

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Assessment of County Leadership Contribution to Inter-Clan Conflict in Mandera County, Kenya

Jacob Haji Ali

Ph.D. Student, Department of Political Science and Peace Studies, Kisii University, Kenya

Dr. PiaOkeche

Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Peace Studies,
Kisii University, Kenya

Dr. Eric Ogwora

Lecturer, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies,
Kisii University, Kenya

Abstract:

Mandera County has over the years been affected by perennial inter-clan conflicts between Garre, Degodia and Muralle communities that erupt from time to time. Past research has attributed these ethnic conflicts to the scarce resources at their disposal and their nomadic tendencies in a region occasioned by long spell of droughts; making them encroach rival clans' community land, in search of water points and pastures for their starving herds, inadvertently sparking ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, even after sinking of boreholes and demarcation of clan boundaries to resolve the conflicts, the conflict has persisted, an indicator that there is another major factor that is triggering it. The objective of this study was therefore aimed at assessing whether county leadership is a contributing factor to recurrence of interclan conflict in Mandera County, Kenya, since devolution was affected in 2013. The study was guided by HommerDixion theory on conflict and the Marxist Theory that purports that most conflicts in the world are either triggered by quest for control over limited resources or as a result of oppression of the vulnerable group by a powerful minority. This study established that County leadership significantly influences inter-clan conflict in Mandera County especially in the wake of devolution. This is largely because politics in this County is clan based and the dominant clan usually carries the day; infuriating the minority clans who perceive their dominance as a threat to their livelihood. This inter-clan mistrust has evolved over time due to clan chauvinism; which has made some clans to feel like they are superior to others and by the virtue of that they should be entitled to more privileges than the rest. In return it has escalated to violent confrontation as disgruntled clans fight for political, social and economic inclusivity. In order to achieve its objective; a mixed methodology approach that incorporated exploratory and descriptive research design was used; as it not only provided the researcher with a greater breadth of perspectives around county leadership but also enhanced reliability of the research instruments and procedures. The data was collected using questionnaires, interview guides and FGDs. The data was later analyzed quantitatively using SPSS and result indicated that politics in Mandera were clan based (which represents 81%). The dominant clan uses its numbers to impose leaders onto others escalating inter-clan aggression as the disgruntled clans contest for inclusivity. Mistrust among clans living in Mandera has existed since time immemorial and has been largely attributed to governance inefficiencies that are grounded on clan chauvinism. The research recommend that political leaders to be always endorsed by clan elders upon general consensus among all clans hailing from Mandera; in case there are areas of contention; middle-ground should always be arrived at before such endorsements take place. This is likely to tame occurrence of any conflict before it even break-up. Mandera residents should also adopt negotiated democracy that involve all the communities in proposing suitable leaders to govern them and in identifying key development projects that should be given priority. The more they are involved on social, economic and political matters the less likely they are going to rebel and cause havoc.

Keywords: Assessment, leadership contribution, inter-clan conflict, Mandera County, Kenya

1. Introduction

Internal conflict is not a new phenomenon in the world as it has been there since time in memorial. According to Brown et. Al., (2016) world is awash of conflict triggered by ethnic or religious identities that have characterized contemporary politics there by weakening and polarizing the stability of most countries. Most profound is Ukrainian ethnic conflict that resulted to violent antagonism between ethnic and pro-Russian Ukrainians fighting for power and regional integration. The ethnic Ukrainians were against Russian involvement in their political and economic affairs while Pro-Russian Ukrainians support their agenda. In the year 2004 Yanukovich expressed his desires to cut trade ties with Europe in favor of closer economic ties with Russia triggering mass revolts that ousted him. And since then there has been upsurge in violence, as negotiation and mediation efforts have been thwarted by ethnic retribution (Sorenson, 2007). Empirical evidence suggests that these ethnic conflicts are much prevalent in developing countries with weak

judicial systems and have rampant cases of corruption, nepotism, racism and propaganda based politics that oppresses minority ethnic group while alleviating the latter one; that is in power.

As, it was evident in Sri Lanka, where Tamil of Elean engaged the Sinhalese political class that had denied them of their nationality status, despite the fact that they had lived in Sri Lanka since time in memorial (Yass, 2014). They were infuriated by the fact that they were regarded as mere second class citizens who had no nationality and were ostracized in all forms of development. In frustrations, they begun to revolt and formed a rebel group in 1976 that violently engaged the Sri Lankan government until it was defeated in 2009 (Devotta, 2009; Mushtaq, 2012). It is crystal clear that the Tamils were fighting for their fundamental right that had been infringed by the ruling Sinhalese regime that took power after the British colonial forces exited their country upon attainment of independence in 1948. The research deduces that these conflicts could have been prevented if only there was democracy in the country. The government of Sri Lanka could have sat down with representatives of Tamil and charted the way forward. However, in lieu of that it used its powers to oppress them (Mushtaq, 2012). According to Yass (2014) this is one of the reason why ethnic conflicts are more prevalent in developing economies as opposed to developed and welfare states; as they have advanced democratic systems of government; that are deeply entrenched in their national values (Yass, 2014).

Ethnic conflicts in the world have increasingly grown in complexity due to cultural and religious transformation that has given rise to groups that purports to be better than latter based on societal norms. In Syria there has been an ethnic strife among the Sunni and Shia Muslim adherents. Their rivalry has been on religious line where the Sunnis believe that Islam leadership should be bestowed upon that person who have leadership attributes contrary to Shias who believe that leadership should stay within the family of Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. This religious schism has led to brutal violence among most countries in the Middle East with the two religious groups. The most profound conflict in history is the Syrian and Iraq ethnic conflict that has periodically erupted to full blown civil war that has ravaged these nations to the core. Contemporary Shia-Sunni conflict has worsened diplomatic ties between Saudi Arabia inhabited by majority Sunni and Iran which is dominated by Shia. This has been witnessed when Iran has constantly supported the Shia rebels in Yemen who have been fighting Saudi Arabia forces that had embarked on a mission to weed-out Houthi fighters.

Sunni-Shia sectarianism in the Middle-east has evolved over time and has now gone beyond ancient religious tensions as it is fuelled by individualism and greed for power. After toppling of Saddam Hussein in 2003 by United States led invasion, it saw countries like Iran Shias try to exploit the historical schism by supporting Shia militias in Iraq advancing their interests and abhorring all Sunni political ideologies being instilled by Saudi Arabia. This manifests a paradigm shift in the determinant of Shia-Sunni ethnic conflict, as it had now become political contests as opposed to a religious contest. Shia sectarianism in Syria for instance, has seen a civil strife against an authoritarian government turn into a Sunni-Shia conflict. The Syrian government allied to Shia states like Iran has led in an armed strife against Sunni radicals armed and financed by Sunni states of the Middle East. Iran have always condemned the Syrian war and term it as a genocide against Shia and called for foreign Shia fighters from Iraq and Lebanon to join in the battle to alleviate the plights of their fellow Shias under extreme violence from Sunni radicals (Cockburn, 2015). This sectarianism is deeply entrenched in all levels of the society escalating social tensions and mistrusts. Similar ongoing ethnic conflicts involve Kurds and Turks (Aslan, 2014).

Majority of Kurds at 48% of Kurds population, live in Turkey that is dominated by the Turks. Turks are ethnic Turkik group that originally migrated from Altay Mountains in Mongolia and arrived in the Middle East in the 7th century as servants. On the other hand, Kurds are Iranic ethnic group that headed East towards the Middle East. However, over the years the Kurdish culture has been eroded due to governments ban on the use of Kurdish language in schools and lack of goodwill to support the Kurdish culture. As results the Kurds have increased their civil strife to liberate their people against oppressive Arabs and Persians regimes (Heshmati, Dilani, & Baban, 2014). The most prominent Kurdish contest begun in 1978 and is still ongoing because their fundamental human rights have not been addressed fully (Balci, 2012). They seek to secede from Turkey and form Kurdistan state that shall be deeply entrenched into the Kurds culture and traditions or simply have autonomy to practice their culture in Turkey without intimidation by the Turks government (Bilgin&Sarihan, 2013). The Kurds aggression has negatively affected the state of security in the nation affecting key sectors of the economy like tourism and ballooning military expenditure budget in the tune of 300 million US dollars (Servet, 2008). These conflicts have been ongoing due to lack of goodwill among governments who resort to the use of force to flash warring elements instead of manifesting their commitment in ending these civil strife through round-table dialogues.

