDP camp can be compared to a slum in terms of sanitary conditions as can be better observed by the photograph below as the research assistant stands to display stagnant water and unkempt areas of the camp.

Picture 4



Sanitation Conditions in Pipeline IDP Camp. Source: Field Survey 2008

“The toilets are full and we are not sure when the council officials will come and fix it. It is very bad because the residents run to us and we cannot help. We do only what is in our powers. The case has been reported to the appropriate quarters and we are expecting their response”. –SOCIAL WORKER, IDP CAMP NAKURU. FGD

The statement above was made by one of the social workers in response to the sanitation condition in the camp.

g. Transportation

According to the respondents, the transport system was not only unsatisfactory but disappointing. Many times when there was an emergency (mainly medical) there were no means of transportation to the neighboring town or city to seek for assistance. The distance from the express road to the camp is about one and half hours' walking distance and terrain is rough and bushy. Only the tri-cycles popularly known as “TUK-TUK” ply the route. There were no taxis or buses and if they must go there they charge exorbitant prices.

h. Shopping

There were no shops for the purchase of groceries and provisions, majority of the respondents said shopping facilities were not satisfactory. They had to depend on well wishers to bring commodities for them; even those who were given monetary gifts had to travel to neighboring town to purchase basic needs. There were no late night chemists or pharmacies. It was established that although some people could have the capacity to set in-up shops the camp, they were not be motivated due to the lack of steady income stream for IDPs and the prevalent poverty in the camp.

i. Career Opportunities

There were no career opportunities in the camp at all. Majority of the respondents (46.54%) were very un-satisfied. The reason could be that the government and the nation never intended that the internally displaced persons should stay in the camps for a long time but situations and circumstances had made it so that they are spending about 3 years there as at the time of this research. There were no facilities to improve any one's career in the camp. Chances of progress career-wise are very slim so the people in the camp were having truncated career opportunities, stagnancy and setbacks or deterioration which is not beneficial to the individuals and also to the nation.

j. Level of Income

Poverty was very high in the camp; there were no businesses or income generating ventures established so everybody lived almost like a beggar relying on donations from well-wishers. Few times fortunate ones among the residents could be given monetary gifts by well wishers and friends on visit, this is one of the major means of income therefore the income level cannot be rated. Majority of the respondents (79.39 %) of the respondents which are an addition of those who are unsatisfied and very unsatisfied) were on the extreme negative continuum of dissatisfaction. It was like being locked out away from the rest of the world. There was no electricity in the camp; getting information from televisions or radio was therefore almost impossible.

There were no income generating businesses in the camp, so most people were very low on income. It was expected that they could stay in the camp temporarily but alas they had spent three years. When they were coming to the camp there was no plan for employment, business, work, school or permanent house in the camp it was just a temporary make shift place for those seeking refuge from their violators but it ended up becoming a home for the past three years. Due to the destructions of the post election violence, most victims lost their means of livelihood so they were more or less dependants irrespective of age or qualification.

k. Privacy

Compared to other residential settings, in the camp there was no satisfactory privacy. An addition of those who were unsatisfied and very unsatisfied was about 71.75 percent. The tent was the only privacy they have except for the fortunate ones who have the make shift house built for them by some churches and NGOs. The parents and children sleep, eat dress up and do everything in the same place. Some tents were torn; rain or wind storm resulted to limitations in privacy. Therefore the camp is not a place to enjoy any form of privacy whatsoever. Privacy especially for the women was not satisfactory rather disappointing; people's tents were invaded at anytime by wind, storms, rain or even neighbors since it had no proper door. Rape was therefore a possibility. This gave rise to the increase in the number of unwanted pregnancies and children that were unplanned for, due to rape and sexual assaults. This places IDPs at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS since most of the people in the camp are youth who are sexually active and averagely educated not having access to relevant information and cashing into the opportunity of lack of enough privacy in the camp as reported by the one of the social workers in the camp.

l. The Attitude of Respondents/Victims

The observed attitude of the victims in the camp could be described as that of hopelessness and helplessness due to the deterioration of the welfare resources in the camp, and due to the fact that many were just trying to recover from the shock of the losses during the violence. Some of the reasons why the welfare resources were deteriorating could be because the government and well wishers never thought it was going to be this long therefore the provisions made are fast finishing. Another reason could be that as a result of neglect by the government or sabotage of the funds set aside to settle the IDPs (www.standardmedia.co.ke, Thursday, January 7th, 2010.) The main reason why the welfare in the camp was not as adequate like that of a military base or a home is because the IDP Camps are a temporary refuge, which makes the people totally dependent on gifts and grants since there is no other means of livelihood.

In 2008, the KNCHR recommended that the IDPs should be provided with reparations, either in form of restitution or compensation or satisfaction or rehabilitation or guarantees of non-repetition or a combination of all or some of the above and as at the time of this research (November 2010) little or none of the above had been done. In the findings of this research, the implications of the above includes outbreaks of sicknesses and diseases, hunger and emotional trauma compounded with post traumatic stress disorders like depression and insanity on extreme cases, feelings of regrets, setbacks in life, breeding of anger, hatred and revenge, development of opportunistic

attitudes, stealing to satisfy lusts and ambitious desires among the youth, loss of vision for a brighter future and development of a militant spirit of vengeance at the slightest provocation.

J. OPINION OF RESPONDENTS ON THE PROVISION OF VARIOUS WELFARE PACKAGES IN THE CAMP

The cells are assumed to be competing favorably. Each cell has a chance of scoring 100 percent, which means all the respondents could be very satisfied, so the measurement of the level of satisfaction is based on cell representative which is the actual score over expected cell score times 100. And no single indicator can be used to measure opinion.