The most recent flare-ups of ethnic cleansing involved Rohingya Muslims, an ethnic minority group in 2017 where they underwent persecutions by the dominant Buddhist ethnic community in the Republic of Myanmar. According to United Nation (2017) an estimated 625, 000 refugees crossed over to Bangladesh from Rakhine, since 25th August, 2017 to 2nd November, 2017. The Rohingya people are described by United Nations (2017) as the most persecuted people in the modern history. Apart from being persecuted they have constantly been denied citizenship under the 1982 Myanmar nationality as they are termed as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh; as such they have faced brutal military crackdowns and massacre (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2018). Rohingya conflict is grounded on religious intolerance by ruling Buddhist nationals who treat them like second-class citizens and subject them to executions, brutality, torture and illegal detentions (Reuters in Yangon, 2018).

The Myanmar military aggression in the province of Rakhine led to a mass exodus of Rohingya ethnic group to Bangladesh for fear of being brutally executed. Rohigya Muslim alleges that they were descendants of Arab merchants. However, their allegations are refuted by the ruling Buddhist nationals who term them as illegal immigrants who

encroached on their land (McPherson, 2017). The government of Burma over the years has enforced discriminatory policies aimed at compelling the Rohingya Muslims to flee their homes. This is coupled with renewed ethnic cleansing by Buddhist nationals who often attack them; mostly because they are a minority Muslim community (Albert, 2018). Another religious fuelled ethnic conflict broke in 1971 after a section of Muslim community in Philippine island of Mindanao who sought autonomy over Island of Mindanao and Sulu. The secession strife has been perpetrated by Moro National Liberation Front, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the more radical sect of Abu Sayyat. The extremist group alleges that they are indigenous people of this island and it was encroached by foreign immigrants. In response to that, they formed liberation movements to liberate themselves against the Philippine rule. The various peace talks to give autonomy to the Moro people has hit rock bottom as the government fears giving autonomy to a radical secessionist ethnic group that has sequence of in-fights among themselves due to conflicting interests. Moro people secession strife is still underway as contentious issues have not been solved.

Similar to Morro people session strife is the Xinjiang ethnic conflict in Northwest China that has long history of discord between indigenous people of Uighur and China administrative authorities (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014). Xinjiang autonomous region borders eight countries that include Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Pakistan and India. The inhabitants of Xingjian region are Uighurs Sunni Muslims who have made several secession attempts due to nepotism, cultural and religious repressions perpetuated by China regime that favors Han Chinese over Xinjiang indigenous Uighur people. The Uighurs who constitutes more than 46% of Xinjiang population has a long history of marginalization by China. They allege that China has constantly ostracized them economically and culturally. In July, 2014 Xinjiang government banned Muslim civil servants from fasting during the Holy month of Ramadhan.

Similar China oppression was evident in 2009 when wide-spread ethnic intolerance commenced in Urumqi region where a total of 200 people died. The ethnic unrest was waged by Uighurs against Han Chinese who they blamed of unduly getting more socio-economic privileges than them. The ethnic tensions were perpetuated by Uighurs separatists who have constantly claimed that Xinjiang is not part of China and was illegally incorporated in People's Republic of China in 1949. The Uighurs ethnic resentment has simmered in the surface for a long period of time as the underlying causes of the conflict remained unaddressed by relevant stakeholders. Uighurs social and religious repressions have caused them to revolt China rule as they view them as non-indigenous immigrants encroaching on their ancestral land. In June, 2012 Uighur separatists hijacked a plane a deliberate attempt to express their Uighurs collective discord with China illegal occupation in Xinjiang province; which is culturally and religiously distinct from China which is officially Buddhist. Similarly in April and June 2013 Uighurs secessionists armed with crude weapons such as knives and machetes attacked government officials in Shanshan County. In the light of the above conflict, we can conclude that as long as underlying causes of any conflict are not addressed, conflict occurrence is imminent. The use of force against ethnic groups; whose fundamental rights have been trampled on by the ruling elite, is like rubbing pepper in an infected wound expecting to get relief, as they become hardened and revolt more aggressively.

Another sectarian violence spate was in the Island of Borneo in Indonesia where indigenous Dayak community waged war against immigrants from the Island of Madura. The Dayak-Mudarese ethnic conflict begun in 1960s after the Indonesian government launched a transmigration program that led to influx of more than 100,000 Mudarese to the Island of Borneo. A move that was not taken kindly by indigenous communities of Borneo who felt that their ancestral heritage was under threat of depletion from Mudarese immigrants (Klinken, 2007; Corson, 2016). The Dayak renders a nomadic and conservative lifestyle as opposed to Mudarese who are traders and receptive to change brought about by modernity. The Dayaks alleged that Mudarese immigrants took away their jobs in local mines. Their conflict simmers on the surface like magma due to cultural and religious diversity.

Dayaks are mostly Christians as opposed to Mudarese who like most Indonesians are Muslims (Mailto & Chang, 2018). Dayak militias have been engaged in anti-transmigrants cleansing. Dayak ethnic fascism has escalated over years as there is reduced goodwill among government organs to resolve the ethnic spate for once and for all as it is the case with most recurrent ethnic conflicts in the world. This is a worrying trend that should be revisited as lives and property are being lost yet little is done to alleviate this malady. It is on these grounds that this research is based on, which is to endeavor to understand the underlying causes of ethnic conflict and coming up with sustainable conflict resolution framework.

It is without a doubt, that ethnic conflicts are detrimental to the economic and social development of any community or country, and should thus be prevented, managed and handled long before they break and spread. Devotta (2009) noted that peace is a prerequisite, should there be any meaningful development and thus all stakeholders in peace process should be involved. This and other ethnic conflicts in the world are largely motivated by greed and power. In all these contexts conflicts have resulted to loss of property, lives and trade, displacement of people and poverty.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Design

The research adopted a mixed methodology approach that incorporated both exploratory and descriptive design. The mixed methodology approach aimed at providing an in-depth, contextualized qualitative and quantitative result with more predictive power than a single research method. This method was appropriate, as it provided the researcher with greater breadth of understanding while offsetting the weakness inherent in using one type of approach.

2.2. Location of the Study

The research was undertaken in Mandera County, Kenya. Mandera County is located in North-Eastern Kenya and borders Ethiopia to the North, Somalia Republic to the East and Wajir County to the South. It is about 1,100km from Nairobi. Mandera county is positioned at Latitude: 3° 25' 0.01" N and Longitude: 40° 40' 0.12" E. The county is occupied by four main communities namely, Garre, Degodia, Muralle and Corner tribes.

2.3. Target Population

Target population for the study constituted of 1,025,756 people drawn from communities living in Mandera County (KNBS, 2009). The target population consisted of individual households; that include women and youths, County administrators, chiefs and clan leaders drawn from Garre, Degodia, Muralle and Corner tribe communities who are natives of the aforementioned County. The target population was as illustrated in table 1 below.

Sub-Counties	Population
Lafey	109,856
Mandera North	169,675
Mandera South	247,619
Mandera East	178,831
Mandera West	161,701
Bannisa	158,074
Total	1,025,756

Table 1: Target Population
Source: (IEBCS, 2017)

The research therefore inclined to the use of a stratified sampling design that involves dividing a population into homogenous strata and selecting a simple random sample from each stratum (Cochran, 1963; Creswell, 2011). In that spirit the researcher divided the entire study population into different strata namely Lafey, Mandera North, South, East, West and Bannisa Sub-Counties; then used simple random to select the final subjects proportionally from the different strata.

Item	Value
Confidence Level	95%
Confidence Interval	5%
Population Proportion	50%
Population Size	1,025,756

Table 2: Table for Online Calculation of Sample Population
Source: <https://www.calculator.net/sample-size-calculator.html>
Type=1&Cl=95&Ci=5&Pp=50&P S=1025756&X=118&Y=16
(Accessed 18th March, 2017, 1605hrs)

From the online formula for sample size determination where the population is greater than 500,000, 385 or more samples is required. Furthermore, for a large population, the formula shown below is applicable in determinant sample size:

Where:-

z the z score

ϵ is the margin of error

N is population size

\hat{p} is the population proportion

$$n = \frac{z^2 \times \hat{p}(1-\hat{p})}{\epsilon^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)}{0.05^2} = 384.16$$

The above formula gives 384 as the sample population. The same sample population is also derived from Krejcie and Morgan (1970) as shown in table 3 below.

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	346
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	354
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	191	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	370
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	230	144	550	226	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	254	2600	335	100000	384

Table 3: Table For Determining Samples from Known Population
Source: (Krejcie And Morgan, 1970)

$$\frac{\text{Stratum Population}}{\text{Total Population}} \times \text{Sample (n)}$$

Mandera Sub-Countries	Population (N ^h)	Stratum Weight (N ^h /N)	Sample (n ^h)
Lafey	109,856	0.107097594	41
Mandera North	169,675	0.165414582	64
Mandera South	247,619	0.241401464	93
Mandera East	178,831	0.174340681	67
Mandera West	161,701	0.157640803	61
Bannisa	158,074	0.154104875	59
Total	1,025,756	1.00000000	384

Table 4: Sample Size
Source: (Modified IEBCS Data, 2017)

Data was collected by the use of questionnaires and focused group discussions. Data was analyzed by the use Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Data was presented through graphs, charts and inferential statistics. Pearson correlation and multiple regression were also used to establish the relationships that existed among independent and dependent variables. The two statistical measures were appropriate since they complemented each other in that Pearson correlation described the relationship between independent variables and dependent variable, while the multiple regressions measured the magnitude of relationship therein.

2.4. Validity and Reliability Analysis

In order to ensure validity and reliability of research instruments, the researcher began by carrying out a pilot test to ascertain if the questionnaires answered the questions that they sought to answer. The researcher also used Cronbach's Alpha approach to measure internal consistencies of the questionnaires used to collect data. This method according to Creswell (2009) assists the researcher to establish how well the research instruments measure what they are supposed to measure. Cronbach's Alpha sought to establish if multiple questions on Likert scale were reliable. Normally, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of more than 0.7 is acceptable while that lower than 0.7 is unacceptable. The Cronbach reliability was derived using SPSS, and it was established that the Cronbach Alpha score for all items in the Likert scale were above 0.7. This indicated that the research instruments were adequately reliable for the measurement.

2.5. Data Collection Procedure

The researcher, begun the process of data collection by first seeking permission to carry out research from the Department of Social Sciences, Kisii University. The researcher also sought National Commission of Science and Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) research permit to carry out the research in Mandera County, as well as permission from Mandera County Director of Education. An introduction letter was administered to each respondent to seek his or her consent to participate in the research. This was followed by administration of questionnaires to all research participants, whereas FGDs were carried out in Rhamu Youth Polytechnic hall. The questionnaires were administered within two weeks after which they were collected by the researcher for analysis. The FGDs was carried out in Somalia dialect, as that was the language the participants were comfortable with, the session was audio recorded, translated and stored for further analysis.

2.6. Data Analysis

The collected data was screened for accuracy, consistency, completeness, coded and then tabulated using frequency tables. The researcher later analyzed the extracted data using (SPSS) Statistical Package for Social Science to deduce graphs, charts and inferential statistics. Pearson correlation and multiple regressions were also used to establish the relationships that existed among independent and dependent variables. The two statistical measures were appropriate since they complemented each other in that Pearson correlation described the relationship between independent variables and dependent variable. It measured the nature of relationship therein to establish if variables were either positively, negatively or not correlated. The Pearson correlation coefficients indicated the extent to which variables correlated with each other. On the other hand, multiple regressions measured the magnitude of relationship between dependent and independent variables.

3. County Leadership

The role of leaders in modern societies is twofold, as perpetrators of violence or as peace-builders. Although several researches have established that most conflicts arise from governance failures, the issue of leadership has not been put at the core of analysis. Extant literature indicates that in post-conflict societies, leaders of the day influences whether peace is to be realized or not as they have power to influence their communities to act in a manner likely to foster peace in diversity (Carment, James, & Taydas, 2009). Similar thoughts were echoed by Ochieng, (2015) who postulated that local leaders have powers to determine how their people responds to various socio-economic issues; and as such, they should be used to restore peace in multi-ethnic societies ravaged with on-and-off conflicts. As they are well acquainted with fundamental issues facing their people and how to better solve them. This argument is in line with Wood and Ramsbotham (2013) remarks, that leadership of the day determines whether a society is going to realize a sustainable peace or not. As in certain contexts a click of leaders thrive on conflict as a means to sustain their political relevancy and therefore, they have no goodwill to adopt sustainable peace-building initiatives to end the violence and build harmony among members of the society.

The role of leadership in Africa takes different forms. In some society, traditional leadership prevails to complement the state leadership. In such societies, traditional leaders have immense powers over their people and commands lots of respect. In times of conflict, they are approached to delve into the matter and provide counsel on how best to resolve their conflict. Since the process of peace-building is a multi-stakeholder process leaders acts as bridge linking the interests of their people to other stakeholders and seeking redress of the contentious issues (Johnson, 2007). However, leaders should be held responsible of their actions, as in some contexts they have been perpetrators of violence by inciting their people to depict violence tendencies towards their rivals. The roles of leaders in conflict management situations according to Panizza (2011) differ from one society to another; however they go a long way in fostering peace in diversity. In African societies, for instance, traditional leaders such as kings and chiefs assisted their communities in solving all manner of conflicts using a traditional justice system. In most cases it was convened by traditional leaders who involved a committee of elders who floated various suggestions on how disputes would be resolved. Most Africans resort to informal justice system as it is accessible and cheap compared to formal judicial system full of bureaucracy. The traditional justice system is grounded on a community norms and tradition, which dictates the cause of action to be adopted. However, it is limited in infrastructure and cannot handle massive disputes vis-à-vis the formal justice system that is well structured and well-financed. According to Johnson, (2007) this traditional mechanism are important tools of mitigating conflicts as they consist of traditional leaders who are highly respected than the government administrators.

Nevertheless, at times leaders misuse their power by inciting their communities to violence as has been witnessed in Laikipia County, where a former member of parliament, Mathew Lempurkel was indicted of inciting his constituents to encroach foreign-owned Laikipia ranches. This sparked a series of attacks on foreigners' property and loss of life (Gathua, 2017; Matara, 2017). Extant literature emphasizes the need for reinforcement of grassroots leadership that if well-structured can go a long way in alleviating socio-economic challenges facing most communities. Promulgation of a new constitution in 2010 marked a new dawn to all Kenyans who had previously been victims of marginalization by previous regime in terms of economic development and involvement in matters relating to them. It brought about a decentralized form of governance that devolved legislative and political powers from central government to regional governments, giving them autonomy over political, social and economic decisions relating to their people concerns (Nhede, 2013).

According to Open Institute (2014) devolution was the only hope to the Kenyan people as it transferred legislative powers and responsibility from central government in the spirit of empowering citizens by empowering their local leaders with responsibility, resources and capacity to promote regional social, economic and political prosperity of their people (Finch, 2015). In the light of that, most Kenyans viewed it as the perfect gateway to improved service delivery and as a way to take charge of their own destiny as opposed to the earlier centralized form of government that had deprived some regions (Ntara, 2013; Nyanjom, 2011). Power struggle followed as various aspirants struggled to fill in the respective positions from county, women representative, senator to gubernatorial seat. Their key selling point in their campaign was to successfully implement the new constitution that called for devolution of powers and resources to county government.

The quest for regional representation was mired with tribal and clan politics as it has been always the case with the Kenyan politics since time in memorial (Onyango, 2012; UNDP, 2010). Most leaders' decision to vie for seat was motivated by the resources that were to be transferred to respective counties. They viewed it as a vehicle to propagate their innate selfish interests as has been revealed by the conduct of most county governments from Bungoma wheelbarrows to Mandera bloated staff expenditures (Gitahi, 2015; Ojamaa, 2015).

In the context of Mandera County, leadership has been characterized by clan politics where the dominant Garre clan uses its numbers to influence its clan members to vote them in, angering other clans who feel sidelined in matters relating to

their county (IRIN, 2005; Mukabi, Barasa, & Chepng'eno, 2015). This in turn had sparked violent confrontations in the past that resulted to loss of lives, destruction of property and loss in trade (Kenya Inter Agency Rapid Assessment, 2015). Therefore, in the advent of devolution and the enormous resources trickling to Mandera County from the Central government is likely to be a contributor to the recurrence in Mandera inter-clan conflict as clans fight for control over those resources as it has been the case in the past when they fought over access to water points and pastures. This informs the premise of this research whose one of the objective was to investigate whether county leadership contributes to inter-clan conflict in Mandera County. As the current literature on inter-ethnic conflict fail to provide insights on how devolution has transformed leadership and inter-clan conflicts in North Eastern Kenya.