For those who rated the relationship as very satisfied, it could only measure up to 3.9 percent out of 100 percent; this is very poor and very low. For those who rated the relationship as satisfied, it could only measure up to 6.7 percent out of 100 percent which is just a little higher than the weight of the opinion of those who were very satisfied. For those who were indifferent in rating the relationship, it could only measure up to 19.4 percent out of 100 percent. This is higher than the rating of the very satisfied and satisfied. When people are indifferent it is a sign that they had resigned to fate and do not care anymore which could be as a result of the prevalent present circumstances of hardship in which they found themselves. The attitude of indifference could be a new attitude that they just formed to cope with their present predicament taking a clue from the theory of how attitudes are formed used in this study. People form new attitudes suitable for them as need arises especially if the ones they have before is not satisfying their present need. So being indifferent or resigning to fate reveals the state of helplessness or hopelessness which could be a new attitude to cope with the situation.

One of the youth in the Focus Group Discussion said:

"We have been reduced to beggars by our predicament, so whatever we are offered in the camp is a relief which is bringing us joy. So we cannot complain"

The above statement goes a long way to expose the attitudes of the victim to life as that of "resigned to fate" which could breed uncommon hatred and bitterness towards their perceived violators after realization of the extent of loss and limitations in future.

For those who rated the relationship as unsatisfied, it could only measure up to 38.1 percent which is far higher than the very satisfied and satisfied and even the addition of both weight of opinion on the positive continuum is small compared to it. For those who rated the relationship as very

unsatisfying, it could only measure up to 31.1 percent which though higher than those of the very satisfied and the satisfied but lower than the weight of the opinion of the unsatisfied.

Adding the opinion of those on the positive continuum (very satisfied and the satisfied), it weighed at 10.6 percent out of 100 percent and an addition of those on the negative continuum (unsatisfied and very unsatisfied) which weighed at 70 percent out of 100 percent since 19.4 percent have an indifferent opinion, it shows that the weight of the opinion of those who were not satisfied is heavier than those of the satisfied. According to Maslow's (1970) theory of motivation based on the hierarchy of needs, he argued that humans tend to take care of certain needs before others due to the importance of such needs in their lives. For example, air is more important than water because you can only do without air for few seconds but you can do without water for few days. But water is more important than food because you can do without food for few weeks. In other words air is a more important need than water; water is a more important need than food since you can do without food longer than you can do without water.

Maslow further explained that physiological needs are the first and the most important in life, they include; oxygen, water, food, good health among others without which other needs are very irrelevant to man. Secondly, safety needs like security, protection, order, stability, and defense from fears and anxieties are the next in hierarchy. Thirdly, belonging needs like love, affection, friendship, marriage partner, children and relationships without which one will be lonely and plagued with social anxieties. This need come after the first two are met. Fourthly, the esteem needs like status, respect, appreciation, dignity, authority, reputation and dominance will be desired. Knowing fully well that life can go on without the above; but not without those in the foremost classification. And fifthly, the self actualization needs which is the desire to fulfill ones potential to the fullest.

The above vividly explains the predicament of the internally displaced persons in the camp according to the findings of this study which explains why there are more people who are on the negative continuum of not being satisfied. These set of people may have almost grown to the level of self actualization in life, seeking how to maximize their potentials are reduced to people seeking for basic needs of life which is food, clothing and shelter and good health under the first hierarchy of Maslow's classification. Despite the fact that humans have ability to adjust, it takes time and effort and it cannot be enjoyable if very sudden like the case of the victims of the post election violence. When they are already putting together factors that can give them assurance in life, building social relationships that boosts their self esteem and gathering reputations through

achievements and accomplishments then suddenly reduced to a beggar is psychologically devastating; therefore they cannot be satisfied except they are brought to their former estates or above it.

When a person who could feed others is now looking forward to being fed due to circumstances not his making but imposed by others on him thereby causing him to lose his or her means of livelihood could make the person lose motivation and zeal to live. Inability to meet ends meet and express one's self the way one should because of predicaments not ones making but to the advantage of others could cause one to develop resentment and hatred against his or her perceived violators.

Many of the victims who were doing well before but were reduced to dependants could be nursing bitterness against their violators and such bitterness could lead to revenge given the slightest chance because they have a feeling that they were oppressed. Oppression is when a man is treated unjustly without remedy. Presently this is like the case of the people in the IDP Camps since some of them were evicted by larger or stronger ethnic groups as one of the women said in the Focus Group Discussion.

A person who had health insurance both for himself and his family, good shelter with satisfactory sanitation, good means of income building a better career opportunity, having a good car for transportation, but suddenly reduced to a refugee in his or her own country may not easily forgive those involved in creating the situation. Since they had gained nothing good in the entire saga rather was reduced to endure hardship leading to scarcity of resources which they had in abundance before could lead to protracted conflict.

4.5 PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE AMONG KENYAN ETHNIC GROUPS

The study sought to establish the plight of the victims since the second objective of this study is to document the perceived perpetrators which gave insight and clear understanding of the predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic group. On perceived perpetrators, (16.03%) of the respondent mentioned the politicians, (11.45%) said the youth of various political Parties masterminded and directed by their godfathers were responsible for the violence, (7.63%) said that the management of the electoral process must be blamed for it, (25.19%) said it was electoral malpractice that was behind the post election violence. While (39.70%) said it was tribal incitement that was behind the post election violence. The table below makes it more vivid.

TABLE 7: Predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
POLITICIANS	21	16.03%
MIS-GUIDED YOUTH OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES	15	11.45%
MANAGEMENT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS	10	7.63%
ELECTORAL MAL-PRACTICE	33	25.19%
TRIBAL INCITEMENTS	52	39.70%
TOTAL	131	100%

SOURCE: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp, November 2010

Here we see that majority said it was tribal incitement followed by electoral mal-practice. This goes a long way to prove that tribalism is believed to have caused the post election violence which was in consonance with evidences from the literatures reviewed in this study. Therefore a major predictor of social distance in Kenya could be the social conflict between different tribes in the country. This was in consonance with the literature review of this study whereby many tribes were stereotyped and discriminated against. Ethnic solidarity even in the perpetration of wickedness against other tribes was a major predictor of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups. One of the women in the Focus Group Discussion said “the Kalenjins claimed that the land belongs to their ancestors and they must claim it back”.