Most conflicts in the world are highly engineered by the quest for power and dominion over the resources as it had been witnessed in Mandera. Inequality in distribution of county resources among the four clans in Mandera County is likely to accelerate clan intolerance sparking violence (Njagi, 2015). In the past the Garre, Muralle, Degodia and Corner tribes coexisted peacefully until politics blew up that bond into smithereens. In most instances the Degodia clan has been disgruntled by the manner in which Garre led County government has been distributing this resources. They purported that majority of them were not considered for county jobs and tenders. Development projects were highly concentrated in areas inhabited by supporters of the ruling elite (Abdi, 2014, Alio, 2010). This research therefore endeavored determining to what extent county revenue distribution influences Mandera Inter clan conflict in the wake of devolution as opposed to previous research that placed emphasis on access to water points as driver of the conflict. The question is, why is it that even after bore holes were sunk and border redrawn, there is still recurrence in inter-clan conflict? Possibly, there is another factor contributing to this violence, and therefore this seek to ascertain whether county leadership has contributed to it.

As, it was evident in Sri Lanka, where Tamil of Eleam engaged the Sinhalese political class that had denied them of their nationality status, despite the fact that they had lived in Sri Lanka since time in memorial (Yass, 2014). They were infuriated by the fact that they were regarded as mere second class citizens who had no nationality and were ostracized in all forms of development. In frustrations, they begun to revolt and formed a rebel group in 1976 that violently engaged the Sri Lankan government until it was defeated in 2009 (Devotta, 2009; Mushtaq, 2012). It is crystal clear that the Tamils were fighting for their fundamental right that had been infringed by the ruling Sinhalese regime that took power after the British colonial forces exited their country upon attainment of independence in 1948. The research deduces that these conflicts could have been prevented if only there was democracy in the country. The government of Sri Lanka could have sat down with representatives of Tamil and charted the way forward. However, in lieu of that it used its powers to oppress them (Mushtaq, 2012). According to Yass (2014) this is one of the reason why ethnic conflicts are more prevalent in developing economies as opposed to developed and welfare states; as they have advanced democratic systems of government; that are deeply entrenched in their national values (Yass, 2014).

The most profound conflict in history is the Syrian and Iraq ethnic conflict that has periodically erupted to full blown civil war that has ravaged these nations to the core. Contemporary Shia-Sunni conflict has worsened diplomatic ties between Saudi Arabia inhabited by majority Sunni and Iran which is dominated by Shia. This has been witnessed when Iran has constantly supported the Shia rebels in Yemen who have been fighting Saudi Arabia forces that had embarked on a mission to weed-out Houthi fighters. Sunni-Shia sectarianism in the Middle-east has evolved over time and has now gone beyond ancient religious tensions as it is fuelled by individualism and greed for power. After toppling of Saddam Hussein in 2003 by United States led invasion, it saw countries like Iran Shias try to exploit the historical schism by supporting Shia militias in Iraq advancing their interests and abhorring all Sunni political ideologies being instilled by Saudi Arabia. This manifests a paradigm shift in the determinant of Shia-Sunni ethnic conflict, as it had now become political contests as opposed to a religious contest. Shia sectarianism in Syria for instance, has seen a civil strife against an authoritarian government turn into a Sunni-Shia conflict.

County development policies according to Lumumba (2011) play a very central role in implementation of new constitution mandate on regional development. It outlines the key priorities areas to be focused on by the respective county governments in addressing the problems facing their people. The counties are mandated by the new constitution to perform devolved functions such as infrastructural development, provision of quality healthcare, education, and sanitation among others. Every county is supposed to ensure that all the people in the county benefit from this development projects. In instances where there is inequality in economic development has resulted to violent confrontations (Brown and Stewart, 2016). In the light of this, Mandera County is likely to succumb to inter-clan conflicts as every clan struggle for representation in the county government so as to tap into the county resources

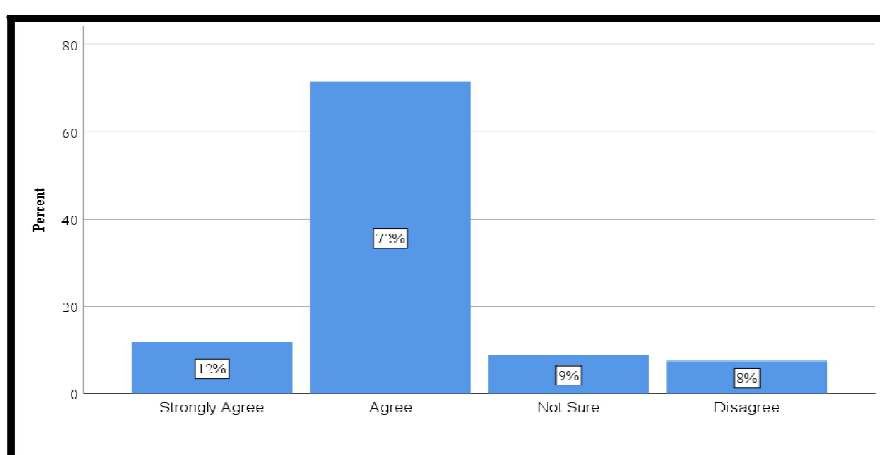
4. Results

The first objective of the study was to establish County leadership contribution to inter-clan conflict in Mandera County since devolution begun in 2013. The study sought to assess participants' level of affirmation with regard to various statements of devolution as illustrated in the subsequent sub-topics where individual responses were expressed in percentage.

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Agree	81	21.1
Agree	270	70.3
Not Sure	9	2.3
Disagree	24	6.3
Total	384	100.0

*Table 5: Responses on Effect of Devolution on Inter-Clan Conflict
Source: (Field Data, 2017)*

On whether devolution brought immense resources to Mandera, 91% (351 respondents) said that devolution brought immense resources to Counties as compared to other periods before devolution. In 2012/2013 financial year, for example, Mandera County received Ksh. 486,288,055 under what was known as Constituency Development Fund but following promulgation of the new constitution the funds allocated to Mandera County has grown from 6.5 billion (2013/14) to 10 billion (2016/17). The increment in the amount of money illustrated above has the potential to make landmark changes in the County. As such Mandera County leadership should have prudent policies on internal distribution of County resources that are likely to enhance equitable sharing of resources among communities, thereby fostering harmony in the region.



*Figure 1: Mandera County Leadership Influence
Resources Distribution
Source: (Field Data, 2017)*

72% (275 respondents) and 12% (45 respondents) felt that Mandera County leadership influences the manner in which County resources are managed and distributed among the various communities living in the region. The trend was largely attributed to clan chauvinism that has been central to Mandera politics. However, a considerable number of respondents at 9% (34 respondents) and 8% (29 respondents) were in disagreement since they felt that the County leadership was up to the task in handling all the County affairs. This implies that majority of the respondents are uncomfortable with the performance of the County government in meeting their development aspirations. Only a small number seemed to be in support of County government performance simply because they were pro-government constituents who were beneficiary of County government projects.

This finding confirms assertions held by Bosire (2013) that the immense resources brought about by devolution have potential to benefit the grassroots people only if there is transparency and accountability among the ruling class. That subsequently affirms Villiers(2017) claims that devolution system in Kenya resulted to creation of regional strifes for control over the resources brought about by decentralisation of state government executive functions. Quest for local County powers has resulted to ethnic strife especially in ethnically diverse Counties such as Masrabit, that has over 15 ethnic groups. The situation has exacerbated due to inadequate leadership mechanism that is all inclusive.

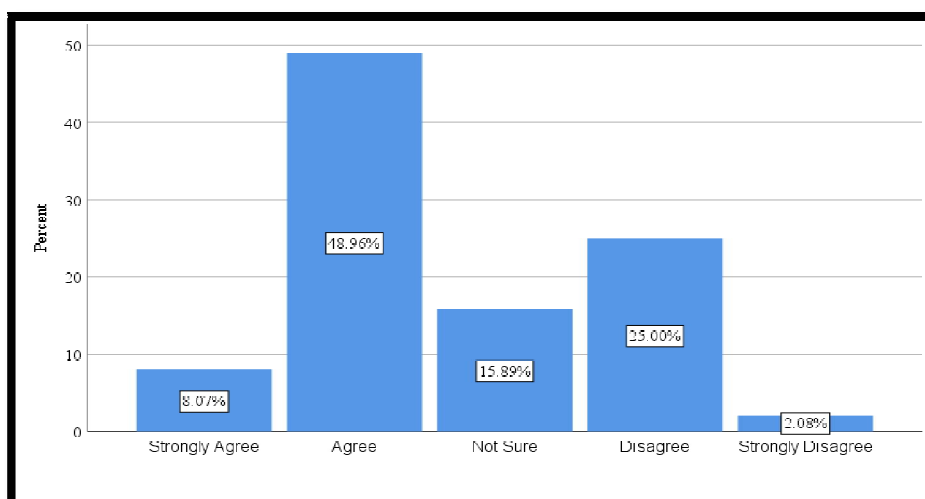


Figure 2: Devolution Resources Are Central to Manderla Inter-Clan Conflict
Source: (Field Data, 2017)

On whether Resources brought by Devolution are Central to Manderla Inter-clan conflict, 8% (31 respondents) and 49% (188 respondents) were in agreement that resources brought by devolution are central to the recurrent Manderla inter-clan conflict. They purported that the enormous resources trickling from the central government has escalated clan quests for control as there is a general perception that the clan in power shall have more privileges than the latter. Due to this, the disadvantaged clan resorts to violence as it seeks inclusivity. This is indicative of the fact that devolution is a highly sensitive issue amongst the local natives. It seems to have increased inter-clan conflict as expressed by majority above. A minority consisting of 2% (8 respondents) and 25% (96 respondents) were of the view that devolution does not affect inter-clan conflict. However, since the majority have expressed these assertions there is need to evaluate the role of devolution in this instance and address it respectively.

This finding affirms the research questions which hypothesized that there is a relationship between the immense resources trickling from the state governments to County governments and recurrence of inter-clan conflict in Manderla County. It was premised on the tenet that in the past Manderla conflict arose from inter-clans strife for pasture and access to water point for their livestock; which was resolved by dredging of boreholes and demarcations of boundaries. However, even after all these attempts the conflict kept recurring from one period to another. Perhaps, because there was other emerging factors fuelling it. The periodic inter-clan flare-ups in the wake of devolution suggested that the immense resources trickling to County coffers could be central to the inter-ethnic strife; as community contest for political representation.

Similarly, this finding corresponds to Ganesan & Vines (2004) views that most conflicts in the world are in resource rich countries and areas due to greed among some sections of the community, who feels that they deserve those resources more than their counterparts, escalating the conflict.

	Frequency	Percent %
Strongly Agree	53	13.8
Agree	84	21.9
Not Sure	150	39.1
Disagree	85	22.1
Strongly Disagree	12	3.1
Total	384	100.0

Table 6: County Government Have Policies on Resource Distribution
Source: (Field Data, 2017)

On whether County government have Policies on Resource distribution, 39% (150) and 25% (97 respondents) were either not sure or were in disagreement on whether Manderla County had policies on resource distribution. This could either imply that County leadership seldom involve them in formulation and implementation of policies that relate to them. Conversely, 35.7% (137) purported that there were some policies on resource distribution although they were not quite sure of their level of implementation. This is could be a contributing factor to the recurrent inter-clan conflict as the County government policies are not well customised to address issues ailing the residents. An effective policy on resource distribution is that which is formulated by the people for the people; as it seeks to address fundamental challenges facing their communities. The importance of having policies on distribution of resources was emphasized by Alao (2011) as it reduce the chances of a devastating conflict from occurring; which may be hard to control.

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Agree	56	14.6
Agree	208	54.2
Not Sure	60	15.6
Disagree	50	13.0
Strongly Disagree	10	2.6
Total	384	100.0

Table 7: Clan Quest for Political Inclusivity Contributes

Inter-Clan Conflict

Source: (Field Data, 2017)

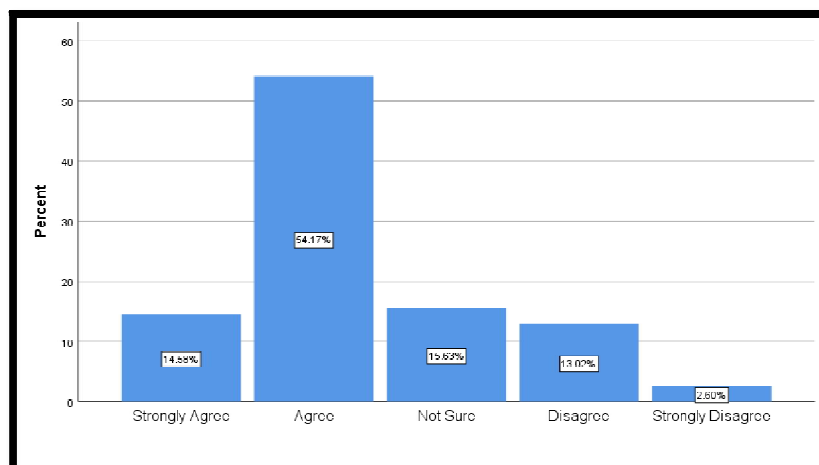


Figure 3: Clan Quest for Political Inclusivity Contributes Inter-Clan Conflict

Source: (Field Data, 2017)

On clan quest for political inclusivity, 69% (264 respondents) were in agreement that clan quest for political inclusivity among different communities living in Mandera County contributes to recurrence of inter-clan conflict since devolution was operationalized in 2013. It is based on the premise that he who is in power has the autonomy over all the resources and determines who get which share. In most cases, those who benefit are the kinsmen. The remaining fraction of the respondent at 15% (60 respondents) felt that inter-clan conflict is caused by a confluence of factors that occur at the same time as opposed to one remote factor. The foregoing analysis indicates that clan politics influence all the decisions made by Mandera residents and such it should be incorporated in regional governance. Perhaps, used to seek consensus on how and where resources should be allocated among the resident. This findings echoes Salad (2015) assertions that clans in North-eastern Kenya organize themselves into certain ethnic formations so as to subdue rival clans in the quest for control over resources at their disposal. This in turn has resulted to unprecedented conflict that have damaged the social fabric holding this clans together, therefore, building unprecedented inter-clan tensions that simmers on the surface which violently erupts upon slightest confrontation.

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Strongly Agree	47	12.2
Agree	126	32.8
Not Sure	132	34.4
Disagree	70	18.2
Strongly Disagree	9	2.3
Total	384	100.0

Table 8: County Government Policies to Curb Inter-Clan Conflict

Source: (Field Data, 2017)

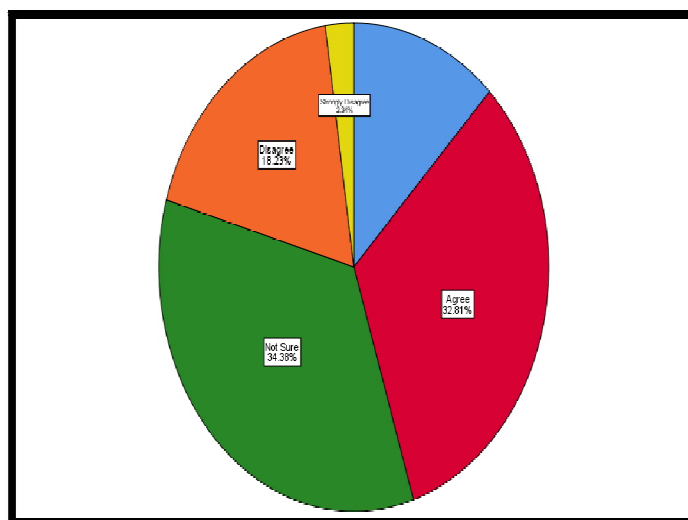


Figure 4: County Government Policies to Curb Inter-Clan Conflict
Source: (Field Data, 2017)

On whether County Government have Policies to Curb Inter-clan Conflict, 45% (173 respondents) were of the opinion that Mandera County government has not formulated adequate policies to curb recurrence of inter-clan conflict. As since 2013 there has been on-and-off inter-clan antagonism that has derailed economic development of the County. Nevertheless, 20% (79 respondents) of the respondents felt that it has some policies despite the fact that they were not explicitly expressed while a significant number at 34% (132 respondents) were not aware if there was any policy in place to curb recurrence of conflict. This empirical evidence suggests that lack of inadequate policies to curb recurrence of inter-clan conflict is to be blamed for the on-and-off inter-clan conflict in Mandera County. This further indicates that the County leadership has not been doing enough to alleviate this menace. They are more reactive to the conflict as opposed to being proactive. This revelation perhaps suggests that the regional governments are not adequately prepared to mitigate any conflict that may be to its detriment. On the Effect of Devolution on Inter-clan Conflict, the responses were recorded as shown in figure 5.