On the question of why should they be blamed, majority said they should be blamed for their selfishness in their display of their tribal solidarity which led to loss of lives and properties. Collating the verbal responses of the victims, it is very obvious that ethnicity and tribalism played a major role in the post election violence. Most people supported their tribes since they believed that other tribes could not be trusted. According to Ocharo (2002), Kenyans vote to a higher office for members of their tribe believing that when that member gets to office his or her ethnic group stands to benefit directly. Past governments proved that this kind of politics thrived in Kenya and when someone was found not supporting his own; he was seen as an outcast or a traitor. The grudges of the past, prejudices and stereotypes among tribes went along way to fuel the violence. It was like a good time to revenge.

This study established that another reason that inspired perceived violators included selfish ambitions of leaders and politicians devoid of patriotism and nationalistic ideals, tribal defense and a show of tribal solidarity and a sense of belonging. Other reasons included people displaying sheer

hatred, envy and jealousy and wickedness towards tribes other than theirs especially among those living in the communities not their native lands and are prospering more than the original indigenes. The indigenes tend to hate them calling them "stains" or "aliens" thereby victimizing them KNCHR Report (2008).

A victimized person may never be in good terms with his or her victimizer rather he or she will be looking for a way to escape and revenge his humiliation. Others were incited and induced by their leaders in different positions of authority and the desire to please them. Others joined the violence due to promises of future monetary gains, positions, jobs and expected appreciations in cash or in kinds. Some other reasons were that some ethnic group saw it as an opportunity to show their dominance and supremacy, and attempt to reclaim territories, while others participated for pleasure. KNCHR Report (2008:16-26)

Never the less, the MIS-GUIDED YOUTH OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES according to the table above contributed to the violence therefore another predictor of social distance among Kenyan ethnic group are mis guided youths of various political parties. The youths campaigned for their parties using various means and methods to woo voters, some go to the extent of using blackmail to dissuade voters from voting for other parties, some use tribal incitements since some political parties are dominated by some tribes. Others use economic power to catch voters thereby causing divisions and nepotism and tribalism to thrive in the nation. According to KTT (2008:93), it was clearly stated that there was wide spread perception that cultural identity (in particular ethnicity, regionalism and religion) carries more weight in allocation of national resources and senior state or parastatal position than factors such as need, experience, equity or qualification. So political parties brought a sort of division among the people by propagating tribalism and showing off how closely connected they are to the realms of power to catch their voters and followers at the detriment of nationalism and patriotism.

The POLITICIANS were named as one of the causes of the violence. Because of their desperation to get into power and the obvious gains and prestige attached to it, use all means to achieve their ambition. Though physically close to the people but with selfish ambitions. According to KTT (2008:20), the greed for power by politicians was major triggers of the violence, therefore one of the predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups are politicians who incited the people to evict some ethnic groups.

The MANAGEMENT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS was among those named as one of the causes of the violence according to the findings of this study. The electoral commission was

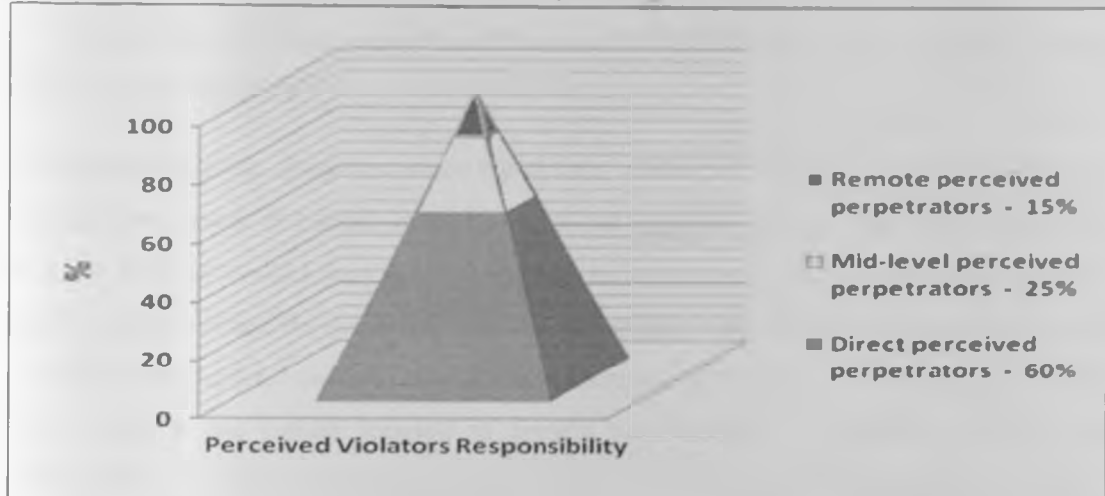
accused of being used as the apparatus or tools of the incumbent government to propagate their agenda; it was noted that the announcement of the winner was at an odd hour of the night and the swearing in of the winner at an odd hour and also in a hurry. The respondents said they suspected that some thing was wrong and that is the reason for the hurry and abnormal practices since the electoral commission could not stand on their own. The attitude of lack of accountability and transparency by the electoral commission and their apparatus was one of the factors that triggered the violence. KTT (2008:20 &97).Some of the respondent said that it has been the norm that those in favor of the government of the day will enjoy after the election while those not in favor will be denied their rights and marginalized. So the attitude of the electoral commission was seen by the respondents to be in favor of the government of the day and this is another predictor of social distance in Kenya. This caused the citizens to be in the same nation but not as one people since the electoral commission cannot be trusted by the people whom it is commissioned to serve due to their personal gains.