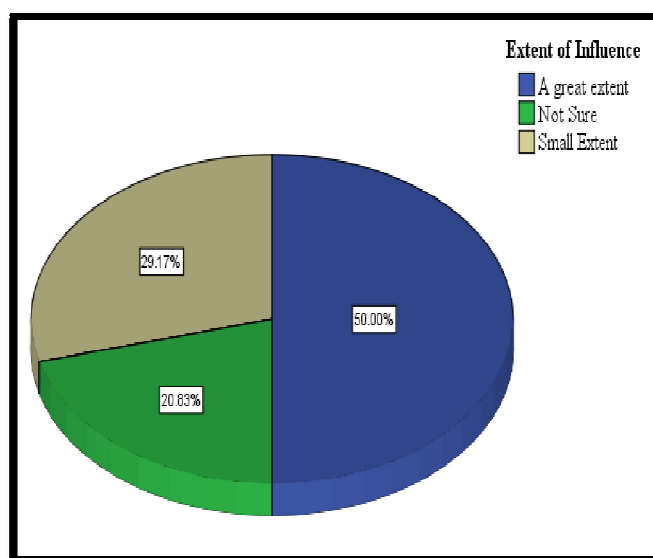


Figure 5: Devolution Contributes to Current and Future Inter-Clan Conflict
Source: (Field Data, 2017)

50% (192 respondents) indicated that devolution influence inter-clan conflict to a greater extent, while 21% (81 respondents) were of the view that it does not. This hints to a possible cause-effect relationship between devolution and inter-clan conflict in Mandera County as shall be noted in the subsequent pages. This result further implies that devolution is a key contributor to inter-clan conflicts as clan contest for enormous resources flowing into a County with a long history of clan chauvinism. Subserviently, the clan in power stands to enjoy most of the resources than that not in power as indicated in the focused group discussion verbatim box 1 below:

"It is so unfortunate that resources are controlled by those in power who rarely consult with respective stakeholders to know their key priority areas; and regions to concentrate developmental agendas. Politics in our County is clan based as the clan in power tend to patronize the other clans; thereby, resulting to skewed distribution of resources among communities living in the region."

Verbatim Box 1: Participant Response to the Effect of Devolution

This revelation affirms Missimer (2012) assertions that decentralisation of federal government functions to central governments results to massive influx of resources to the people at grassroots; who may sometime be inadequately prepared to assume their roles. Devolution at regional levels is often characterized by political strifes among the constituents contesting for autonomy over the resources at their disposal. Implying that if there is no adequate enforcement of policies on fairness in distribution of resources then flare-ups are imminent as disgruntled section of the community strive for their fundamental rights. This research endeavored in exploring ways in which devolution transformed the nature of conflict in Mandera County that has periodically suffered from inter-clan conflict. Nonetheless, various attempts to mitigate its occurrence have failed probably because there was limited insights on the underlying causes of this conflict in the wake of devolution. Devolution has resulted to a paradigm shift in the nature and causes of the conflict. Therefore, contradicting previous theories floated by various scholars, who held that the inter-clan conflict in Mandera County was being caused by limited resources at their disposal.

This research argues that if the Mandera communities used to fight over limited pastures and access to water points, what about now that there are immense resources trickling from central government to Counties. It implies that the magnitude and wrath of inter-conflict will be of immense proportions as the social fabric that once held these clans together was wrecked by pre-devolution period conflicts, building mistrust. That therefore makes Mandera County an inter-clan conflict prone zone. In that regard, it requires an all-inclusive peacebuilding initiative that would inter-woove the interests of these clans while addressing the underlying causes of the conflict. Just like in other conflict hotspots, the stakeholders involved should be willing to compromise their radical perspectives central to the conflict so as to enhance the process of peacebuilding. Since the conflict arises from mistrusts, the ruling elite should be democratic in the manner in which they execute the mandate bestowed to them by the constitution. As most of these conflicts arises due to weakness in governance to enforce the laws on resource distribution and management.

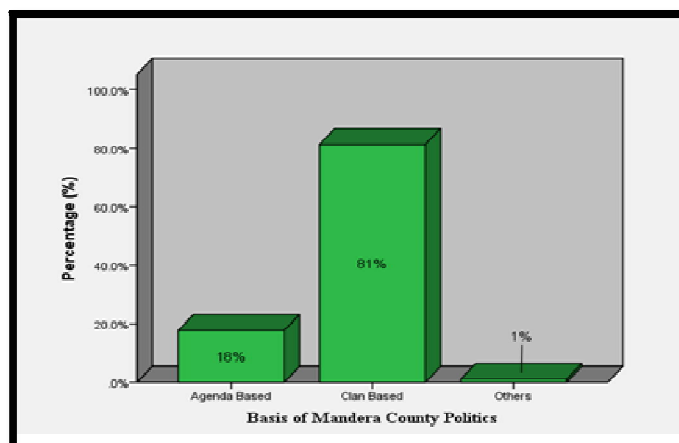


Figure 6 :Basis of Mandera County Policies

Source: Field Data, 2017

The question on whether county leadership contributed to Mandera inter-clan conflict since 2013; and it was observed that politics in Mandera County is clan based as opposed to being agenda based as illustrated in figure 6; where 81% (constituting of 311 respondents) felt that the Mandera politics are mostly clan based as opposed to being agenda based at 18%, (constituting of 69 respondents). This trend could be blamed for derailing County socio-economic gains accruing from devolution; as it breeds resentment among the minority clans. This implies that the future of Mandera County is pegged on whether it shall shift from being clan based to agenda based. Mandera constituents shall only have confidence with the County leadership if they shift their focus from being driven by clan chauvinist but instead guided by inclusive developmental agenda for its people.as further expressed in the verbatim 2 where participants expressed their worry with regard to the basis of Mandera Politics:

"Mandera County politics should change from being tribal to agenda based. Constituents should elect leaders based on what they can do to their people not based on clan and political persuasions. Once elected in office they should involve all the clans in management and disbursement of County resources as this is likely to build trust and confidence among the residents. They should always focus on contentious issues facing the community such as causes of inter-clan conflict."

Verbatim box 2: Participant Response on the Basis of Mandera Politics

The verbatim 2 indicates a general dissatisfaction in the manner in which the County government runs its affairs and could be one of the underlying causes of inter-clan rivalry which keeps on escalating from time to time. Comparatively, 1 % (4 respondents) of the respondents were not quite sure of its status probably because they are either ignorant or the County leadership is not well defined. This inference confirms Moore (2004) earlier findings that most conflicts usually arise from socio-economic weakness of societies to elect in office politically correct leaders with interests of the people at heart. The overriding principles and values governing election of leaders to position of powers determines whether a community underlying socio-economics would be resolved or not. In ethnically diverse communities, there is always a likelihood of inter-ethnic conflict if the basis of electing leaders into office is ethnic based as opposed to be agenda based.

Empirical literature reveals that agenda based politics has potential to conceive leaders with the interests of the people at heart compared to when it is ethnic based, as those elected in office on ethnic lines have to put the interests of their kinship first before they serve the rest. A trend that is likely to create inter-ethnic tensions that later escalates to fully-fledge inter-clan conflicts. In the light of the above, Mandera constituents ought to embrace agenda politics; they should screen their leaders-to-be for suitability in an open forum including all members of their society. An all-inclusive forum would ensure that the interests of all clans living in the region are accommodated. An initiative that would assist in building trust among community members themselves and their County leadership

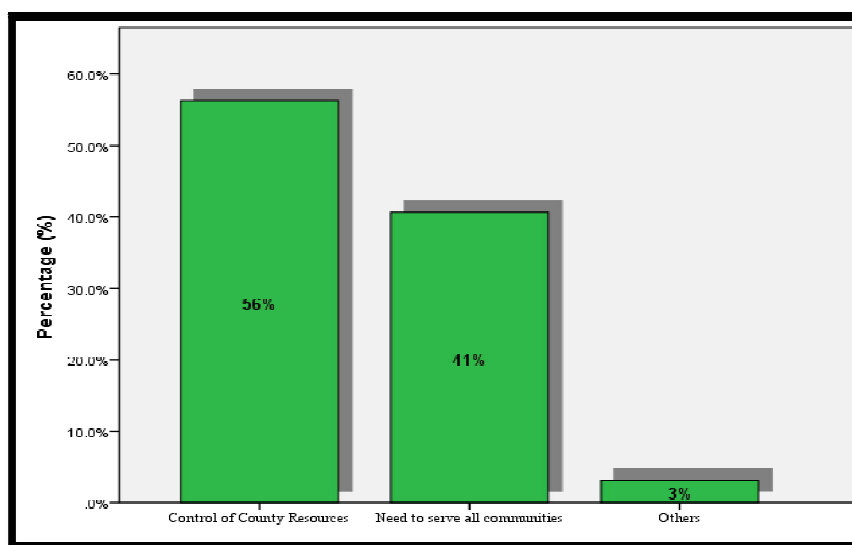


Figure 7 : Factors Influencing Mandera County Leadership
Source: Field Data, 2017

On probable factors influencing Mandera County leadership; most respondents at 56% (215 respondents) asserted that quest for control for County resources is what drives Mandera leadership. As most of the leaders view it as an avenue to enrich them; as opposed to building capacities of their communities living in the region in an equitable manner void of clan chauvinism. However, some respondents at 3% (115 respondents) indicated that other factors such as negotiated democracy and impunity could be the one that informs Mandera regional leadership as indicated in figure 7. The foregoing analysis relays a very crooked picture of the realities of devolution at grassroots level which are in contravention with the noble goals of devolution which was to facilitate regional development and enhancing equity in resource distribution. A snippet from the focused group discussion extrapolates similar responses as participants expressed their quest for selfless leaders who have the interests of their communities at heart. The verbatim 3 below further indicates that Mandera County politics is a quest for who can control County resources instead of who can address the fundamental needs of their communities.

"Mandera County residents want responsible leaders with the interests of their people at heart. They would like County leaders who are at the forefront of fostering unity in diversity. Unfortunately, we are not lucky to have such leaders, we want County leaders who are selfless and whose main agenda is improving the welfare of County constituents without fear or favour. Until that is achieved we shall be having on-and-off inter-clan conflicts as disadvantaged communities fight for their rights that might have been substantially infringed. It was quite unfortunate that the clan endorsed someone not familiar with the problems facing the Mandera County constituents. Next time the endorsement organs should perhaps vet those in their endorsement list to establish their suitability."

Verbatim Box 3: Response on Factors Influencing Mandera Leadership

This inference echoes Ajodo (2017) findings; that leadership in Africa is based on identity politics where different ethnic groups strive for power so as to address kinship interests at the detriment of other ethnic groups. This is largely because of weakness in governance institutions to indiscriminately administer justice to its constituents as outlined in the country constitution.

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Satisfactory	77	20
Not quite sure	69	18
Dissatisfactory	238	62
Total	384	100

Table 9: Mandera County Leadership Rating

Source: Field Data, 2017

On the question on Mandera County leadership rating since 2013; majority of respondents at 62% (238 respondents) were quite dissatisfied by the manner in which the affairs of their County were being conducted. They felt betrayed as they could not actualize their expectations vis-à-vis realities on their ground. This is despite being the third largest beneficiary of County revenue allocation after Nairobi and Turkana. Yet they are still struggling in most socio-economic aspects. This response possibly indicates that the implementation of devolution in Mandera County is on shaking ground as the residents are yet to benefit from it. The finding from the research show that the impact of County leadership on Mandera inter-clan conflict is more complex than previously assumed as overwhelming majority of the respondents at 91% (351 respondents) reckoned that quality of elected leaders in Mandera County influence their social, economic and political prosperity. This was further echoed by verbatim 4 where a participant expressed his dissatisfaction with current leadership

"You only give your cattle and goats to someone who can take good care of your herd in your absentia. Similarly, we should entrust our county leadership mandate to responsible leaders who can run the affairs of the County as is required of them. The greatest problem with the County is lack of good leadership and sound policies on resource distribution among the communities inhabiting the County."

Verbatim Box 4: Response on Quality of Leadership

In view, of all that has been mentioned so far, one may suppose that the current leadership in Mandera is not up to the task in addressing fundamental issues facing their communities; as it has been crippled by clan chauvinism that is central to the plight of the Mandera constituents. Over two thirds of those questioned reported that Mandera County politics is clan based as opposed to being agenda based a trend that has been blamed for derailing its social and economic progress especially in the wake of devolution. This was cited by majority of the respondents as a fundamental cause of conflict as the dominant clan uses its number to the disadvantage of the minority clans.

This research deduce that if Mandera politics becomes agenda based there is a significant chance of lowering the occurrence of inter-clan conflict as those elected are guided by the interests of their residents. It shall be a new dawn to Mandera constituents who for a long term have become victim of skewed leadership. On the basis of the foregoing narrative it is imperative that Mandera constituents have a profound role to play especially in ensuring that they elect capable leaders in office to represent their interests. They should also seek inter-clan consensus with regard to the quality of leaders that are well suited to run the affairs of their community in an amicable manner. Without a doubt, inter-clan consensus is cited to influence a number of aspects among Mandera communities and should be properly used in order to foster unity in diversity. This is in line with Sorenson (2007) findings that ethnic conflict is attributed to mismatch in allocation of resources among various group due to inability of those in decision making to equitably allocate resources. Majority of the respondents also felt that County leadership is a major contributor to inter-clan conflict as it is tied to clan chauvinism that breeds contempt amongst rival clans. As they increase strife for control over County resources with a sole aim of benefiting their kinship and themselves. This goes against the very tenets upon which devolution was established to fulfil which was to facilitate regional development and equitable distribution of resources. A snippet from the focused group discussion extrapolates similar responses where participants expressed their quest for selfless leaders who have the interests of their communities at heart. The verbatim 5 below indicates that Mandera County politics is a quest for who can control County resources instead of who can address the fundamental needs of their communities.

“Mandera County residents want responsible leaders with the interests of their people at heart. They would like County leaders who are at the forefront of fostering unity in diversity. Unfortunately, we are not lucky to have such leaders, we want County leaders who are selfless and whose main agenda is improving the welfare of County constituents without fear or favour. Until that is achieved we shall be having on-and-off inter-clan conflicts as disadvantaged communities fight for their rights that might have been substantially infringed. It was quite unfortunate that the clan endorsed someone not familiar with the problems facing the Mandera County constituents. Next time the endorsement organs should perhaps vet those in their endorsement list to establish their suitability.”

Verbatim box 5: Response on Factors influencing Mandera Leadership

The foregoing narrative relays a very crooked picture of the realities of devolution at grassroots level which are in contravention with the noble goals of devolution; which was to facilitate regional development and enhancing equity in resource distribution. Perhaps an indication that there is much that ought to be addressed should there be meaningful implementation of devolution at the grassroots levels. Nearly two third of the respondents 72% (320 respondents) were dissatisfied with the manner in which Mandera County resources are allocated and managed by their leaders. Perhaps an indication that there are some governance difficulties that need to be addressed should there be meaningful progress. This dissatisfaction among residents could be attributed to the on-and-off inter-clan conflicts that keeps on resurfacing from one period to another. As discussed above county leadership largely influence the manner in which County resources are allocated and managed and as such it should be well constituted to ensure that it seal probable avenues of inter-clan rivalry in Mandera County. This finding is in harmony with those of Schindwein (2016) who found out that most conflicts in Africa are triggered by disparities in allocation of resources among rival groups; thereby, escalating the conflict. He further held that the only way to solve this menace is by ensuring that those in power are compelled to involve the disgruntled section of the community so as to come up with an inclusive form of leadership that is grounded on the principle of equity in distribution of resources.

Over two thirds of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with Mandera County leadership level of transparency and accountability. They felt that their County resources are not managed efficiently as they should be due to the fact that those in power have not demonstrated their commitment to alleviating various bottlenecks hampering socio and economic progress which among them is inter-clan rivalry. The foregoing account is in contravention with the objects of the Kenya New Constitution (2010) which places strong emphasis on high levels of transparency and accountability among leaders holding public office. This is indeed a worrying trend in a County that had a bleak past of marginalization; the residents should be witnessing rampant changes in the social, economic and political landscape. There should be a strong emphasis on strengthening public participation at the grassroots so as to accelerate economic growth and enhanced equity in distribution of County resources thereby lowering the likelihood of occurrence of inter-clan conflict arising from the same. In summary the foregoing accounts extrapolate extensive links between tenacious inequality and weak governance among County leadership. This finding supports similar idea expressed by Centre of Devolution Studies (2015) who purported that inequality and inadequate civic engagement always arise from weak institutions of governance. They substantially indicated that governance in Kenya remains to be a major bottleneck to socio-economic progress as it derails devolutionary gains. As it has been the case in Mandera County where the County leadership has failed to adequately address the fundamental issues affecting the residents that have in turned escalated to clan rivalry and subsequently resulting to recurrence in inter-clan conflict.