ELECTORAL MAL-PRACTICES were identified as one of the causes of the violence in this study. Rigging of election and threats of assassination and actual assassinations, stealing of ballot boxes and papers, kidnapping of returning officers, using money as baits to woo voters, using threats of marginalization to woo voters, forging of ballot papers, hiring of people to mass thumb print for a candidates by the candidates machineries among other electoral mal-practices have always triggered violence in many countries. Nigeria and Ivory Coast sighted in chapter two of this study are examples. Citizens of Kenya protested violently when they felt the electoral process had been manipulated and that it was not free and fair. In the case of Kenya, it was a major trigger as the protesters claimed that the declared winner of the election is not the actual winner, therefore claiming that electoral mal-practice was their reason for protesting. KTT (2008). To this end it can be deduced and proved that electoral mal-practice is one of the predictors of social distance among ethnic groups in Kenya.

According to KNCHR (2008), many accusing fingers pointed at various people, institutions, parties and ethnic groups like the kikuyu's, the kalenjin and the Luo tribe, who fought against each other and killed each other in the violence, but this study has categorized the perceived violators into three main groups using the KNCHR report.

The diagram below illustrates and explains the categorization of the perceived perpetrators.

FIGURE 4: Perceived Violators Responsibility Triangle



Source: KNCHR Report 2008

According to KNCHR Report (2008), the perceived violators were grouped into three categories as displayed in the diagram above, the highest in number and percentage (60%) were the **direct perceived perpetrators** who directly committed the act of violence most of which were the mis guided youth who had nothing to lose according to the law of local discontinuity of progress as argued by Slater (1968), when a child has nothing at stake he does things without thinking of the repercussions and this was the case in the post election violence. This was confirmed by the respondents who said that the youth of various political parties were used by their godfathers and kingpins to perpetrate the violence. The next set of perceived perpetrators were the **mid level perceived perpetrators** who were about (25%) these were those who gave instructions or orders and led the local implementation plans of the violence. This set of people do not have too much at stake, they have at least some things to safeguard that is why they operated a little bit discretely.

The third category though least in percentage (15%) were the **remote perceived perpetrators** who were the overall planners, financiers, instigators and organizers of the post election violence. This set of people have a lot at stake and to safe guard that is why they decided to use the mid level perpetrators and the direct perpetrators to commit the crime. These set of people worked behind the scene, they were not too visible but they are the back bones of the violence but they are seemingly innocent and blameless. Some of the reasons why the direct perceived perpetrators are more could be because they are the poor, easily in-citable citizens who could be moved into doing anything through tribal prejudice which is one of the psychosocial causes of the violence or psychological activation through economical gains promised by the remote perpetrators and political gains

promised them as rewards. It was argued in KTT Report (2008) and in KNCHR Report (2008) that the youth are the most mis used and they form the majority of the direct perpetrators this validates the theory of ego defensive and value expressive function of attitude in the functionalist theory of attitude used in this study.

The implication of the above reasons on the violated victims who are mostly in the IDP camps was the resultant growth in hatred, strengthening social distances between the perpetrators and the violated, cold war's which may result in re-occurrence of violence in any form bringing about set back to individuals and the nation and validating the theory of protracted conflict used in this study. It could destroy nations' visions and personal plans and programs like it was doing to those in the IDPs today. It has caused increase in poverty and number of dependants and the needy economically, causing the victims to have an insecure future. It calls for judgment and justice to be done to avoid the seeking of opportunity to fight back by victims and the violated nationwide it can cause disunity. It could put the Kenya's vision 2030 in jeopardy.

This desire makes the person who wants to revenge to stay aloof from whoever offended him or her seeking for the most opportune time to attack. The above attitude validates the protracted conflict theory and the functionalist theory of attitude formation just to boost ones ego and give a sense of fulfillment and satisfaction after paying back in the same coin or even worse. This kind of plan takes a long time giving birth to social distance.

4.6 SOCIAL DISTANCE

In Kenya there are many tribes but the three major tribes involved in the post election violence are the Kikuyu tribe, the Kalenjin tribe and the Luo tribe. They stereotyped each other with great discrimination and prejudices. This led to the killing, raping, looting and burning of houses and properties belonging to the kikuyu's by the kalenjin and the Luos and vice versa. KTTF (2008). Majority of those found in the IDP camp were from the Kikuyu tribe who claimed to be the violated by the Kalenjin and Luo tribes. A total of 122 people responded to this section of the questionnaire out of the 131 questionnaires recovered from the field. So the 100 percent of this section is made up of 122 responses.

According to Ocharo (2002), the fact that Kenyans have instinctive liking for each other but not common purpose, taking pleasure in each other only when they must, explains further how deteriorated relationships among ethnic groups have gotten, showing an element of mistrust, since the respondents who were from the kikuyu tribe said they will accommodate 6.6 percent of their

perceived violators. (the kalenjin tribe) as close relatives up to the level of intermarrying them. While 9.0 percent said they will accommodate them as close personal friends, 12.3 percent said they will accommodate their violators as neighbors on the same street. Another 9.8 percent said they will accommodate them as co-workers in the same occupation. A total of 17.2 percent said they would accommodate their violators as residents in the same village or town and 21.3 percent said they could accommodate their violators as visitors to their town or village but majority of them, 23.8 percent would want them excluded from their village or town.

On the other hand, 7.4 percent of the respondents who were still from the kikuyu tribe said they can accommodate their perceived violators in this case the Luo tribe as close as intermarrying them, while 9.8 percent said they can accommodate them as close personal friends, 14 percent said they can accommodate them as neighbors, 11.5 percent said they can accommodate them as colleagues in the same occupation, while 29.5 percent said they can accommodate them as citizens of the same village or town, but 22.1 percent said they can have them as visitors to their town or village while a little fraction of 5.7 percent said they would want them excluded from their town or village, as the table below further explains.