More than half of respondents at 59% (228 respondents) expressed their dissatisfaction with the reduced levels of implementation of County policies; which could negatively impact on public service delivery and subsequent inter-clan outrage. This puts into question the role of those in power as they fall below expectations. Similarly, over half of the respondents indicated that the County government have inadequate conflict management policies aimed at curbing the recurrence of inter-clan conflict in the region. This perhaps suggests that there is a weak conflict mitigation mechanism at the grassroots and should be reviewed so as to alleviate inter-clan rivalry in Mandera County. This finding corresponded to Rohwerder (2015) who noted that absence of an efficient locally based conflict management mechanism may result to a surge in inter-clan conflict in subsequent years. It was also quite apparent that disparities in distribution of resources contribute to perennial conflicts as rival clan fight for justice. There was overwhelming evidence suggesting that Mandera leadership was detached from realities on the ground but instead are obsessed with their selfish interests. These findings therefore lead us to a conclusion that there is a significant relationship between County leadership and inter-clan conflict

5. Summary of Findings

The finding from the research show that the impact of County leadership on Mandera inter-clan conflict is more complex than previously assumed as overwhelming majority of the respondents at 91% (351 respondents) reckoned that quality of elected leaders in Mandera County influence their social, economic and political prosperity. In view, of all that has been mentioned so far, one may suppose that the current leadership in Mandera is not up to the task in addressing fundamental issues facing their communities; as it has been crippled by clan chauvinism that is central to the plight of the Mandera constituents. Over two thirds of those questioned reported that Mandera County politics is clan based as opposed to being agenda based a trend that has been blamed for derailing its social and economic progress especially in the wake of devolution. This was cited by majority of the respondents as a fundamental cause of conflict as the dominant clan uses its number to the disadvantage of the minority clans.

This research also deduced that if Mandera politics becomes agenda based there is a significant chance of lowering the occurrence of inter-clan conflict as those elected are guided by the interests of their residents. It shall be a new dawn to Mandera constituents who for a long term have become victim of skewed leadership. On the basis of the foregoing narrative it is imperative that Mandera constituents have a profound role to play especially in ensuring that they elect capable leaders in office to represent their interests. They should also seek inter-clan consensus with regard to the quality of leaders that are well suited to run the affairs of their community in an amicable manner. Without a doubt, inter-clan consensus is cited to influence a number of aspects among Mandera communities and should be properly used in order to foster unity in diversity. This is in line with Sorenson (2007) findings that ethnic conflict is attributed to mismatch in allocation of resources among various group due to inability of those in decision making to equitably allocate resources.

Majority of the respondents also felt that County leadership is a major contributor to inter-clan conflict as it is tied to clan chauvinism that breeds contempt amongst rival clans. As they increase strife for control over County resources with a sole aim of benefiting their kinship and themselves. This goes against the very tenets upon which devolution was established to fulfil which was to facilitate regional development and equitable distribution of resources. A snippet from the focused group discussion extrapolates similar responses where participants expressed their quest for selfless leaders who have the interests of their communities at heart. The research results indicated that Mandera County politics is a quest for who can control County resources instead of who can address the fundamental needs of their communities. As discussed above county leadership largely influence the manner in which County resources are allocated and managed and as such it should be well constituted to ensure that it seal probable avenues of inter-clan rivalry in Mandera County. This finding is in harmony with those of Schlindwein (2016) who found out that most conflicts in Africa are triggered by disparities in allocation of resources among rival groups; thereby, escalating the conflict. He further held that the only way to solve this menace is by ensuring that those in power are compelled to involve the disgruntled section of the community so as to come up with an inclusive form of leadership that is grounded on the principle of equity in distribution of resources.

6. Conclusions

On the basis of evidence presented by this research it is imperative that County leadership significantly influence inter-clan conflict in Mandera County especially in the wake of devolution. This is largely because politics in this County is clan based and the dominant clan usually carries the day; infuriating the minority clans who perceive their dominance as a threat to their livelihood. This inter-clan mistrust has evolved over time due to clan chauvinism; which has made some clans to feel like they are superior to others and by the virtue of that they should be entitled to more privileges than the rest. In return it has escalated to violent confrontation as disgruntled clans fight for political, social and economic inclusivity.

7. Recommendations

The constituents of Mandera County at large ought to shy away from tribal based politics instead they resort to agenda based politics. The research has extensively noted that the recurrence of inter-clan conflict in this region is a result of weak governance among its leaders elected to power through identity politics. As such the dominant clan has always being accused of imposing leaders who at times are not fit to serve people efficiently. The research recommend that political leaders to be always endorsed by clan elders upon general consensus among all clans hailing from Mandera; in case there are areas of contention; middle-ground should always be arrived at before such endorsements take place. This is likely to tame occurrence of any conflict before it even break-up. Mandera residents should adopt negotiated democracy that involve all the communities in proposing suitable leaders to govern them and in identifying key development projects that should be given priority. The more they are involved on social, economic and political matters the less likely they are going to rebel and cause havoc.

8. References

- i. Abdi, A. (2014). Clans, Conflicts and Devolution in Mandera, Kenya. Nairobi: Unpublished.
- ii. Ajodo, A. (2017). Towards Ending Conflict and Insecurity in the Niger Delta Region. Lagos, Nigeria: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.
- iii. Alao, A. (2011). Natural Resources and the Dynamics of Conflicts in West Africa. Dakar,
- iv. Alio, M. (2010). Inter Clan Conflict in Mandera District: A case of the Garre and Murulle. Nairobi.
- v. Aslan, S. (2014). Nation Building in Turkey and Morocco. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- vi. Balci, A. (2012). The PKK-Kurdistan Worker's Party's Regional Politics during and after Cold War. Springer.
- vii. BBC. (2017, September 18). What is behind Clashes in Ethiopia's Oromia and Somalia regions, British Broadcasting Corporation
- viii. Bilgin, F., & Sarihan, A. (2013). Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Question. Lexington Books.
- ix. Bosire, C. M. (2013). Devolution for Development, Conflict Resolution and Limiting Central Power: An Analysis of the Constitution of Kenya. Pretoria, South Africa.
- x. Brown, K. G., & Stewart, F. (2016). Economic and Political Causes of Conflict: An Overview and Some Policy Implications. Mansfield: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity.
- xi. Cockburn, P. (2015). Syria and Iraq: Ethnic cleansing by Sunni and Shia Jihadis is leading to a portion of the Middle East. London: Independent.

- xii. Corson, H. (2016, April 13). Borneo's Ethnic Conflict. Retrieved April 20, 2018, from Prezi.com: <https://prezi.com/wfrmwz20k17z/borneos-ethnic-conflict/>
- xiii. Devotta, N. (2009). The Liberation of Tigres of Elam and the Lost Quest for Separatism. *Journal O Asian Survey*, 49(6), 1-5.
- xiv. Finch, C. (2015). *Building Public Participation in Kenya's Devolved Government*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- xv. Gathua, J. (2017, July 22). MP Lempurkel once Again Behind Bars for Incitement. *Daily Nation*.
- xvi. Gitahi, R. B. (2015). *Proactive Fraud Audit Techniques for Auditors and Investigators*. Nairobi, Kenya: Institute of Certified Public Accountant of Kenya.
- xvii. Heshmati, A., Dilani, A., & Baban, S. (2014). *Perspectives on Kurdistan's Economy and Society in Transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- xviii. Klinken, G. V. (2007, July 30). Inside Indonesia. Retrieved April 14, 2018, from Ethnic Fascism in Borneo: <https://www.insideindonesia.org/ethnic-fascism-in-borneo>
- xix. Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining sample Size for Research Activities. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.
- xx. Lumumba, P. L. (2011, November 29). The Trial of Integrity in Kenya. Retrieved 11 28, 2015, from Katiba Institute: <http://www.katibainstitute.org/index.php/history-and-objectives-of-devolution>
- xxi. Mailto, H., & Chang, A. (2018, February 27). Hundred Dead in Borneo's Ethnic Conflict. *ABC News*.
- xxii. Moore, C. (2004). *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*. Beyond Intractability Project.
- xxiii. Mushtaq, S. (2012, August). Identity Conflict in Srilanka: A case of Tamil Tigres. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(15), 1-5.
- xxiv. Onyango, J. A. (2012). Factors to be considered in Revenue Allocation to Devolved Government in Kenya. *Prime Journal of Business Administration and Management*.
- xxv. Salad, B. H. (2015). *Factors Influencing Inter-clan Conflict in Northern Kenya: A Case Study of Wajir County*. Nairobi, Kenya: University of Nairobi.
- xxvi. Sorenson, D. (2007). *Civil Military Relations in North Africa and Middle East Policy*.
- xxvii. Villiers, P. S. (2017). Small wars in Marsabit County: Devolution and Political Violence in Northern Kenya. *Journal of Conflict, Security and Development*.
- xxviii. Yass, S. (2014). Sri Lankan and the Tamil Tigres: Conflict and Legitimacy. *Military and Strategic Affairs Journal*, 6(2).