TABLE 8: Social Distance Scales on how close the Respondents (The kikuyu's) can accommodate their Perceived Violators (The Kalenjin and Luo tribes).

TRIBES PERCEIVED AS VIOLATORS BY THE KIKUYU TRIBE	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		TOTAL	
	CLOSE KINSHIP BY MARRIAGE		AS PERSONAL FRIEND		AS NEIGHBORS ON THE SAME STREET		AS COLLEAGES IN HE SAME OCCUPATION		AS CITIZENS OF THE SAME TOWN/ VILLAGE		AS VISITORS TO YOUR TOWN/ VILLAGE		WANTS THEM EXCLUDED FROM YOUR TOWN/ VILLAGE			%
KALENJIN	8	6.6%	11	9.0%	15	12.3%	12	9.8%	21	17.2%	26	21.3%	29	23.8%	122	100
LUO	9	7.4%	12	9.8%	17	14%	14	11.5%	36	29.5%	27	22.1%	7	5.7%	122	100

Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

From the above data, it is obvious that the social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups has widened especially among the three major tribes involved in the post election violence (the kikuyu's, kalenjin and the Luos) since only 6.6 percent out of 100 percent could accommodate their kalenjin violators as close relatives by marriage, but those from the Luo stand a better chance since 7.4 percent of the violated kikuyu's said they can marry them. This implies that just a few out of all those affected by the violence has actually forgiven their violators to the extent that if the fate of marriage brings them together they will accept, but others are not ready to accommodate them up to the level of marriage. According to the theory of interpersonal dynamics of space used in this

research, for one to accommodate another up to the level of marriage is called intimate distance. This is the closet form of distance with actual physical contact. It is the distance of love making, showing warmth and affection within 6 to 8 inches. The victims do not want to be too close to their perceived violators since many people seems to experience discomfort at this level especially if they are not close to each other in affection or if they have emotional or physical pains which had been inflicted by the person who is trying to come close to them.

According to Ocharo (2002) instinctive liking is exhibited among Kenyans but they are lacking in common purpose. The common purpose liking is developed when common things and agendas of life brings people together causing a bond to form which is essential in nation building. But the instinctive liking is when people only relate when it is extremely necessary and it is compulsory to relate with people of the same family, kin or ethnic group and those you must work together in the same office. This breeds factions and sub-nations which is ethnicity. If tribal clashes can cause intertribal marriages not to take place or to be broken then the nation cannot have peaceful co-existence among tribes since inter marriages strengthens bonds among tribes in a nation.

Only 9.0 percent of the respondents said they could accommodate their kalenjin perceived violators and 9.8 of their Luo perceived violators as close friends, which is shows more tolerance to the Luos than the kalenjins. These could be those who had forgiven their perceived violators on religious or humanitarian grounds. This is still very little in relation to the total. The distance widens as the violated said they can only accommodate 12.3 percent of their kalenjin perceived violators and 14 percent of their Luo perceived violators on the same street. At this level they can see each other once in a while. Using the theory of interpersonal dynamics of space, this group do not want to accommodate their perceived violators within the intimate distance space of 6 to 8 inches which is for spouses and friends or even personal distance which is 1.5 to 2.5 feet or even the social distance space which is 4 to 7 feet at most 12 feet but are more comfortable with the public distance space which is 12 to 25 feet space or more which creates a formal atmosphere requiring carefulness in interactions in which an alert person can take evasive or defensive actions.

Most of the victims are more comfortable with their perceived violators as citizens of the same village or town where they can only relate officially or compulsorily if fate brings them together (17.2 % for the kalenjins, 29.5% for the Luos), but here it is obvious that the relationship between the Luos and the kikuyu's are better than that of the kalenjins and the kikuyu's. Some respondents, (9.8% for the kalenjins and 11.5% for the Luos) said they can accommodate them as co-workers in the same occupation. This could be because it is compulsory for them to work together and if they do not work how can they pay their bills and get their daily bread. More respondents were

comfortable with their perceived violators on a public distance basis which is as visitors to their village or town, (21.3% for the kalenjins and 22.1% for the Luos), here we see the Luo tribe more favored by the kikuyu's than the kalenjin tribe. But 23.8 percent of the respondents for the kalenjins said they want them excluded completely from their village or town and only 5.7 percent for the Luos. This could explain the reason for evictions which took place during the post election violence. It is a sign of nepotism and hatred. Though in this analysis, we see that the Luo tribes are more tolerated than the kalenjins.

If this kind of situation continues unchecked, the re-occurrence of violence is imminent at any slightest provocation since the social distance between these communities is still very wide. It calls for urgent national attention and intervention, it calls for further studies and more understanding and a quick redress of the case of the people in the IDPs because it is detrimental to the victims and also to the future existence of the nation especially between the kikuyu tribe and the kalenjin tribe.

With the understanding that some of the victims were comfortable to relate with their perceived violators at public distance, officially or compulsorily, it became imperative for this study to understand the level of insecurity that the victims have between them and their perceived violator. Since someone can accommodate anyone but be extremely insecure around the person which is social distance in real display.

How secure the victims are with their perceived violators was measured and below are the findings. A total of 120 respondents responded to this section out of the 131 questionnaires recovered from the field, so the 100 percent of the total here is 120 respondents.

TABLE 9: Social Distance Scale on Level of Security between the Victims (The Kikuyu tribe) and their Perceived Violators (The Kalenjin and Luo tribes)

TRIBES PERCEIVED AS VIOLATORS BY THE KIKUYU TRIBE	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		TOTAL	
	CLOSE KINSHIP BY MARRIAGE	AS PERSONAL FRIEND	AS NEIBORS ON THE SAME STREET	AS COLLEAGUES IN HE SAME OCCUPATION	AS CITIZENS OF THE SAME TOWN/VILLAGE	AS VISITORS TO YOUR TOWN/ VILLAGE	WANTS THEM EXCLUDED FROM YOUR TOWN/ VILLAGE									
KALENJIN	6	5%	11	9.5%	12	10%	10	8.3%	22	18%	30	25%	29	24.2%	120	100%
LUO	11	9.2%	12	10%	18	15%	15	12.5%	24	20%	31	25.8%	9	7.5%	120	100%

Source: Pipeline IDP Resettlement Camp November 2010

According to the data above, the respondents said they are secure relating with their perceived violators as close relatives up to the level of intermarriage, for the kalenjin tribe (5%) and (9.2%) for the Luo tribe, the respondents said they are secure relating with their perceived violators as close personal friends, for the kalenjin tribe (9.5%) and (10%) for the Luo tribe. About (10%) for the kalenjin tribe and (15%) for the Luo tribe, according to the respondents said they are secure with their perceived violators living on same street with them. Again the respondents said they were secure with their perceived violators as co-workers in the same occupation, (8.3%) for the Kalenjin tribe and (12.5%) for the Luo tribe. The respondents said they were secure living in the same village or town with them, (18%) for the kalenjin tribe and (12.5%) for the Luo tribe, furthermore, the respondents said they are secure with them as visitors to their village or town , (25%) for the kalenjins and (25.8%) for the Luo tribe, but the respondents said they would be more secure if their perceived violators were excluded from their village or town completely, (24.2%) for the kalenjin tribe and (7.5%) for the Luo tribe.

Broadly speaking, the respondents (the kikuyu tribe) were secure with their perceived violators on intimate distance basis, which is as a spouse, as personal friends and as neighbors, which is 4 to 8 inches, personal distance which is 1.5 to 2.5 inches or 2.5 feet at most and a social distance of 4 to 7 feet at most 12 feet, (24.5%) out of (100%) for the kalenjin tribe and (34.2%) out of (100%) for the Luo tribe. This was a very small fraction among the respondents. It then means that (75.5%) for the kalenjins and (65.8%) for the Luo tribe, were on the far side of the continuum which is just as colleagues in the same occupation, or as citizens of their village or as visitors to their village. This is on a public distance basis which is from 12 feet to 25 feet or more, the last classification in this continuum according to the respondents (the kikuyu tribe) are more secure if they (24.2 percent for the kalenjin tribe and 7.5 percent for the Luo tribe), are excluded from their town or village completely. They do not want to see them or have anything in common with them.

From the above analysis, it can be confirmed that there is a wide social distance existing among Kenyan ethnic groups especially between the kikuyu tribe and the kalenjin tribe, though the level of distance between the kikuyu tribe and the Luo tribe is not as much as that between the kikuyu's and the kalenjins since those on the side of the public distance percentage are more than those on the personal distance percentage. There are some who did not respond to this question, maybe they did not understand the question or they cannot measure the distance of the level of security between them and their violators as at the time of this research. If the above is the case, then there is a strong tendency for protracted conflict according to Azar's theory since grudges are still held in the minds

of the violated after 3 years of the violence. When human beings have grudges for a while it grows into bitterness and bitterness is the mother of revenge and all forms of wickedness in order to feel validated or satisfied, this could explain the revenge missions that took place during the post election violence in various parts of Kenya. It could also explain the re-occurring political violence pattern in Kenya over the years that now culminated into the worst of all which is the 2007/2008 post election violence.

According to Ocharo (2002) this could be as a result of classical conditioning or instrumental conditioning or both. Classical conditioning is when one learns by associating a particular stimulus to a response which makes one accustomed to a certain situation which is a way of programming one's mind, while instrumental conditioning is when someone learns to express the views of his or her superior as the right views even when they know that it is wrong. This is done to get appreciation and praises or promotion from their superiors including rewards in cash or kinds.

To this end, the predicament which the victims of the post election violence had passed through and are still passing through now in the IDPs can cause them to be classically and instrumentally conditioned. Their verbalized social distances displays how insecure the victims are with their violators and they are becoming stiff and rigid always expecting wicked acts at all times from their perceived violators given any chance. Most of them are bitter and angry at their perceived violators down deep in their hearts just because they have been programmed and conditioned to see them as wicked people by the circumstances they have passed through in the last three years. It is very imperative to note here that their predicament is real therefore the programming of their mindset justifiable except something is done very fast by stakeholders to ameliorate and heal their wounds and cause judgment and justice to take its due course.

As the social distance widens daily, national insecurity grows too thereby making the situation to become hydra-headed, complex and protracted in nature. As this is affecting the individuals it is also affecting the nation deeply at the long run and detrimentally to the extent that opportunities presented by the people of the other tribes will never be embraced but seen as a trap ending up as a wasted effort. Insecurity is one of the major predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups as people stay and live where they are secure not where they are tolerated or tormented. It makes one not to be able to express himself in his own nation almost living like a refugee. This situation has caused so many people to leave their own countries for greener pastures in other countries like in Nigeria according to Amadi (1998), after the civil war many citizens left Nigeria to other nations because of insecurity among tribes in their nation.

People are secure with each other when there is good communication, love, understanding, inter tribal marriages, common purpose liking and national patriotism. Therefore urgent action is needed to forestall more crisis in future or brain drain which is when the best brains of the nation flee to other nations due to insecurity and other predictors of social distance which cripples national growth and development in every nation.

The photograph below displays the researcher and all the research assistants, interpreters and some of the executives of the camp as he addresses the focus group discussion participants during the research.

Picture 5



Focus Group Discussion & Address to the respondents at the Pipeline IDP Camp. Source Field Survey 2008

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

Sequel to the findings of the research, it is clear that most people in the IDP resettlement camp bear deep resentment with their perceived violators and are relying on God to avenge for them and the verbalized social distance points to danger ahead, since there are unhealthy bitterness and anger. This goes to expose the predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic group and they have been identified as

- ✓ TRIBALISM,
- ✓ POLITICIANS
- ✓ ELECTORAL MAL-PRACTICE
- ✓ THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESSES
- ✓ MIS-GUIDED YOUTH OF VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES.

This study demonstrates that:

1. Majority of those affected by the post election violence were women and the youth between the ages of 15 to 30. Counseling targeting this age group is critical to ensure that covert tendencies of vengeance is dealt with early to avoid potential eruptions of violence in future generations.
2. Majority of those young people in the camp are traumatized by the loss of their parents/guardians, with truncated educational pursuits, having to shoulder unforeseen responsibilities as head of homes by taking care of both themselves and their siblings.
3. There were underlying grievances before the post election violence. They include, land problems, incompatibility of goals, competing political identities, loyalties and interests among others.
4. There were deeply rooted negative tribal prejudices, stereotyping and discrimination among Kenyan ethnic groups.
5. Inter-marriages make social relationships stronger, thus narrowing social distance. The ethnic social distance in the study area shows no respite since majority respondents are not ready to take other tribes as close relatives even in marriage on the social distance scale especially

between the kikuyu's (the violated) and kalenjins (the perceived violators).

6. Due to poor housing facilities and sanitation, exposure to the rain and cold and other health hazards, the well being of those in the IDP camp was deteriorating as demonstrated by the increasing prevalence of environmentally related sicknesses.
7. Due to poverty and severe pressure of survival/sustenance of livelihoods on women, the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS was increasing in the camp as some took to prostitution.
8. Through the power of association, those in the IDP camps are developing the same kind of mindset psychologically, a feeling of being oppressed and neglected and unjustly treated by both the violators and the government and this is not healthy for future of the nation since it could birth the sudden eruption of violence at the slightest provocation.
9. The study shows that there is inadequate and inconsistent civic education on societal love, moral values and respect for others, especially other ethnic groups, and by extension the unity of the nation
10. The study exposes the insecurity in the nation, fear, anxiety and lack of trust among citizens of the nation thereby establishing the existence of social distance among ethnic groups.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In relation to this study, there is need for a quick action by the government to ameliorate or totally eradicate the suffering of those in the IDP camps, this will affect their mindset and stop the potential trickledown effect of the sense of injustice to the next generations as the next general election approaches. This action will also go a long way in healing the emotional wounds and bridge the wide social distance among the tribes.

Secondly, there is need for mass mobilization and civic education to eradicate the syndrome of tribal prejudices, stereotyping and discrimination to embrace and celebrate each other as one Kenya. The strength of any tribe should be the strength of all while the weakness of any tribe should be the point of development of all. Interdependence must be encouraged. Complementarity and cooperation should be embraced as the binding factor in the nation. This will start bridging the social distance between ethnic groups, and transform Kenya into a nation to be emulated by other nations experiencing similar social challenges. The following are profound recommendations to attaining the above.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study's recommendations are:

1. That national peace talks, rallies and orientation should be conducted by the Government of Kenya in major places especially where the three main ethnic groups who were mostly involved in the post election violence resides, in the bid to bridge the gap of the existing social distance among them.
2. That the Government in Kenya should embark on the policy of even development using a quota system so as to eradicate uneven development which breeds envy, jealousy and hatred against the favored ethnic group by the others who feel marginalized.
3. The encouragement of Nationalistic vision and ideals like intermarriages among tribes to break tribal prejudices and discrimination, thereby enhancing the bond of national unity in the nation.
4. That National Re-orientation should be conducted before every election to educate the populace to vote for the right, best and the most qualified candidate who will serve the nation selflessly and not along tribal lines or ethnic sentiments.
5. That the Government should embark on permanent resettlement and closure of all IDP Camps that emerged after the post election violence, so as to cause the wounds and scars of the violence to be gradually healed and erased from the minds of the victims and the aggrieved.
6. That leaders of all spheres should be mandated to be proactive in the sustained efforts to break ethnic barriers henceforth making Kenya one big family, encouraging the people to put the past behind and focus on the glorious future of a united Kenya.
7. A further study should be done on the issues of land and resources allocation in Kenya to further understand the root causes of political violence and to eradicate it.
8. A further study should be done on the causes and cure to ethnic stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination in Kenya.
9. A further study should be done on resolving complicated and protracted conflicts in Kenya and around the world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESPONDENTS

Dear Respondent.

I am Eric Israel-Okere, a Master of Arts Degree student in Sociology at the University of Nairobi. I am presently carrying out on predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups: the case of post election violence victims of Pipeline IDP resettlement Camp. This questionnaire is meant to assist in collecting relevant data for the research. You are kindly requested to participate in this study by answering this questionnaire. Your responses are for the purpose of this study and none other reasons. All your answers will be treated with the highest confidentiality.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

TICK (X) WHERE APPROPRIATE)

1. Sex: MALE FEMALE
2. Marital status:
 - a) SINGLE
 - b) MARRIED
 - c) DIVORCED
 - d) SEPERATED
 - e) WIDOW
 - f) WIDOWER
- 3 Age:
 - a) 15-30
 - b) 31-45
 - c) 46-60
 - d) 61 and above

4. Educational level:
- a) NO FORMAL EDUCATION ()
 - b) PRIMARY ()
 - c) SECONDARY ()
 - d) TERTIARY ()

5. Number of family members here.....

SECTION 2:

1. FOR HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN HERE?

- a) ONE YEAR ()
- b) TWO YEARS ()
- c) THREE YEARS ()

2. WHAT KIND OF WELFARE CHALLENGES HAVE YOU BEEN FACING HERE?

- a) MEDICAL ()
- b) HOUSING ()
- c) SECURITY ()
- d) EDUCATIONAL ()
- e) FEEDING ()

0 OTHERS.....

3. RANK THE CHALLENGES FROM THE MOST CHALLENGING TO THE LEAST CHALLENGING.

4. INDICATE YOUR LEVEL OF SATISFACTION IN RELATION TO THE PROVISION OF THE FOLLOWING WELFARE IN THIS CAMP YOU ARE CONVENED?

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Indifferent	Un-satisfied	Very Un-satisfied
a) Health Care Facility	()	()	()	()	()
b) Education Facility	()	()	()	()	()
c) Shelter	()	()	()	()	()
d) Feeding	()	()	()	()	()
e) Security	()	()	()	()	()
f) Sanitation	()	()	()	()	()
g) Transportation	()	()	()	()	()
h) Shopping	()	()	()	()	()
i) Carrier Opportunities	()	()	()	()	()
j) Level of Income	()	()	()	()	()
k) Privacy	()	()	()	()	()

SECTION 3:

1. WHOM WOULD YOU SAY IS BEHIND YOUR DISPLACEMENT?.....

.....

.....

.....

2. WHY SHOULD THEY BE BLAMED?.....

.....

.....

3. WITH YOUR EXPERIENCE DURING THE POST ELECTION VIOLENCE, HOW CLOSE TO YOURSELF WILL YOU ACCOMMODATE THOSE YOU PERCIEVE TO BE BEHIND YOUR PREDICAMENT?

(TICK THE MOST APPROPRIATE OPTION)

- a) As close relatives by marriage ()
- b) As your close personal friends ()
- c) As neighbors on the same street ()
- d) As co-workers in the same occupation ()
- e) As resident in the village/town you are living ()
- f) Only as visitors to your village/town ()
- g) Would want them excluded from your village/town ()

4. USING THE SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE, HOW SECURE ARE YOU WHEN INTERACTING WITH TRIBES OTHER THAN YOURS IN KENYA? (TICK THE MOST APPROPRIATE OPTION)

As close relatives by marriage

- a) As your close personal friends ()
- b) As neighbors on the same street - ()
- c) As co-workers in the same occupation ()
- d) As resident in the village/town you are living ()
- e) -Only as visitors to your village/town ()
- f) Would want them excluded from your village/town ()

APPENDIX 2: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What exactly happened that led to your resettlement here?
2. Who were those involved (the violators and violated)
3. What was the impact of the violence?
4. What are the social welfare amenities you have enjoyed in this camp?
5. Give suggestions of what can be done to make this camp a better place?
6. Do you have plans for resettlement?
 - a. Back to your home town
 - b. To a new and better place
 - c. Your former residence
7. What are the major factors that can aid your resettlement plans?
8. What are the major obstacles that can hinder your resettlement?
9. What are the best ways to restore peace?
 - a) Between you (victims) and their perceived violators?
 - b) Between rival ethnic groups?
 - c) In the entire country?"
10. What can you do to forestall future occurrence of political violence in Kenya
11. What do you suggest communities should do to forestall future occurrence of political violence in Kenya?
12. What do you suggest the government should do to forestall future occurrence of political violence in Kenya

Thank you and God bless you tremendously.

APPENDIX 3:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR SOCIAL WORKERS AMONG THE RESIDENTS IN THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE RESETTLEMENT CAMP - PIPELINE, NAKURU-KENYA.

Dear Respondent,

I am Eric Israel-Okere, a Master of Arts Degree student in Sociology at the University of Nairobi. I am presently carrying out on predictors of social distance among Kenyan ethnic groups: the case of post election violence victims of Pipeline IDP resettlement Camp. This questionnaire is meant to assist in collecting relevant data for the research. You are kindly requested to participate in this study by answering this questionnaire. Your responses are for the purpose of this study and none other reasons. All your answers will be treated with the highest confidentiality.

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. ORGANIZATION:
2. Sex: MALE FEMALE
3. Marital status:
 - a) SINGLE
 - b) .MARRIED
 - c) DIVORCED
 - d) WIDOW
 - e) WIDOWER
4. Age:
 - a) 15-30
 - b) 31-45
 - c) 46-60

5. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:

- a) NO FORMAL EDUCATION ()
- b) PRIMARY ()
- c) SECONDARY ()
- d) TERTIARY ()

6. WHAT IS THE MISSION OF YOUR ORGANIZATION

7. WHAT IS YOUR PORTFOLIO IN YOUR ORGANIZATION

8. MENTION YOUR MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS CAMP?

SECTION 2

1. WHAT ARE THE WELFARE FACILITIES IN THIS CAMP

- a) HOSPITAL ()
- b) PIPE BORNE WATER ()
- c) SCHOOLS- PRIMARY () SECONDARY () OTHERS ()
- d) TOILETS ()
- e) ELECTRICITY ()
- f) GOOD SEWAGE SYSTEM ()
- g) TRANSPORTATION ()
- h) MARKET ()
- i) PHARMACY ()
- j) ACCOMODATION ()

2. MENTION THE MAJOR SOCIAL AMENITIES THAT IS NEEDED IN THIS CAMP?

.....

.....

.....

OR HOW LONG DO YOU PLAN TO RENDER YOUR SERVICES IN
CAMP?

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

RE THERE RESETTLEMENT PLAN FOR THE RESIDENTS OF THIS
CAMP?

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

1. ARE YOU INVOLVED IN THE RESETTLEMENT PROCESS?

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

2. IF YES, TO THE ABOVE, WHAT ARE SOME OF THE
CHALLENGES YOU ARE FACED WITH IN THE
RESETTLEMENT PLAN?

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

Thank you very much and God bless you.